

# American Security Quarterly

## Vision, Strategy, Dialogue

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**BGen Stephen A. Cheney USMC (Ret.): Trade Agreement Will Enhance National Security**

**Holland: Global Warming Makes Solving the 21st Century's Problems Much Harder**

**Lodge and Wallin: Is Iran Ready to Deal on Nukes?**

**Rockower: Looking Back at History: The Public Diplomacy of Free France During WWII**

**Freear: Building Consensus for a New Somalia**

**Secrist: Economic Competitiveness and Educating the Next Generation**

We all watched with great apprehension the stalemate over the budget, national debt, and the Affordable Care Act these past weeks. The anecdotes of impact were everywhere, from closed national monuments to denied child care. But what was not so prominent in the news was the impact to our reputation and business overseas, and, ultimately, American Competitiveness.

America has been slipping for years in the annual ranking published by the World Economic Forum – from #1 in 2008 to #7 in 2012. There are a variety of factors responsible for this, all explained in some detail in previous pieces here at ASP by August Cole. What is different this time is that we are in the midst of negotiating two of the largest trade deals in our history: first, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) with the European Union, and, second, with the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) with 11 Pacific Rim countries (and potentially 6 more). These two partnerships will significantly enhance our economic competitiveness worldwide – yet here we are in Washington fighting about the Affordable Care Act. In this issue you will see several articles addressing this – pieces by August Cole, myself, Ben Secrist, Dan Grant, and Glenn Nye (the last two authoring an article in Forbes). They are not long, but they are succinct – please read them and then let me know if you think our competitiveness is slipping. We need to get the point across to everyone that we are severely impacting our national security.

Climate change has always had an air of controversy surrounding it. I was somewhat dismayed when we talked with several industry executives about the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report (that came out last month). Most had no clue either about the report or its findings. It has several stark findings, not the least of which is that climate change is happening and that humans are responsible for it. ASP hopes to raise the visibility of this report and its consequences, and you will see a corresponding article on it by Andrew Holland below. As well, we've had multiple publications about the impact of climate change on Asia, the Arctic, the insurance industry, and on food scarcity this past quarter. ASP will never quit beating this drum as we are on the verge of a major catastrophe, and many refuse to do anything about it.

The future of our nuclear weapons stockpile has long been an issue here, and it has heated up considerably during the budget debate.. ASP helped considerably during the New START debate, and now that we are discussing future funding for nuclear weapons, isn't the time right to consider further cuts? Josh Miller addresses this issue in his article. Related to this is our ongoing dialogue with Iran on their nuclear ambitions, and Terri Lodge and Matthew Wallin talk about where new need to be in this debate.

I hope this preview whets your appetite for the truly thoughtful and comprehensive articles included in this, our latest edition of American Security Quarterly.

**BGen Stephen A. Cheney USMC (Ret.)**

CEO American Security Project

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# AMERICAN COMPETITIVENESS



## Congress Again Fails to Understand American National Security in the 21st Century

August Cole

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 1, 2013

As Congress let another opportunity to prove America's doubters wrong slip through its fingers, lawmakers at least saw fit to pass legislation to make sure that our armed forces will still be paid. Amid a government shutdown that puts hundreds of thousands of federal workers out of work, that must be cold comfort when seen from a chilly outpost in Afghanistan or a carrier deck in the Persian Gulf.

After a decade of war during which the all-volunteer force has been ground down deployment-by-deployment, it was the moral, and political, thing to do – all in the name of national security. But it also reflects a huge gap in Congress' understanding of what makes up American national security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. If lawmakers truly comprehended the source of U.S. power, they never would have allowed the shutdown to take place.

It is easy to focus on the military as the source of American might. Our order of battle is unparalleled. Moreover, any nation that abuses its military eventually pays a steep price. Yet letting a partisan healthcare fight take down the American federal bureaucracy, even if just for a day, does more to harm American national security than most lawmakers will ever admit publicly.

Today, America's strength increasingly rests on its competitiveness in the global economy. Without a functional political system, a robust and growing private sector and a society that is resilient as well as compassionate, our country will cede its historic place of power.

America needs to be seen as a nation that is unafraid of big challenges, at home or abroad. That requires the political will to tackle them with the kind of long-term vision that has not been seen for years in Washington. Such over-the-horizon goals require compromise, which is seen as a liability today. And if our politicians can't make deals among themselves, what will our allies think of our ability to join them in times of need. All of this erodes American competitiveness.

If there is one thing that lawmakers take away from this episode it should be that this fight is bigger than an ugly brawl over healthcare. It is really a battle over American competitiveness and therefore national security. When it comes to the vote this month on raising America's debt ceiling, what was once a procedural step, let us hope that our armed forces watching from afar are spared another disappointing spectacle. They deserve to return home to a country that is stronger than when they left it.

## Economic Competitiveness and Educating the Next Generation

Ben Secrist

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

July 18, 2013

Yesterday the AP wrote about how our country's demographics are changing. They noted that [half of U.S. children younger than age one are Asian, Hispanic, black, Native American or of mixed races](#). The significance of this data may be that Hispanic, black, and Native American children are [about twice as likely to live in poverty](#) as white children. Unfortunately this high level of poverty is nothing new for minority communities, what is new is the potential impact this will have for the future of America's economic competitiveness.

As the baby boomer generation ages and starts to retire en masse, this new workforce of a "minority majority" population will be responsible for the taxes necessary to keep the entitlement programs, such as Social Security and Medicare, solvent. Baby boomers retiring also means that their expertise will be leaving the workforce. This will have clear effects in all employment sectors but will be most [profoundly felt](#) in highly skilled technical jobs, of which there are many in the defense industrial base for example.

As Professor Leonard Greenhalgh of Dartmouth College [put it](#), "You are looking at the future workforce of the United States — what we need to be competitive... and we are not educating the largest, fastest growing percentage of the U.S. workforce, so as a nation we lose competitive advantage."

Education experts see good health as an important step for a successful education. As the AP says "Children are less likely to learn if they are ill and missing school and unable to see a doctor." It is positive then that uninsured children are at an [all time low](#)- 7.5 percent.

[In his report for ASP, August Cole notes](#) "a well educated population is one that is more resilient economically and socially, and better able to adapt in an economy that is pushing well past its industrial paradigms into services and technology."

In order for America to stay competitive the next generation workforce needs to be adequately educated.

## Charting the Future of Space Operations: Entrepreneurs vs. Statesman?

Colin Geraghty

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 4, 2013

The exploration of outer space began as and for several decades remained the domain of states, who alone could harness the resources and technology necessary to access the heavens, and who had a vested interest in controlling such an inherently strategic capability (rocket science and missile development are close cousins).

Recently, however, a new crop of actors has emerged in the United States where the private sector is increasingly charting new paths in space. Rather than large corporations born from the aerospace industrial base, some of the prominent of these efforts are undertaken by individuals, millionaires who made their fortunes elsewhere.

This new trend will have profound implications for our relationship to space: once a destination, it is now a means to a commercial end, as these companies focus less on placing objects in space than in exploiting space (be it for commercial transportation or to mine passing asteroids). It is legitimate to ask whether the emergence of space entrepreneurs signals an era of

rejuvenated space exploration or is a symptom of the challenges facing traditional space programs.

Consider: Elon Musk (SpaceX, to shuttle astronauts and ferry cargo into space); James Cameron, Eric Schmitt, Larry Page (Planetary Resources, to mine asteroids); Jeff Bezos (Blue Origin, to shuttle astronauts and ferry cargo into space); Richard Branson (Virgin Galactic, to foster space tourism). These individuals could very well be defining the future of space activities by imagining the space operations of the future. Yet none of them come from the aerospace industry. Rather, they are fueled by visions and a pioneering spirit – visions that could entail creating not only new markets but entire new industries, revolutionizing travel or democratizing access to outer space.

It occurs at a time of significant challenges for state-directed space policy, whose future and even *raison d'être* is increasingly questioned. Werner von Braun once said “The greatest gain from space travel consists in the extension of our knowledge. In a hundred years this newly won knowledge will pay huge and unexpected dividends.”

The current state of uncertainty surrounding state activity in outer space underscores a great paradox: that in our knowledge economies, space-based assets have never been more essential to our everyday life and work-place activities; yet the very ubiquitous nature and fundamental dependency on satellites has also decreased public interest in space activities.

Sending NASA astronauts to space has long lost the romantic quality it initially held, when a captivated nation gathered around television screens to watch rockets take off. The decision to end the shuttle program generated more attention than the actual program had over the past few years. The landing of the Mars Rover bucked the trend: as a tangible, new accomplishment for the human race, it illustrated space program's unique ability to captivate the imagination and unleash dreams in people. More

prosaically, this event also serves as a reminder that the state has not been replaced and continues to play a central role in space activities.

Indeed, the space startups rely on NASA for funding, and the NASA seal of approval that comes from being awarded a NASA grant or better yet a contract carries heavy weight with other potential clients for these startups. NASA is a talent incubator of sorts, as well as a vital partner for private companies. It is also able to chart ambitious goals such as landing on Mars that remains well out of reach for commercial enterprises – yet in so doing, it may discourage inadvertently discourage or hinder international cooperation, as new or aspiring space-faring nations also remain unable to participate in such daunting challenges.

Although the rise of space entrepreneurs impacts the economic significance of space, interstate dynamics including geopolitical competition continue to exist. For one thing, outside of the United States, space entrepreneurs remain extremely rare.

The ability to break free from Earth's gravitational pull still contributes to a nation's image; it also requires a heavy investment to build up a skilled technological and industrial base that could never take off in a profit-centric environment. Moreover, emerging nations from India to Brazil to South Africa to China are defining new, more ambitious space policies – a testament to the enduring strategic nature of space operations which rely on dual-use technologies.

Space programs were initially fueled by the Cold War competition, the U.S. and the Soviet Union locked in a race to master the heavens. Today, as more and more people focus on China's growing space program, there is talk of a revival of a space race. Others argue that the current trend favors international cooperation, even though the future of the International Space Station is unclear beyond 2017.

In an era of peace between major powers, can the

private sector prove a more sustainable engine for space exploration and exploitation than public agencies?

Finally, in the midst of this rapidly changing environment, of new initiatives to exploit space in radically new ways, one thing remains constant: the basic technology underpinning all space projects remains unchanged since Sputnik in 1957 – leaving us to wonder what the next revolution in space will look like.

## Trade Agreement Will Enhance National Security

BGen Stephen Cheney

[E!Sharp](#)

July 22, 2013

Earlier this month, representatives from the United States and European Union began the start of what both sides hope will be the largest trade deal in history. This Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) is a comprehensive trade deal that will attempt to eliminate trade barriers between the two economic superpowers. The United States and Europe hope to have the deal completed by the end of 2014.

The US/EU trade relationship is already the strongest in the world. Consequently, the potential to strengthen this partnership even further cannot be ignored. A comprehensive trade agreement would make the United States and Europe [more competitive](#) in the global economy – and by doing so, strengthen global security.

Approving a TTIP agreement would significantly

enhance American national security. There are myriad ways the United States would benefit from a trade deal with the European Union, but five deserve particular attention:

1. First, [studies](#) have demonstrated that international trade encourages peace among the nations trading with each other. Although there is not an immediate threat for a conflict between the United States and an EU nation, the TTIP would strengthen a partnership that has been prosperous for since the end of World War II. A trade deal would bolster this relationship and secure a strong transatlantic alliance between the US and EU for the distant future
2. Second, our global influence is vastly enhanced. The United States and several European nations have been geopolitical and economic leaders for more than a century. The transatlantic relationship is the [largest trading partnership in the world](#), representing about a quarter of global output. Today, [according to former Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton](#), “when countries are measuring their influence as much by the size of their economies as by the might of their militaries,” there is strategic incentive to ratify a trade deal that would lead to economic expansion. The United States would have an increased presence in the European economy, which would have a ripple effect on global markets. TTIP provides the United States with an opportunity to set global standards, promote an ideology of free trade and democracy to a global audience, and retain its world influence.
3. Third, global stability is increased. Political turmoil presents a threat of conflict that could impact the United States. Often, this unrest is the consequence of a struggling economy. Although they were not a direct national security threat to the U.S., the recent

protests in [countries such as Greece](#) served as a reminder of how an economic crisis can cause instability. Engaging in trade would provide a boost to European economies and would aid in the prevention of political turbulence. Stable trading allies in Europe through the TTIP can provide an additional level of security to the United States.

4. Fourth, the defense industrial base is more secure. The military equipment required to keep the United States secure is consistently evolving. Accordingly, it is imperative that the American military is able to keep pace with the rapid advancements of the defense industries. In order to do so, the United States must have access to cutting-edge defense technology regardless of its country of origin. Even as early as 1999, the Defense Department [acknowledged](#) that it had begun transitioning from acquiring technologies exclusively from American industries towards drawing from the global commercial market, which helps to reduce costs and improve technology. It is essential that the United States can support its allies with defense trade to maintain strong relationships and increase global security. The TTIP provides the United States with an opportunity to enhance its defense trade to improve its own military prowess and ensure that its allies are secure.
5. Finally, a strong economy equates to a strong national defense. A trade agreement such as the TTIP would enhance economic security in the United States. Former Deputy U.S. Trade Representative and current Utah Governor [John Huntsman](#) emphasized that “economic freedoms reinforce political freedoms. Promoting open markets... enhances opportunities for American farmers, workers, entrepreneurs and families.” The economic benefits of trade with the European Union are undeniable. In 2012, trade between

the U.S. and E.U. [was estimated](#) to support more than 2.2 million American jobs. The TTIP would lead to job creation and [GDP growth](#) and keep America prosperous and secure.

Completing a comprehensive trade agreement between the United States and the European Union will not be an easy task. There will likely be a variety of obstacles, including agriculture and intellectual property rights. Regardless of the difficulties, a deal must be reached. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, which would be the largest trade agreement in history, would lead to economic growth and would provide a tremendous boost for American national security. Negotiators from both sides must ensure the ratification of a trade deal, as the TTIP is too tremendous of an opportunity to enhance our mutual security for the both the EU United States let it slip away.

## Fusion Makes Great Progress

Farhad Mirzadeh

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 8, 2013

Scientists and researchers at the National Ignition Facility (NIF) recently passed a [crucial milestone](#): outputting more energy than what was absorbed by the fuel. The recent experiment included all 192 lasers at the NIF being targeted to produce a record yield in output. This was seen as a hurdle to achieving the main goal of fusion research: ignition, when reactions generate as much energy as the laser supplies. The reason for this is because there are inefficiencies in different parts of the system.

The NIF is one of several large research projects concerning fusion energy. ITER is another one that many developed nations have been working together on. However, [it is different than the laboratory at NIF](#) in that it uses magnetic confinement to contain the hot fusion fuel.

Since 2009, NIF officials sought to have something demonstrable by the end of September 2012. But technical problems prevented that goal from being reached. As a result, the focus of the lab shifted to nuclear weapons, an original part of the lab's mission.

The recent breakthrough comes at the onset of large developments in the broader field of fusion research. [Edward Moses](#), the principal associate director for the National Ignition Facility & Photon Science, has taken a new position to explore commercial applications of fusion energy. He is long considered to be a world leader on fusion energy. With the recent breakthrough, it is likely that there is going to be more emphasis on research and commercial applications of fusion energy.

The American Security Project (ASP) believes that there is large potential for breakthrough in fusion research within the next decade that can lead to commercial applications. In its report "[Fusion Power – A 10 Year Plan to Energy Security](#)," the ASP discusses how to emphasize fusion energy research. Furthermore, it discusses the potential that fusion energy can have on American competitiveness and national security as it is able to curb the effects of climate change.

## **The Shutdown Doesn't Stop at America's Shores**

Dan Grant and Glenn Nye

[Forbes Magazine](#)

October 16, 2013

To most Americans, the effect of the federal government's shutdown has been obvious: the shuttering of national parks, furloughed government employees, and the suspension of general government activity in [Washington](#). But as an international superpower, the government doesn't limit its activities to what happens at home. The stasis in the capital has led to American activities overseas grinding to a halt, and the potential repercussions are serious.

The United States is in the midst of negotiating two of the largest trade deals in history: the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), with the European Union; and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), with 11 Pacific Rim countries and potentially a minimum of half a dozen more.

If adopted, these free trade zones will have enormous economic and strategic implications for the United States. Between them, they will put the U.S. at the center of two massive free trade zones spanning from Indonesia to Poland, with a potential gross domestic product value of \$48 trillion, two thirds of the planet's GDP. Less obviously but more importantly, the TTIP and the TPP have the potential to set the standards for global capitalism in the twenty-first century. This is not hyperbole.

These new agreements will hammer out practices for trade and tariffs and streamline regulations in their respective regions, ranging from rules on intellectual property rights to electronic privacy and

manufacturing and production standards. As these rules will set the barriers for entry to nonmember countries and the price to be paid for not joining in, the TTIP and the TPP will be poised to effectively set the rules for the global marketplace.

The government shutdown has caused the negotiation process for both the TTIP and the TPP to go into seizure and threatens to cast serious doubt on the United States as a reliable trading partner. The prospect of the federal government defaulting on its debts threatens even greater damage, at the very least undermining the rock-solid faith in American treasury bonds and imperiling America's potency in the global market.

While many question the potential damage that the shutdown and a possible default might bring, the effects are already present: President Obama cancelled his trip to last week's APEC summit in Indonesia. Among other things, the president intended to praise the most recent advances of the TPP with other member states and demonstrate American support for the deal. American officials have been forced to reassure skeptical Asian partners that the U.S. government is both committed to the TPP and capable of adopting it when the time comes. Similarly, Michael Froman, the U.S. trade representative and chief representative of the United States at the TTIP negotiations in Europe, was forced to postpone negotiations altogether as a result of the shutdown.

The economic cost of the shutdown is estimated at \$300 million a day, but this loss, while substantial, will halt once Washington resolves the impasse. If the trade talks were to fail as a result of these events, however, the loss to America would be much more costly. The United States stands to gain roughly \$200 billion per year in potential revenue from the TTIP and the TPP. The shutdown threatens that as well.

Moreover, the grand strategic implications of the

TTIP and the TPP for the United States are profound: China is not party to either agreement and would stand to gain a great deal from the failure of either one.

China's rapid economic growth has a dark side to it: intellectual property rights violations, accusations of dumping, and hit-or-miss product safety. The TTIP and the TPP would create clear standards for Chinese exports to meet. China's access to Europe and Asia could be substantially restricted as a result.

In Obama's absence in Indonesia, China's president took center stage at the APEC conference. The contrast could not have been starker: [Xi Jinping](#) spoke of Asian unity and stability, with China at its core, while America's head of state was nowhere to be found. The unspoken message was predictability, which markets crave overall. The Chinese have been pushing an alternative agreement—the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, or RCEP—in place of the TPP. The dispute in America advances the RCEP's prospects far better than China itself could.

This serves as a reminder that the effects of the shutdown won't be limited to the United States and the here and now. The fallout could be far-reaching, both economically and strategically.

# CLIMATE & ENERGY SECURITY



## The Implications of Climate Change on the Islands of the Asia Pacific

Dhanasree Jayaram

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 16, 2013

### Statehood and Sovereignty of Island Nations

The likely impacts of environmental change, especially climate change, on island nations around the world has been well-documented by the scientific community across the world. The islands could become uninhabitable due to either flooding/submergence or by a crunch in the availability of freshwater resources. Politicians in these nation states have set alarm bells ringing over the future of their territories and population by raising the issues of human rights and sovereignty in various international forums. Adaptation and mitigation are two legs of any country's climate change policy and these island states are no different. To add to the problem, if an entire island is wiped off the earth due to sea level rise or beach erosion, the concept of statehood would have to be revisited in order to establish parity. In this context, the geopolitical, economic, socio-cultural and legal implications of such developments are

immense especially for countries such as islands of the South Pacific, Maldives, Japan, Indonesia, India and other countries in the Asia-Pacific that are either island nations or have significant amount of territory in the form of islands. There is a need to understand these issues that have received very less attention due to their complex, unpredictable and, as of yet hypothetical nature.

### Impact of Environmental Change on Island Nations

As far as the [impacts of environmental change on island nations](#) is concerned, these countries are already coping with a series of problems such as beach erosion, crunch in freshwater resources, excessive waste, sea level rise, to name just a few. Beach erosion augments the threat of storm-induced erosion and flooding which affects the marine diversity, which in turn affects coral reef fish population and impacts the livelihoods of the fishermen. Availability of freshwater resources has been constrained by high density population in some of the island nations such as Maldives. Intrusion of saltwater is also having an adverse impact on both natural and agricultural crops. As far as the impact of 'climate change' on island nations is concerned, the rising sea levels have been identified as the biggest threat that could result in beach erosion, more powerful storms, higher storm surges and threats to biodiversity. It is also an acknowledged fact that coral growth could be stunted due to the phenomena of coral bleaching and increased sea erosion, rising water temperature and ocean acidification.

To cite a few examples, Tuvalu – an island nation in the Pacific – declared a [state of emergency](#) due to acute shortage of freshwater in 2011. The problem was so urgent that freshwater supplies had already run out in some areas, especially due to poisoning of well water by rising tides. Water supplies and desalination units were carried to Tuvalu from New Zealand as a short-term measure. Kiribati was the first victim of submergence of uninhabited islands in 1998. India was struck in 2006, when the island of [Lohachara, inhabited by 10,000 people](#) was washed off the map.

The island lay in India's part of the Sundarbans. This was the first time that an inhabited island became a victim of the rising sea levels. A dispute between India and Bangladesh over an island called the [New Moore Island](#) resolved itself when it was engulfed by the rising sea water in 2010. The island nations have been raising their voices in the international climate change negotiations to make a clarion call to the international community to come to the understanding that the actions of the industrialized and emerging countries would impact them more than any other country on the surface of the earth, as it could put their very existence at risk.

#### Implications of Environmental Change for the Island Nations

Two primary factors – statehood and maritime boundaries – are expected to be affected most seriously as a result of geographic alterations. The existing international laws and conventions have several loopholes especially since they do not take possible environmental change and geographical alterations into consideration. [Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States \(1933\)](#) outlines four principles that mark the existence of a state – (a) a Government; (b) a defined territory; (c) a permanent population; and (d) a capacity to enter into relations with other states. The question is, if an island nation gets submerged or becomes uninhabitable in future, would it still be considered a 'nation state'? If the islands do not disappear but become uninhabitable due to various reasons such as the lack of freshwater resources, large-scale subsidence or frequent storm surges, even then the need for resettlement of its population becomes an international duty and responsibility. In such a case, it would still have the territory (albeit uninhabited) but, in the process of resettlement, will the country still retain its political, economic and administrative structures if it is 'forced' to occupy other nation states' territories? If the island nation is left without a Government, then its capacity to enter into relations with other states is questionable.

An island nation has four main options. First, it could elevate certain part of its territory and shift all or some of its population to the elevated territory to maintain its statehood. Second, it could create an artificial island in which case the law is unclear about a nation state's rights. It would still qualify as "[defined state territory for purposes of "statelessness," and may also be recognized internationally as defined territory on the basis of fairness](#)". In addition, the permanent population criterion has been satisfied before the UN by a number of people as low as 50. Third, it could have a Government in 'exile' or a virtual Government.

Yet another way has been shown by Kiribati in 2012, when the country's President announced that he was holding talks with Fiji's Government to buy up to 5,000 acres of "[freehold land on which his countrymen could be housed](#)" as rising sea levels were causing many of the atolls to disappear fast. Many other island nations have been contemplating this form of bilateral talks with countries with excess unoccupied lands and are culturally/politically compatible to shift their population. If it fails to exercise these options, its statehood could be lost; along with it, its territorial rights over various natural resources including fishing grounds, oil and natural gas reserves as disappearance of the islands could lead to the conversion of their erstwhile territorial region into international waters under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). It is very clear that the UNCLOS has been framed for an unchanging environment and the law does not specify the line of action that could be adopted in case existing coastlines and islands vanish resulting in a change in maritime boundaries.

The Convention states that [a country's maritime Exclusive Economic Zone \(EEZ\) extends 200 nautical miles off its coastline, unless it has a continental shelf, in which case the seabed claim can be extended up to 350 nautical miles from the coastline](#). An "artificial island" can have only a [500 meters](#) safety zone. Therefore, it may not be economically feasible

to build an artificial island under the present law for statehood. The island nations could freeze its maritime boundaries to secure its EEZ and hope that no one would challenge or revise it.

The usage of the terminology of 'refugee' in this context would be lop-sided in case 'citizens' of a particular country are forced to leave their countries which would be left with just ocean waters. It has multiple connotations, mostly negative besides the inherent implications of 'human rights'. Some of them include – dependency, lack of autonomy, statelessness, protection by international law among others. Although the UN does not recognize refugees created by environmental crises under the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHCR), in the future the chances of their recognition are palpable. However, it would be better not to categorize the peoples of island nations as refugees as they would be politically and economically stable, assuming they can retain rights to revenue generating mechanisms such as fisheries, internet domain registration, seabed mining, stamp production, etc.

### Time to Revamp the Legal Infrastructure

It is very clear that there is dire need to alter the existing legal infrastructure or create a new one so that sovereignty is redefined. If multilateralism has to work, the legal fraternity has to look at the seas with a fresh outlook to avoid conflicts such as the one brewing in the South China Sea. Island nations have had striking differences with the industrialized and emerging countries over the rising temperatures and reduction of carbon emissions. They have always pressed for a legally binding agreement and a temperature rise to well below 1.5°C. For example, former President of Maldives, Nasheed, gave a rousing [speech at Copenhagen](#) in which he reiterated, "Carbon concentrations higher than 350 parts per million, and temperature rises above 1.5 degrees, will submerge my country, dissolve our coral reefs, turn our oceans to acid and destabilize the planet's

climate." He continued, "For global emissions to peak by 2015 as science demands, industrialized countries must raise their level of ambition. They must commit to collective reductions of 40% by 2020, and 95% by 2050. But developing countries must also do their bit." Their role in securitization of the climate change issue by taking the issue to the United Nations Security Council is instrumental. It is time for them to stop entangling themselves in the labyrinth of debates since the debates are expected to take their own course depending on how different countries define their national interests. Meanwhile, the island nations are left to themselves to protect their national interests.

## The Rising Costs of Natural Disaster Insurance

Charlotte Baskin-Gerwitz

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 7, 2013

Climate change and extreme weather events cost the global economy \$160 billion in 2012, only \$70 billion of which was covered by insurance according to [Philip Ryan](#) of Swiss Re. The combination of Hurricane Sandy, the extensive drought across the mid-West, and other climate and weather-related disasters cost [over \\$110 billion](#) in damages in the U.S., making 2012 the second costliest year for natural disasters since 1980 in the U.S.[\[1\]](#) Hurricane Sandy alone cost \$65 billion in damages while the year-long drought cost approximately \$30 billion in damages, mostly from harvest failures.

Costs of natural disasters as a percentage of GDP have more than [tripled](#) over the last forty years. This is reflected in the rising costs of natural disaster insurance. According to a CATO Institute [report](#), U.S. insurance losses from natural catastrophes went from \$16.1 billion in 2003 up to \$71.3 billion in 2012.

U.S. spending on natural disaster damage control was the second [biggest non-defense spending](#) in 2012, working out to about \$1,100 per taxpayer last year — more than the U.S. spent on either education or health.

The costs of natural disaster insurance will continue to rise in the future. A Princeton [report](#) claims that “the increase in cost correlates with the large increase in population and wealth in disaster-prone areas.” Urbanization has expanded into vulnerable areas, particularly on the coasts. As the population has grown and urbanization expanded, economic activity has become more concentrated, thus there is more damage when natural disasters strike. Coastal damage is exacerbated by climate change, making the danger of large economic damage increase. As over 50% of the world’s population lives in cities and economic hubs, disaster planning and climate adaptation is [urgent](#).

Insurance rate rise will correlate directly with natural disaster cost increasing. An Allianz [report](#) notes that the most catastrophic environmental related losses are concentrated in the U.S. and Europe because of their dense populations and large structures. The main factor behind the rising insurance costs is [economic growth](#): property values rise as population density expands, often in high risk areas, creating a greater need for insurance in increasingly risky locations. As some of the world’s most populated areas are located on coasts or in areas with higher likelihood of earthquakes, there is a greater need for insurance. In the [past 50 years](#), over 85% of the U.S. has been declared a federal disaster area due to flooding. Approximately \$10 trillion of insurable assets are along the U.S. coast. While a vast majority of these were designed to withstand some sort of disaster, they were built to [withstand](#) events of the past, not of the future.

## Natural Resource Scarcity is a Threat to Our National Security (Part 1)

Charlotte Baskin-Gerwitz

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

September 26, 2013

Natural resource scarcity will be a significant threat to national and global security in the coming decades, and is intricately linked with climate change. The WTO [defines](#) natural resources as “materials that exist in the natural environment that are both scarce and economically useful for production or consumption, either in their raw state or after a minimal amount of processing.” Scarcity of water, food, and other resources such as oil and minerals could lead to hunger, mass migration, and conflict. While this may not be the foremost cause of conflicts, it will be – and already has been – an underlying cause of global insecurity. In March, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper [wrote to](#) the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that “competition and scarcity involving natural resources” was a threat on par with global terrorism, cyberwar, and nuclear proliferation.

Natural resource scarcity is already affecting regional and national security in the form of water insecurity. Water policy is crucial to the future of the Middle East and North Africa with widespread drought acting as a “[threat multiplier](#)” in the events leading up to the Arab Uprisings. An [E3G report](#) on the region projects that temperatures will rise faster than the global average, creating additional water stress and crop failures. Globally, there are [approximately 1.2 billion](#) people facing water scarcity; the [IPCC](#) estimates that an additional 80-100 million people will be exposed to water stress by 2025. This is likely to continue, if not get worse, as the UN [reports](#) that global water use has been growing at twice the speed of population in the past century.

The idea of wars over water has been largely dismissed in the academic community after Dr. Aaron Wolf's [research](#). This being said, however, there is evidence that it has been a factor in past conflicts, and it cannot be excluded as a factor in future conflicts. The UNEP's 2009 [reported](#): "In Darfur, recurrent drought, increased demographic pressures, and political marginalization are among the forces that have pushed the region into a spiral of lawlessness and violence." Conflict could break out in the future in regional water "hotspots." In response to a possible dam built by upstream Ethiopia, Egypt [declared](#) access to the Nile River a "national interest" and ex-President Morsi's government threatened war. Dam projects in and around the Tibetan Plateau have also caused tensions between China and its downstream neighbors – Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Bangladesh, India, Thailand, and Vietnam. While China tends to prevail in regional disputes, it may face more [resistance](#) in the future as water becomes more scarce, as seen with Myanmar's recent [decision](#) to cancel a Chinese-funded dam project on the Irrawaddy River.

Water scarcity is not purely about overall quantity of water, but about quality as well. "Insufficient or unsafe water supplies can constitute critical risks to public health and social welfare," according to a [Stimson Center-Brookings Institute](#) report. The U.S. Institute of Peace, the Association of the United States Army, and the U.S. Water Partnership have started a year-long focus on water security. At their [launch event](#), Prince Ermais Sahle Selassie of Ethiopia spoke about the importance of purified, clean water to everyday life. He said that because 90% of water carries disease, mothers are constantly boiling their water for safety; the constant need for kindling to boil water leads to soil degradation and deforestation. Prince Selassie highlights the importance of not only quantity, but also quality of water, to a healthy society.

The Intelligence Community's [Global Water Security](#) report reiterated Prince Selassie's point on quality of water and also underlines the importance

of water scarcity as a factor in global security:

Water shortages, poor water quality, and floods by themselves are unlikely to result in state failure [in the next 10 years]. However, water problems – when combined with poverty, social tensions, environmental degradation, ineffectual leadership, and weak political institutions – contribute to social disruptions that can result in state failure...as water shortages become more acute beyond the next 10 years, water in shared basins will increasingly be used as leverage; the use of water as a weapon or to further terrorist objectives will also become more likely...

Such a bald statement by the Intelligence Community underlines the importance of natural resource scarcity, and water scarcity in particular, as a threat to global and national security. The threat is related to climate change, but it clearly shows that this is an issue that goes far beyond the traditional environmentalism.

## Natural Resource Scarcity is a Threat to Our National Security (Part 2)

Charlotte Baskin-Gerwitz

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 7, 2013

Recently, I wrote a [piece](#) on water insecurity as a climate-related threat; now I will discuss food scarcity and broader resource scarcity, mostly as related to agriculture, oil and minerals. Such scarcity has a high potential to cause conflict. The U.S. intelligence agencies [warn](#) that dwindling natural resources are likely to trigger major conflicts, as "demand for food, water, and energy [grows] by approximately 35, 40, and 50% respectively" by 2030.

## Food Scarcity

Food scarcity is inextricably linked to water scarcity. A Stimson Center-Brookings Institute [report](#) claims “growing water demand, decreasing water availability, and deteriorating water quality affect environmental quality, food security, municipal infrastructure, economic development, and overall human security...” Agriculture is one of the most water-intensive industries, accounting for 70% of water withdrawals globally. As droughts become longer and more common, food production will be put under [increased stress](#). There could be an increase in rural to urban migration as farmers are forced to look for alternative work. This economically-spurred migration [could lead to](#) increased competition for employment, housing, and other resources and will heighten tensions within countries.

Food security will be influenced by more than just water scarcity. The Emergency Capacity Building Project, which aims to improve humanitarian response time to natural disasters, [argues](#) that “shifting weather patterns and extreme weather” will affect the availability, stabilization, and access to food sources. Poor populations will be forced to sell assets, migrate to find work, and go ever further in their search for food as the environment continues to change.

An example of food scarcity was seen leading up to the Arab Spring in 2011. The worst drought in the century impacted the world’s largest exporters such as China, Russia, Ukraine, and Canada in 2010. The resulting scarcity in wheat, combined with a Russian governmental [decision](#) to halt exports, led to a 20% increase in the global price of wheat. When combined with growing social and political unrest in Egypt, the price increase [was an influencing factor](#) in the revolutionary overthrow of Mubarak and others. This could just as easily happen again in other countries as water becomes less abundant, impacting food security. [E3G](#) argues that over 70% of the population will have moved to urban areas by

2015 in the Middle East and North Africa region, putting further stress on already tense situations.

## Broader Resource Scarcity

Land is a major factor in natural resource scarcity. As countries face population booms and depleting water and food resources, they search for innovative ways to access resources both at home and abroad. Purchases by grain importers, such as China and India, allow countries to add to their natural resources for farming; this lessens food insecurity for the purchaser. The World Bank [reported](#) that at least 140 million acres were purchased or leased during 2012 to supplement national resource production.

Broad natural resource scarcity has already contributed to a number of global conflicts. The UNEP’s [“From Conflict to Peacebuilding”](#) report approximates that 40% of civil wars have been associated with natural resources. Ore, oil and gas have spurred conflict across the African continent in the past century. Diamonds [fueled](#) conflicts in Sierra Leone, Angola, and the DRC while access to [oil](#) has been a sticking point in the normalizing of relations between Sudan and South Sudan.

Scarcity of natural resources [can also be seen as an issue](#) in regions outside Africa, particularly in the form of underwater oil and gas. There is currently tension between China and many of its neighbors over water rights – China and Japan are in dispute over the East China Sea; China, Malaysia, Vietnam, and the Philippines are in dispute over the South China Sea. The British and Argentinean governments are again disputing sovereignty of the Falkland Islands. There is a scramble by regional powers for access to the Arctic’s resources.

## Conclusion

There are a number of policies that could be put in place to mitigate the threat of natural resource scarcity.

Further research could be done on the international costs of carbon to the environment and humanity in general; a wider reforestation policy could help combat soil erosion and decrease food insecurity; regional bodies, such as the Arctic Council, could be treated with greater deference to decrease the risk of racing for resources; climate mitigation policies could be integrated into conflict prevention and resolution strategies to cut down the future risks of natural resource inspired violence.

As the environment continues to deteriorate due to increasing temperatures and extreme weather events, natural resources will become more scarce. If the past is any indication, this scarcity could be a factor in more episodes of violence.

## **Global Warming Makes Solving the 21<sup>st</sup> Century's Problems Much Harder**

Andrew Holland

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 1, 2013

On first glance, a rise of two degrees Celsius in average temperature does not appear to be intrinsically harmful. That is the difference between the average temperature of New York and of Boston. A four degree Celsius rise – widely seen as a harbinger of global disaster – is still only the difference between Boston and Washington's average annual temperature.

Problems like a lack of economic growth, endemic disease, hunger, and fresh water availability are a greater challenge to human security than simply a rise in temperature of 2 or 4 degrees in average temperature. Terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and resource wars would seem to pose a greater threat to global security than just a difference of 2 degrees in average temperature.

Unfortunately, climate change is what we call a 'ring road' issue; meaning that climate change affects all of these other threats. Unchecked, a warming of only 2 degrees Celsius will have significant impacts on water, food, and energy security. It will change disease vectors. It will drive migration. These changes, in turn, could affect state stability and harm global security.

As an example of the 'ring road' effects, today the American Security Project is hosting a [conference on Bangladesh](#), at which both American and Bangladeshi experts have discussed the diverse challenges facing Bangladesh over the coming years. And they are many: economic development is intertwined with workers' rights and garment manufacturing; there is a growing threat of terrorism as Bangladeshi nationals return from war in Afghanistan; there are great power rivalries in the Bay of Bengal between China, India, and the United States. However, all of that is threatened by climate change. Rising sea levels threaten to make the homes of over 20 million people in Bangladesh uninhabitable. Changing ice melt from the Himalayas threaten the flow of water down the Brahmaputra and Ganges rivers, leading to greater floods in the monsoon season and drought in dry season. These changes will lead to migration, both internally and externally. Climate change will make all of the problems facing Bangladesh more difficult.

It is not an exaggeration to say that climate change could make solving the other problems the world faces impossible. Climate change is rightly termed as a "threat multiplier" or an "accelerant of instability." Therefore, it is not quite accurate to say that global warming is the planet's biggest problem: it is the effects of global warming, and the effects of the effects that really make it a threat. If we do not effectively address climate change, then it is clear that we will not be able to address the other challenges of the 21st Century – and there are many.

Climate change is a security threat, not because a rise of 2 degrees will be intrinsically harmful, but because of the implications it has that it will impose on water, food, and energy. So, while it may have a third degree impact, it is impossible to separate climate change from the other problems. The impacts of the impacts of climate change are what make addressing climate change (through both reducing emissions and increasing resiliency) the defining challenge of the first half of the 21st Century.

## America's Oil Dependency and its Debt

Brendan Zehner

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

September 30, 2013

On Tuesday, the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) hosted a briefing entitled: "Trillion-dollar problem: How oil dependency drives US debt." AEI's Benjamin Zycher moderated the event and Kenneth Blackwell, a professor at Liberty University, introduced the topic. The briefing's main focus was a report of the same name commissioned by Securing America's Future Energy. The papers co-authors, Phillip Swagel, a visiting scholar at AEI, and Robert Wescott, president of Keybridge Research LLC, explained the report's findings.

Blackwell started the event by explaining four basic features of oil in America, saying: that, (1) oil price increases are a threat to US national security, given the country's dependency on oil; (2) oil prices are determined by the global market, which is why oil prices continue to rise, despite rising American oil production; (3) complete energy independence is a myth, energy prices are set by the global market; (4) the solution to America's oil dependency lies in both supply and demand.

The report examined oil price's impact on the deficit

over the past ten years, and its likely impact over the next thirty years. In the past ten years, rising oil prices have significantly increased the Department of Defense's expenditures, but have also increased spending on social programs. By tying rising oil prices to higher inflation, the authors argued that rising oil prices lead to increased Cost of Living Adjustments for many of America's social programs, like Social Security, thus increasing America's debt. The report finds that rising oil prices caused an increase of 1 trillion dollars to the national debt.

The authors expect the trend of the past decade to continue into the near future, and recommend that the US quit its oil addiction. While they acknowledge that America's use of oil is more economically efficient for the US in the short-term, transitioning to alternative sources of energy has far more long-term benefits.

## IPCC Report Shows Climate Change is Real and Urgent

Andrew Holland

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

September 27, 2013

Today, the [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change](#) (IPCC) released the [Summary for Policymakers](#) of the first section of its 5<sup>th</sup> Assessment Report in Stockholm, Sweden. The report details the physical science basis for climate change.

Essentially, this report seeks to answer three questions: (1) is climate change happening, (2) are humans responsible for it, and (3) what will the climate look like over the next century?

The answers to these questions are clear:

1. "Warming in the climate system is unequivocal, and since the 1950s, many of the observed changes

are unprecedented over decades to millennia.”

2. “It is extremely likely that human influence has been the dominant cause of the observed warming since the mid-20th century.” Note: “extremely likely” is their term for a 95% confidence level. This is the scientific equivalent of no serious dissent.

3. “Continued emissions of greenhouse gases will cause further warming and changes in all components of the climate system. Limiting climate change will require substantial and sustained reductions of greenhouse gas emissions.”

Today’s report is only the first release of the three working groups. Working Group II will assess the impacts of climate change and our vulnerability to it; it will be released in Yokohama, Japan on March 25, 2014. Working Group III will assess how to mitigate (prevent and reduce) climate change; it will be released on April 7, 2014 in Berlin, Germany.

The final Synthesis Report, pulling together all sections, will be released next October in Copenhagen, Denmark.

The impacts that climate change will have on national security are clear.

The [American Security Project has studied this issue since our founding](#). While today’s release does not assess the impacts of climate change on global security, we know from our research that there will be serious implications of climate change on security. For the first time, Working Group II will include a chapter with an assessment of the security implications of a changing climate, and we look forward to seeing their results next spring.

Today’s release underscores the reality of climate change: it is happening, and it is caused by humans. Those of us in the security community say that climate change threatens security because it is a “threat multiplier” or an “accelerant of instability”

that affects issues like food, water, energy security. It is already driving internal and cross-border migration and causing food and water security challenges.

The truth is that our society is failing at basic risk management. A 95% certainty that climate change is happening and is caused by humans is a clear argument for prudent action to mitigate emissions and reduce risk. Instead, we remain paralyzed both domestically and internationally.

National security planning is about managing risk. The IPCC release again shows the risks of climate change are real and growing every day. We cannot afford to ignore this risk.

Fortunately, risk management is something that militaries do well.

ASP has undertaken a new survey to look at all 196 countries in the world to see how their security communities are planning for climate change. The [Global Security Defense Index](#) results are that the governments and militaries of an overwhelming majority of countries – at least 70% – have identified climate change as a threat to their security. Many have fully integrated it into their defense and national security planning documents. The importance that military and defense planners place on climate change shows that the world is demanding action to address this issue.

Those who disagree with the clear global military consensus on climate change are ignoring risk and putting the world’s security in danger.

Even if policymakers choose not to believe that human activity contributes to climate change, or even that the climate is changing, the military knows that prudent planning means that you cannot wait until you have 100% certainty. Waiting for certainty on the battlefield can be disastrous.

The IPCC report argues for prudent, no regrets action

to reduce emissions and build greater resiliency now in order to reduce future risk. We hope that the IPCC's invaluable contribution to the scientific knowledge about the physical science of climate change will lead to a smarter debate about necessary action, both here in the U.S. and around the world.

## Food Security: A Catastrophe Mitigator

Aaron Hubert

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

September 20, 2013

A drop in food security is the most devastating consequence of climate change. Innovation can create increasing crop yields and policies can make the food system more efficient, but no amount of determination or will power can overcome the biological imperative to eat.

The [World Health Organization](#) defines food security as 'when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life.' It elaborates further by recognizing that in order for this to happen food must be available, people must be able to access it, and they must have sufficient knowledge of how to sanitize, prepare, and eat properly. The [US Department of Agriculture](#) goes one step further by asserting that food must be acquired in 'socially acceptable ways,' i.e. without stealing or scavenging. [One in eight people](#) lacked food security in 2012; around 870,000,000 people worldwide. Most of these people live in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.

The world can be split into countries that are net food importers and net food exporters; although living in a food exporting country does not guarantee food security. A [map](#) of food importing and exporting countries clearly shows that most North and South

American countries are exporters of food, while much of Africa and Asia are food importers. Notable Asian exporters include Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Thailand. India, although a net exporter, is very close to crossing the line and being a net importer. Being a food importer does not mean that a country does not export food, nor is the opposite true. The United States, for instance, is a [food exporter](#), exporting \$141 billion in 2012, but also importing \$102 billion, making it a net exporter of \$39 billion.

The world's food system is a delicate balance of imports and exports that could easily topple due to an external shock. Climate change could provide that shock around the world. A [3° F increase](#) in temperature will significantly reduce crop yields. Over the last few years heat waves have hit [Russia](#), the [United Kingdom](#), and [China](#), decreasing crop yields in those countries. Since temperatures in some areas have already increased by close to 2° F, soon some areas around the world could permanently lose the ability to grow as they do today.

A [wide scale food shortage](#) in one area strains the global food system; shortages in several areas at once could break it. In the short term, mass migration in the search of food could lead to resource wars. This is different from the migration caused by changing coastlines and weather patterns because it is possible, but not guaranteed, that those people can be settled peacefully. Starving people, whose neighbors are also starving, cannot be resettled peacefully. In the long term, people will continue to starve until a new balance is achieved, in a sort of Malthusian logic.

There are only two viable solutions that the United States should pursue to help; unfortunately rapidly turning back the effects of climate change immediately is impossible. First, the United States should become more efficient in its food management. Currently the United States [wastes 40%](#) of its food. By perfecting more efficient food management the United States can then export surpluses to other countries, easing

the strain on the global food system. Secondly, the United States should encourage the development and deployment of heat and drought resistant crops. This encouragement can be as simple as encouraging the planting of more [heat tolerant plants](#), or as intensive as facilitating the study of genetically modifying crops. Already as an example, researchers at the University of Florida, funded by the [National Science Foundation](#), have modified strains of wheat, rice and maize that actually increase their yields under hot environmental conditions by 38%, 23%, 68% respectively. Commercially produced corn increased its yield by 42% when treated with the same genetic modification. Investing now in crops able to survive higher temperatures and drought conditions will allow the United States and other nations to continue to feed humanity while dealing with the other effects of climate change.

The time to prepare for a crisis is before the crisis happens. Increasing food security makes it that much more likely that the solutions to mass migration and other climate related challenges will be peaceful. Better management of food stocks and investments in more productive heat and drought resistant crops can help. Once the global food network is broken it will be too late to fix it for those who will starve.

## **America is Failing to Meet Challenges of a Changing Arctic**

Andrew Holland

[Alaska Dispatch](#)

September 26, 2013

America's Arctic, roughly the northern third of Alaska, is our country's last frontier. The harsh weather conditions, ice cover, and persistent darkness have made it difficult for us to take advantage of the vast

resources and enormous opportunity of the region.

Today, the Arctic is changing faster than any other region in the world. Sea ice is melting quicker and the open ocean is lasting longer than at any time in human history. Open water is darker colored than ice, so it collects more heat, leading to further melt in a downward spiral. In 2012, summer sea ice retreated to its lowest recorded extent. While 2013's ice cover did not fall to the lows of 2012, it was still well below historical averages and maintains a downward trend. While scientists disagree on how soon it will happen, it now appears clear that the Arctic Ocean has passed a tipping point that will eventually lead to completely ice-free summers.

The cause of the ice melt is clear -- global climate change caused by the emissions of fossil fuels.

Although climate change will have devastating effects on certain regions, including to many of Alaska's ecosystems and the people who rely on them, the retreat of sea ice presents two main opportunities that could benefit the people of Alaska: increased access to energy resources under the water's surface and increased transportation through the Arctic Ocean.

It is ironic that the unprecedented changes in the Arctic, which are caused by global climate change, could actually have the effect of making more energy resources available -- the very same fossil fuel resources causing the warming.

The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that 90 billion barrels of oil, or 13 percent, of the world's undiscovered reserves are within the Arctic, fully one-third of those reserves are concentrated in Alaska's territory or in the federally controlled waters of our "Exclusive Economic Zone" (which extends 200 nautical miles from the coast).

The other major opportunity for Alaska is the opening of both the Northern Sea Route over Russia and the

Northwest Passage through Canada to connect the Pacific and the Atlantic. Eventually, when summer sea ice is completely gone, ships will sail directly over the pole. However they go, they will have to pass Alaska's coast on the Bering Strait.

A changing Arctic provides a new opportunity for the United States and for Alaska. But we have to plan for them. We have to put in place the policies that will allow for the exploitation of these opportunities. Moreover, we need to act fast before other countries define the rules in the Arctic without our input. Unfortunately, today, the United States is failing to meet the challenges we face in a rapidly changing Arctic.

In Alaska, there is insufficient infrastructure to ensure safe navigation north of the Bering Strait, with the closest deep-water harbor at Dutch Harbor, more than 700 miles south of Nome (which has a small harbor that can handle medium-draft ships) and 1,100 miles from much of the projected energy exploration activity in the Chukchi Sea. The nearest permanent Coast Guard presence is at Coast Guard Air Station Kodiak, and [the commandant of the Coast Guard has characterized](#) their operations in the Arctic as “only temporary and occasional.”

We should act now to establish heightened international standards for shipping in the Arctic through the International Maritime Organization (IMO). Without these standards, ships from around the world will pass through the Bering Strait without us being ensure their safety. This summer we saw that danger persists: [The tanker Nordvik collided with an ice floe](#) along Russia's Northern Sea Route. Thankfully, no fuel was spilled, but we cannot trust solely to luck. The U.S. has thus far failed to push for strong standards at the IMO; meanwhile, earlier this summer, the Russian government hosted Koji Sekimizu, the Secretary General of the IMO, on a 5-day Arctic sea tour aboard a Russian icebreaker, with numerous senior Russian government and business

officials present. In the absence of American action, Russia will certainly set the standards.

The United States has not fully claimed territory in the Arctic to the fullest extent of International Law because the U.S. Congress refuses to ratify the Law of the Sea Convention. The other four nations bordering the Arctic Ocean are submitting claims to extended Exclusive Economic Zones -- Russia has sought to bolster its claim by famously placing a flag on the ocean floor beneath the North Pole. They are party to decisions determining borders, while the U.S. is left out because some members of the U.S. Senate are afraid of the United Nations. We should ratify the Convention of the Law of the Sea so that we can have a role in determining borders within the Arctic.

Finally, we need a military presence in order to maintain the security in our sea lanes and to provide for disaster response. Today, neither the U.S. Navy nor the U.S. Coast Guard have the infrastructure, the ships, or the political ambition to be able to sustain surface operations in the Arctic (the Navy regularly operates submarines beneath the surface on strategic patrols). The United States Coast Guard only has one medium ice-breaker in service today, the Healy. The heavy icebreaker Polar Star is undergoing sea trials for its return to service after an extensive retrofit, but she is over 36 years old, well beyond her intended 30-year service life. The Coast Guard's proposed FY14 budget includes \$2 million for plans for a new icebreaker, but purchasing one could cost over \$800 million. In today's federal budget environment, even the \$2 million outlay is uncertain.

In contrast, Russia's defense commitment to the region is extensive; it controls the largest icebreaker fleet in the world, and is currently constructing what will be the world's largest nuclear-powered icebreaker. Russia's largest naval fleet is its Arctic fleet, headquartered in Severomorsk off of the Barents Sea, and President Putin has publicly committed to expanding their naval presence.

Perhaps it is because of the political paralysis on climate policy in Congress and in state governments that it is impossible to have a rational debate about the impacts of climate change. So long as a large portion of our political system refuses to acknowledge the very existence climate change -- even in the face of clear evidence across Alaska, we will not be able to make the investments necessary to take advantage of a changing Arctic.

In 2015, the United States will assume the chair of the Arctic Council. If the inadequate preparation for the challenges of a changing Arctic are not addressed before then, we will have missed a great opportunity for Alaska and for the United States.

## **New LNG Export Approval: An Export Opening for Marcellus Gas**

Andrew Holland

[Christian Science Monitor](#)

September 13, 2013

On Wednesday, the Department of Energy approved the application of Dominion Energy to export LNG from its Cove Point terminal in [Maryland](#). Originally built as an import terminal, with this approval the facility will undergo extensive retrofitting and upgrading, at an expected cost of \$3.4-\$3.8 billion.

This approval is important for drillers because it is the first LNG export facility to be approved outside of the Gulf Coast. Cove Point is the terminus of a direct pipeline from [Pennsylvania's](#) Marcellus Shale region, allowing direct exports of the gas coming from Pennsylvania. This region has largely suffered because of a lack of natural gas pipeline interconnections with markets; there simply has not been enough capacity to use the record amounts of gas produced from the

Marcellus in Pennsylvania. Once this facility is up and running (projected for 2017), Dominion has secured contracts with [Japan's Sumitomo](#) and [India's GAIL](#) to provide the full capacity of about 1 billion cubic feet per day over 20 years.

This is the fourth approval of LNG exports, and the third approved in less than three months (Cheniere's [Sabine Pass](#) facility had been approved in 2011), signaling an acceleration in permit approvals. Secretary Moniz, in his confirmation hearings, had pledged that he supports LNG exports, and [President Obama](#) has signaled that he does as well. In meetings with the [State Department](#), they have made clear that their goal is to help create a global market for natural gas, instead of separate regional markets in which monopoly providers (like [Russia](#)) can extract political concessions because of their market dominance.

I believe these are laudable goals with a clear vision, but the process of how the Administration is shaping policy in that direction is as clear as mud, even after the DoE approval of the 4th export permit. The Natural Gas Act requires that natural gas exports be deemed to be in the "public interest" before approval, but there is no clear definition of what the "public interest" is. The Administration should more clearly define what that means.

So far, the approved export licenses have been approved in order of application. They have gone to four significant terminals that have clear markets with signed contracts to import the gas, dedicated production to supply the gas, and the infrastructure to support major operations. Each of the applications approved so far were originally made in 2010 or 2011, before it was apparent that LNG would be the next boom.

Now, there are over 25 [pending](#) applications to DoE. Continuing along this track of approval in order that the application was made could end up approving some facilities that do not meet those requirements. The truth appears to be that a number of companies

have put in applications because it is relatively cheap to put in an application. The Administration will have to clearly state what the order for the next round of applications will be, because there will be political pressure to place a cap on export approvals at some point. The DoE shouldn't reward a company simply for filling in a form early.

Of course, in the end, this may all be a moot point, because the Natural Gas Act deems exports to countries with whom the [United States](#) has a Free Trade Agreement to automatically be "in the public interest." The Administration is actively negotiating both the [Trans Pacific Partnership](#) (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Participants in these negotiations comprise the vast majority of potential export markets for U.S. LNG, like the [UK](#), Japan, [Germany](#) - only [China](#), India, and [Turkey](#) would be the major markets left out.

Perhaps the Administration's goal is simply to «run out the clock» on the current slate of LNG export permits in hopes that these trade negotiations overtake them; it would certainly allow them the luxury of not having to think strategically about which LNG export terminals to approve or not.

## Bay of Bengal: A Hotspot for Climate Insecurity

Andrew Holland

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

August 7, 2013

There is no region of the world that faces more threats from climate change than South Asia. Of particular concern is the littoral surrounding the Bay of Bengal, including the Eastern Indian states of West Bengal and Odisha, Bangladesh, and coastal Burma. This

region is uniquely vulnerable to a changing climate because of a combination of rising sea levels, changing weather patterns, and uncertain transboundary river flows. Away from the seashore, China holds the high ground in the Tibetan Plateau and the Himalayas, and complicates the geopolitical picture further by acting as the [source](#) of the region's fresh water.

On the Bay of Bengal's coast these problems of a changing climate combine with already existing social problems like religious strife, poverty, political uncertainty, high population density, and rapid urbanization to create a very dangerous cocktail of already security threats. Climate change has been called a "[threat multiplier](#)" or "[an accelerant of instability](#)" by military and intelligence communities because of how it will impact these already existing threats. With a population of more than 300 million people ([91 million](#) in West Bengal, [42 million](#) in Odisha, [142 million](#) in Bangladesh, [52 million](#) in Burma), tense militarized borders, overlapping ethnic and religious communities, and uncertainty about the future, there is no region in the world that faces a more dangerous combination of threats from climate change than here.

### Rising Sea Levels

One of the key tenets of national security is the ability of a country to ensure the integrity of its sovereign territory. Yet, as glaciers far from South Asia melt, the sea rises and encroaches upon its farms, villages, and cities. As Hemingway wrote about going bankrupt, sea level rise happens "gradually, then suddenly." Slowly, a rising ocean brings increasing intrusion of brackish water into groundwater, harming coastal agriculture. Moreover, gradual ocean encroachment harms the coast's natural protections, whether dunes, reefs, barrier islands, or mangrove forests. Then, suddenly, when a major cyclone blows in a storm surge will overcome previously unsurmountable barriers.

The shorelines of the Bay of Bengal stand to lose

swaths of territory from sea level rise. Bangladesh, as a country predominantly composed of river delta, is most at risk. It stands to [lose](#) 11% of its territory – home to 15 million people – from a sea level rise of only 1 meter, a level that is not a particularly extreme prediction over the next 4 decades. Few invading armies could do worse damage.

Oddly enough, the world's oceans do not rise at the same rate. With rising global sea levels, in some areas the sea level could actually fall while it rises in others. A recent [study](#) from the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) found that sea level rise will be particularly high along the Bay of Bengal, due to changes in currents caused by rapid surface warming of the Indian Ocean.

In the region, the cities of Dhaka, Kolkata, and Yangon all lie in major river deltas and are vulnerable to storm surges. In its 2007 report, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) specifically listed cities in Asian mega deltas as “[hotspots for vulnerability](#)” because of sea level rise and changing patterns of river flow. Already straining at their infrastructure limits, these densely packed cities are becoming more vulnerable in a warming world.

### Changing Transboundary Water Flow

Water does not stay within lines on a map. Instead, gravity draws it inexorably from the mountains to the sea. China, through its control of Tibet, controls the headwaters of almost all of the major rivers of Asia – only the Ganges lies outside of China's control, originating in India. Of the major rivers that empty into the Bay of Bengal, all cross borders. Water is only plentiful during the monsoon season, so these rivers provide much-needed sustenance to agriculture, people, and ecosystems throughout their trip to the sea during the dry season – when they are fed by glacier and snow melt. Competition and tension over that flow is evident [around the world](#) when water crosses borders.

This is true of Bangladesh and India, for which the flow of the Ganges are a source of tension. The [Farakka Barrage](#) on the Ganges River, just 10 miles upriver from the Bangladesh border, allows India a measure of control over the river. The dam allows India to divert the flow of the Ganges down a canal to the Hooghly River and into the port of Kolkata. Since the dam was built in 1975, there have been [allegations](#) from Bangladesh that India diverts water in the dry season and releases too much in the monsoon season. In 1996, the two countries agreed to a [30 year treaty](#) to share the Ganges' flow, but tensions still remain.

The Brahmaputra River, meanwhile, provides a source of tension between the two regional powers, India and China. China [recently announced](#) that they are building a series of hydroelectric dams along the Brahmaputra's upper reaches in Tibet, but they have forsworn any attempt to divert or hold back the great river's flow. However, these assurances have not quieted all voices in India, who point to plans in China's [South-North Water Diversion Project](#) to divert water from the Brahmaputra in order to ensure water for industry and the cities of China's parched north. China's leaders have [denied](#) these extravagant plans, but their [engineers](#) have lobbied for such a project. It would complete a dream of Chairman Mao's, who [said](#): “Southern water is plentiful, northern water scarce. If at all possible, borrowing some water would be good.”

Climate change exacerbates these concerns about transboundary water management in the region. Climate change is threatening both the glaciers that sit at the top of these mighty rivers, feeding them during the dry season, and the very viability and predictability of the Indian Monsoon rains. Temperatures in the Tibetan Plateau and the Himalayas have [risen](#) 1.5 degrees Celsius since 1982, a rate more than three times as fast as the global average. Meanwhile, changes in weather patterns due to climate change could cause [repeated failures](#) in the monsoon. While there is little likelihood of an immediate and total melting of the glaciers, uncertainty about their future

flows is enough to stoke tension in the region.

### The Potential for Conflict

Climate change is altering the environment of the region; the glaciers are retreating, the rivers' flows are becoming more unpredictable, and the seas are rising. However, whether those changes manifest themselves into either civil or interstate conflict will depend upon how both the populations and the governments in the region react to those changes. How long governments have to adapt depends upon unpredictable weather and climate patterns – but as the [Stern Review](#) bore out, earlier action is almost always cheaper and more effective than waiting. How governments adapt is important as whether; some adaptations, like capturing water that would otherwise flow across borders in new reservoirs could actually make the threat of conflict worse. If countries do not work cooperatively, they could stoke conflict.

Throughout history, one of the most effective ways to deal with climate change has been migration – from a climate that is no longer hospitable to one where living is easier. However, modern borders do not reflect the historical ties between the regions. Migration is a natural response. However, in areas with already high population density and an overlapping patchwork of ethnic and religious communities, new immigrant communities often come into direct conflict with established communities. Last year saw ethnic strife in the Indian state of Assam between indigenous Bodos and immigrant Muslims, many of whom hailed from over the nearby border in Bangladesh. Over [75 people](#) died, and over 400,000 people were temporarily displaced. In this region, it is impossible to say whether a group of migrants are “climate refugees” or simply moving to a place with better economic opportunity, but this is what we should expect in the future.

It is [difficult to find examples](#) of any interstate wars fought directly over water; to the contrary, water has been a [catalyzer of cooperation](#). However, as countries

realize that they can control and shape water flow through mega dams and water diversion projects, there is a danger that the claims of downstream countries could be ignored. Along the Mekong River, for example, China has proceeded to dam and control the river's flow through its territory – leading downstream neighbors [to complain](#) that China is causing droughts. Yet because of the power imbalance between China and smaller countries like Laos and Cambodia, the Chinese have little to fear. Similar thinking by Chinese leadership over dam building along the Brahmaputra, their shared river with India, could lead both countries to stumble into a conflict that neither of them want.

In the age of climate change, conflict is more likely as threats are multiplied. Nowhere is this truer than around the Bay of Bengal. However, war is never pre-ordained. Instead, the threat of conflict is determined by how countries react. Good international governance can encourage countries to not simply pull up the drawbridge and think only of themselves, but will encourage them to see what their actions will mean for regional neighbors. Climate change is increasing the threat of wars and unrest around the Bay of Bengal; but foresight about its impacts can help the region's leaders work together to solve a problem that knows no boundaries.

# NUCLEAR SECURITY



## The Future of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Nuclear Warfare in the DoD

Joshua Miller

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

September 19, 2013

Since the fall of the Berlin wall, the world has entered a radically different era than it once was in the 1950s. In the thick of the Cold War, the United States maintained an arsenal of over 10,000 nuclear warheads in a nuclear triad capability – heavy bombers, submarines, and land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. The United States and Russia have made considerable progress through their arms reduction talks, despite some rocky moments along the way; the Nonproliferation Treaty in 1968, SALT I & II in the 1970s, START I & II in the 90s, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and New START Treaty in the 2000s have halted development of and reduced nuclear stockpiles. Despite these reductions, Russia still poses as the main contender against America’s nuclear capability; thus, Russia continues to be the preeminent bellwether on the sizing of the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

President Obama gave a speech in Berlin this past June, which suggested that the United States and Russia diminish their stockpiles further– signifying the need for the U.S. to start thinking about an appropriate balance within its strategic and fiscal needs. The purpose of having a nuclear triad is to significantly reduce the possibility that an enemy could destroy all of a nation’s nuclear forces in a first-strike attack – in essence, survivability. Another issue is their affordability and requirements for deterrence. For example, The United States Navy recently [announced](#) that it was planning to build 12 ballistic missile submarines that are so costly that the service is asking for a supplemental funding for \$60 billion over the course of 15 years. Many have indicated the Navy can do the same with less SSBNs—as few as 8. The Navy claims that if not given supplemental funding, 32 warships would fall out of its inventory – leaving its size below its overall fleet target; this is not to mention the congressionally mandated automatic cuts in fiscal 2013 that have resulted in civilian furloughs.

Rear Admiral Richard Breckenridge, undersea warfare director in the office of the chief of naval operations, [asserted](#) “there are some programs within DOD that are treated differently and not seen as service-specific programs” (referring to the Ohio-class ballistic missile submarine replacement program).

In order to assess this SSBN-X issue appropriately, it is necessary to look at the other two legs of the nuclear triad. Intercontinental ballistic missiles are the oldest and least expensive leg of the triad. A 100-missile reduction of Minuteman III missiles would save upwards of \$3 billion dollars without affecting US security. The Air Force has already begun to reduce its B-2 and B-52 bombers under the New START. The Navy should be making similar reductions, and under sequestration it must accordingly find areas where it can cut back. For example, buying eight instead of 12 new Ohio replacements and pushing procurements two years until 2015 – saving \$15 billion over a decade.

While we do live in a world that calls for more security, nuclear weapons deployments don't provide the right kind of security we need in the post-cold war world. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's farewell address still has prescient words that ring true today when he said "each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: The need to maintain balance in and among national programs – balance between the private and the public economy; balance between cost and hoped for advantage; balance between the clearly necessary and the comfortably desirable; balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the nation upon the individual; balance between actions of the moment and the national welfare of the future."

## **"Engagement is Not Appeasement"**

Joshua Miller

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

October 2, 2013

Earlier today, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and U.S. Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel made statements at a joint news conference in Japan on Iran's willingness to compromise on its nuclear weapons program.

Secretary Kerry declared that it was necessary that "actions speak louder than words" when discussing the upcoming actions of Iran on its nuclear program. Secretary Kerry asserted that it would be necessary for Iran to not only discontinue the development of its nuclear weapons, but also reduce its capacity to retain a "breakout" capability – having produced a sufficient quantity of highly-enriched uranium to fuel a nuclear weapon – as well.

Secretary Hagel also weighed in and reiterated

Secretary Kerry's point by saying, "I think we are wise, if the Iranians have reached out – which they have – to, in a very clear-eyed way – and we are – test their actions." The U.S. would be naive to dismiss Iran's proposal, but it would not fall victim to a potential ruse.

"Engagement is not appeasement," said Secretary Hagel. By saying this, Secretary Hagel indicated that he does not want the U.S. to echo the actions of Prime Minister Chamberlain in WWII; instead, the U.S. wants to engage in Iran's diplomatic bid, but continue to evaluate the impact of applied pressure that sanctions have had on Iran's economy and remain steadfast on U.S. policy objectives.

Looking at the historical distrust between the United States and Iran, many are skeptical at the prospect of any sort of substantive headway on Iran's nuclear program. Mark Twain is correct when he said: "actions speak louder than words, but not nearly enough."

## **Is Iran Ready to Deal on Nukes?**

Terri Lodge and Matthew Wallin

[CNN](#)

September 19, 2013

As the toll of international sanctions on Iran continues to mount, Iran's new President Hassan Rouhani has signaled his government's interest in addressing the world's concerns over his nation's nuclear program, and easing the pain on the Iranian economy. Rouhani's recent statements, tweets and appointments have underscored a possible willingness to resolve the nuclear problem. He told NBC News Wednesday that Iran [will never develop](#) nuclear weapons.

At the United Nations General Assembly meeting in New York next week, Rouhani is expected to affirm

his interest in resolving the issue.

In another positive step, President Barack Obama and Rouhani have [exchanged letters](#)—the first direct communication at this level between the two countries in many, many years. Explaining that this does not yet mean there is a breakthrough, President Obama indicated that he expects negotiations to be difficult and take time.

“Negotiations with the Iranians is always difficult,” Obama said to George Stephanopoulos on Sunday. “I think this new president is not going to suddenly make it easy.”

Indeed, there is little reason to necessarily believe that everything has suddenly changed for the better. After years of intransigence, many wonder whether Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, who holds overwhelming authority, is ready to make honest concessions.

Furthermore, it’s not yet clear whether Iran understands that a mere change in rhetoric won’t mean automatic sanctions relief. In fact, only its concrete actions to resolve the nuclear questions will lead to a meaningful relief of sanctions. And when they come, those actions may initially be incremental, negotiated to test the willingness of both sides to take confidence-building actions that will lead to more comprehensive progress.

The United States should not dismiss Iran’s rhetoric and its apparent litmus testing as insignificant. Though a deal will be difficult, as many negotiations are, it’s not impossible to reach an agreement if Iran is willing to take the steps necessary. That, of course, is still a big “if.”

It’s no secret among diplomats and experts what a final deal will probably look like: Iran will retain a small level of enrichment capability under a very strict regimen of inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency, which will also have ready

access. So far, such a deal has never been in reach; the United States and its diplomatic partners still have a long way to go. Because of this, some would rather continue to fight for complete Iranian capitulation and zero ability to conduct nuclear activities of any sort, a result that does not allow the Iranian regime a chance to “save face.”

This “all-or-nothing” outcome is simply not realistically attainable by means short of a major military intervention. As a result, the United States should be exhausting all diplomatic opportunities to reach an agreement that best preserves its security and the security of the region, while allowing the Iranians a chance to reach a settlement they can live with.

Congress has an important role in this delicate moment. Though the United States should remain skeptical of Iranian intentions, it should not turn down an opportunity that may be presenting itself. One of its biggest bargaining chips is the congressional sanctions, the presence of which, at this point, could be misinterpreted as an unwillingness to support a diplomatic solution.

Congress needs to be flexible in its approach and refrain at this time from tacking on additional sanctions or authorizing military force if it is serious about giving diplomacy the room it needs to operate and not missing a possible opening.

Ultimately, it won’t be easy to resolve a decade’s worth of issues over Iran’s drive for a nuclear capability. But there is also no better time to put the Iranians to the test and see if they are truly willing to play ball and match their actions to their rhetoric on the diplomatic scene.

## Fill Nonproliferation Post to Keep Americans Safe

BGen Stephen Cheney, LGen Norman Seip, and BGen John Adams

Stars and Stripes

August 2, 2013

As retired military leaders, with a combined over 90 years of service to our nation under our belts, we never cease to admire the skill and dedication of our fellow compatriots serving as America's diplomats. Though not employing the force of arms as our men and women in combat, our diplomats fight on behalf of our nation on a daily basis, undertaking a duty that is just as necessary as our military for the protection of our nation, its ideals and its values. Their efforts help take the heavy burden off our military men and women, and consolidate the gains made by their sacrifices.

Yet we are incredibly concerned about the battles some of our diplomats may unnecessarily face at home. Just as our military must have the tools and leadership it needs to complete its missions, so too must our diplomats. Today, a great number of high-ranking positions at the State Department remain unconfirmed, despite deserving the full attention and focus of the United States Government. Having strong leadership in these positions provides strategic drive for our diplomacy, and reassures our allies abroad that we are serious about our commitments. Keeping in mind the recent Senate deal on confirmation hearings, we must make a concerted effort to provide our diplomats with the backing they need to keep us safe and secure.

A prime example of this is the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, who "leads the interagency policy process on

nonproliferation and manages global U.S. security policy, principally in the areas of nonproliferation, arms control, regional security and defense relations, and arms transfers and security assistance."

This is no "small beans" position. Within the State Department, the Bureaus of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance; International Security and Non Proliferation; and Political-Military Affairs all report to the Under Secretary. This position is also responsible for directing and coordinating export control policies in order to prevent missile, nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons proliferation—that means technology and equipment that enemies of the United States would love to get their hands on.

Thus, its function is absolutely vital for protecting the United States and its allies from some of the biggest threats we face today.

These threats are neither imagined, nor overstated—they are very real and we face them at this very moment. They include the spread of nuclear technology, material and knowhow. North Korea is expanding its nuclear arsenal, and Iran's nuclear aspirations are incredibly suspicious. The A.Q. Khan network based in Pakistan may have been dismantled, but the risk of proliferation still exists. And for over 500 days, there has not been a Senate-confirmed Under Secretary whose job it is to deal with these issues.

Just this month, Panama stopped a weapons shipment en route from Cuba to North Korea in violation of international sanctions.

In Syria, the unstable situation brings with it the incredible danger of weapons of mass destruction spreading beyond that country's borders. The risk of chemical weapons falling into the hands of actors not constrained by the norms of the international community is a serious risk that cannot be taken

lightly. The likelihood of this occurring is not far-fetched, and we must coordinate with our allies in the region to address this frightening risk.

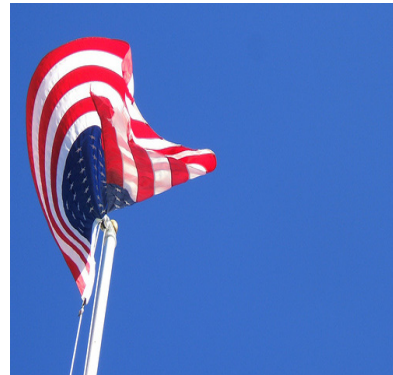
We have seen similar problems occur in the wake of the Libyan conflict, where thousands of shoulder-launched anti-aircraft missiles are believed to have gone missing from Muammar Qaddafi's arsenals and could be in the hands of organized crime or terrorist organizations. Once out on the market, these weapons are incredibly difficult to track down, and it is unlikely that those who now possess these weapons are willing to give them up. These weapons don't just threaten far-away lands—they pose a very-real risk to American citizens traveling overseas.

The Under Secretary's responsibilities are crucial for the conduct of our affairs on the international stage. The person in this position is vital for coordinating and negotiating security related matters with our Allies and other nations that are pertinent to our interests.

In June, President Obama spoke in Berlin about seeking further negotiated reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both the U.S. and Russia. Though both countries agree that the size of their arsenals warrants reduction, the process for codifying the binding terms of a treaty is no small task. The people who physically write these documents work tirelessly long hours to painstakingly verify the meaning and intent of every word, in multiple languages, on documents which have life-or-death consequences for countless millions.

Despite this, we do not have a Senate confirmed leader to take charge of all of these fundamentally critical issues. This is unacceptable. Senate confirmation carries with it the weight and legitimacy required for a person of this importance to undertake responsibilities of this gravity, and allowing this position to remain unconfirmed for over a year is alarming. Now is the time to push this forward, without delay.

# Public Diplomacy



## Putin's Op-Ed: Public Diplomacy without Listening

Matthew Wallin

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

September 12, 2013

Yesterday in the New York Times, Russian President Vladimir Putin [published an op-ed](#) in response to the evolving situation in Syria. This attempt at public diplomacy represented a rather deaf attempt to influence Americans to support the Russian narrative on Syria. It comes off as the equivalent of a touchdown dance before the ball has made it to the end-zone at an away-game.

Let's take a look at Mr. Putin's words.

At first, Putin opens with an appeal to the American public, coming off as reasonable, genuine, and respectable in his desire to improve relations between the U.S. and Russia: "RECENT events surrounding Syria have prompted me to speak directly to the American people and their political leaders. It is important to do so at a time of insufficient communication between our societies."

He then makes a nostalgic appeal for American and Russian cooperation, though acknowledging the two nations have certainly faced their relational difficulties: “Relations between us have passed through different stages. We stood against each other during the cold war. But we were also allies once, and defeated the Nazis together. The universal international organization — the United Nations — was then established to prevent such devastation from ever happening again.”

After which, he appeals to desires by many in the American public to make sure the international community is onboard with whatever action is taken, and references America’s role in the creation of the United Nations at the end of WWII: “The United Nations’ founders understood that decisions affecting war and peace should happen only by consensus, and with America’s consent the veto by Security Council permanent members was enshrined in the United Nations Charter. The profound wisdom of this has underpinned the stability of international relations for decades.”

And concludes with a common criticism of the United Nations that resonates with a large portion of the American public, who often voice cynicism over the UN’s ability to act and enforce: “No one wants the United Nations to suffer the fate of the League of Nations, which collapsed because it lacked real leverage.”

Additionally, Putin includes arguments based on the American concern that Al Qaeda affiliated groups comprise the Syrian opposition, and elements of concern about whether U.S. involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya have produced the results they were intended to.

But when it comes to reasonableness, that’s where it ends.

As many scholars and practitioners of public diplomacy contend, [listening](#) is key. Putin’s tone,

style, and arguments demonstrates a fundamental failure to listen to the full discourse of the American public. He fails to understand American criticism of the international community, and how Americans see their role and the role of Russia in the world.

Commenting on how the UN could potentially fail to remain a viable institution, Putin attempts to reverse a long-established American perception about why the UN is sometimes ineffective. While many Americans would place “blame” for the UN’s failure to address a variety of challenges on Russia or Chinese “obstructionism” (veto power), Putin instead argues that ineffectiveness is predicated more on U.S. willingness to act outside the bounds of the Security Council. He contends that failure of the UN along the lines of the League of Nations: “...is possible if influential countries bypass the United Nations and take military action without Security Council authorization.”

Putin then argues the exact opposite of what Americans perceive of Russia’s role in the Syrian conflict—that Russia is supporting the Assad regime and enabling its slaughter of civilians with military hardware—and cloaks this action under the guise of support for international law: “From the outset, Russia has advocated peaceful dialogue enabling Syrians to develop a compromise plan for their own future. We are not protecting the Syrian government, but international law.”

In an attempt to appeal to a common American sentiment that the U.S. is not the “world’s policeman,” Putin fails to address that Russia’s direct support for the Assad regime also qualifies as intervention, and instead argues: “It is alarming that military intervention in internal conflicts in foreign countries has become commonplace for the United States. Is it in America’s long-term interest? I doubt it.”

As Russia is actively trying to portray itself as a bastion of [soft power](#) and as responsible, modern country

on the international scene, one has to consider the “long-term” consequences that supporting the Assad regime has for its soft power. Though the internet quickly erupted in memes touting Putin as a newfound peacemaker, this small bubble of short-term admiration is unlikely to have lasting impact without a fundamental behavioral change by Putin.

He continues to mis-message his target audience by [ignoring](#) Assad’s atrocities and Russia’s rather flagrant human rights violations at home, and chooses instead to insult American democracy: “Millions around the world increasingly see America not as a model of democracy but as relying solely on brute force, cobbling coalitions together under the slogan ‘you’re either with us or against us’.”

Putin then completely discounts the possibility that the Syrian government, as the only confirmed actor in the country in ownership of chemical weapons and capability to deploy them, could be held responsible for the use of those weapons. He places the blame squarely on the opposition and alleges a [disinformation](#) campaign: “No one doubts that poison gas was used in Syria. But there is every reason to believe it was used not by the Syrian Army, but by opposition forces, to provoke intervention by their powerful foreign patrons, who would be siding with the fundamentalists.”

In closing his remarks, Putin made the fatal error of criticizing the notion of American exceptionalism—a point that is almost certain to alienate a large majority of the American public. While perhaps appealing conceptually to other international or domestic Russian audiences, directly criticizing notions of American pride is not a technique that is likely to win followers, friends or influence in the United States: “And I would rather disagree with a case he made on American exceptionalism, stating that the United States’ policy is ‘what makes America different. It’s what makes us exceptional.’ It is extremely dangerous to encourage people to see themselves as exceptional, whatever the motivation.”

Concluding...

This of course is not Putin’s only attempt at reaching out directly to international publics. Some may recall his recent English language [video appeal](#) to host the 2020 World Expo, which while not unprecedented for Putin, comes off as incredibly awkward.

In the end, even without the insulting rhetoric, Putin’s op-ed represents a perfect example of the idea that the message one sends doesn’t matter nearly as much as the message received. Russia can try to paint any narrative it wants about what’s going on in Syria, but so long as it bolsters Assad on the international scene, its actions will matter more than its words. Even though Putin made some points that are sure to appeal to the American public, his focus on trying to criticize the U.S., and being dishonest about the Russian role in the conflict completely deflates his arguments.

Though the plan Russia has proposed for removing Syria’s chemical weapons appears to be a constructive move, it appears that the Russians will have to do much more than make proposals and write op-eds to change the current climate of stigma much of the American public assigns to the Russian Government. And with the Sochi Olympics coming up, action to reverse that stigma matters.

## **Public Diplomacy-You May Not Know it When you See it**

Christian Mull

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

August 2, 2013

In thinking about public diplomacy, one usually thinks of radio broadcasts, exchange programs, television

ads, newspaper prints, embassy events, internet videos and speaking tours. While these modes of public diplomacy are perhaps the most common, there are many other types of public diplomacy constantly taking place right under our noses though we may not realize it.

The Olympics, for example, is an extremely popular public diplomacy extravaganza that occurs every two years—in 2012 over two hundred and four countries participated in the Summer Games. The country that hosts the Olympic Games often receives a boost its [soft power rating](#), as do countries which do well in the medals competition. Hosting the Olympics affords the host nation the opportunity to put its culture on display for the whole world to see. The Olympics has the ability to promote a degree of cultural understanding on a grand scale that many public diplomacy efforts would be envious of.

As mentioned above, sporting events such as the Olympics can be a great tool to be utilized by public diplomacy practitioners. The Tour de France, 24 Hours at Le Mans, World Cup Soccer, The Super Bowl, The Majors, Wimbledon, The World Series, and the Rugby World Cup are all majorly popular sporting events that require no introduction or explanation. These events are able to generate massive amounts of soft power to countries who participate in them. The car that wins Le Mans, for example, may purport its country to have the best engineers that can build the most reliable and fastest cars. Each of these events carries with it an opportunity to gain international prestige on some new level.

Other types of international competitions, such as the Cold War Space Race between the Soviet Union and the United States, can also be viewed as a pronouncement of soft power. The main focus of the Space Race was the desire to demonstrate one nation's technological and ideological superiority over the other but was also a means to obtain international bragging rights and prestige. Some astronauts became [international](#)

[celebrities](#), going on speaking tours around the world promoting America's scientific achievements in space.

Music is another aspect of public diplomacy that sometimes goes overlooked. Music can be one of the most memorable and moving aspects of culture and is often able to cross cultural boundaries. Musicians sometimes become internationally celebrated figures who embody a certain amount of national soft power. Some argue that the Cold War was actually won because of the effects that [rock and roll](#) had against censorship inside the Soviet Union.

One final, perhaps more obscure, overlooked aspect of public diplomacy is the desire many nations share in setting what seem to be arbitrary records. These record setting events are sometimes a matter of national pride. These rivalries, such as the competition to build the world's tallest skyscraper, can have a large impact on a country's morale. The Empire State Building, for example, was the world's tallest skyscraper for 42 years and was (and still is) a source of immense pride for many Americans. Other achievements include deep sea exploration, expeditions to the poles, climbing Mount Everest, and various land and air speed records.

While these efforts may seem arbitrary or even silly, they can provide countries a platform from which they can exhibit soft power, and use that soft power advantage for strategic means, like building partnerships or increasing investment from abroad. As countries gain recognition for a seemingly worthless feat, such as the [Kola Superdeep Borehole](#) in Russia, they evoke an emotion in the people of other nations which, if properly exhibited, have the potential to be effective tools of public diplomacy.

## Looking Back at History: The Public Diplomacy of Free France During WWII

Paul Rockower

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

August 1, 2013

I have always been fascinated by the way that countries with issues of diplomatic recognition, and national movements, conduct public diplomacy to communicate their diplomatic legitimacy or to bypass diplomatic difficulties. To such ends, I was a Visiting Fellow at the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, [analyzing how Taiwan uses public diplomacy to get beyond its diplomatic complications](#). I have also examined the [public diplomacy outreach of Kurdistan](#) and [its diaspora](#), as well as that of [Somaliland](#).

While presently on sabbatical in Paris, I came across the [Musée LeClerc](#) in Montparnasse, at the beautiful Jardin Atlantique. The Musée LeClerc is dedicated to the French general who helped liberate Paris. The museum examines the general history of World War II from the Free French perspective, as well as looking at the military career of [General leClerc](#) and his role in liberating the French capital from Nazi occupation.

The museum engagingly documents the Free French forces' struggle through video, pictures and communiqués. One such document was the letter by General de Gaulle, heralding the emergence of the Free French Forces:

To all Frenchmen..

France has lost a battle!

But France has not lost the war!

A makeshift government may have capitulated, giving away to panic, forgetting Honor, delivering their country into slavery.

Yet nothing is lost!

Nothing is lost because this is a world war. In the free universe immense forces have not yet been brought into play. Some day these forces will crush the enemy. On that day France must be present at the Victory! She will regain her liberty and her greatness.

That is my goal, my only goal!

That is why I ask all my Frenchmen, wherever they may be, to unite with me in action, in sacrifice and in hope.

Our country is in danger of death. Let us fight to save it!

Long live France!

General De Gaulle  
Quarter General  
4, Carlton Guards  
London, S.W.I.

Voila! And there you have the beginning of Free France's public diplomacy efforts in the efforts of General De Gaulle to project authority and legitimacy as the leader of a Free France, as well as the public diplomacy of the Free French to project their role in the ongoing war effort.

From the letter, De Gaulle's intent is clear: offer leadership, focus and direction to those in France under occupation still ready to fight the calamity that has befallen France, and for the French colonial empire not under Nazi occupation or Vichy control. A communication to the nation of France worldwide, and also a declaration of public diplomacy to the above mentioned, "immense forces have not yet

been brought into play.” Such a letter is a significant act of public diplomacy, as one can only assume that those immense forces not yet on the battlefield include the United States.

After this letter, and just a day after Marshal Pétain addressed France to announce the armistice and acceptance of defeat, De Gaulle took to the airwaves of the BBC—the British international broadcasting arm. With his [famous appeal on June 18, 1940](#) (as well as a subsequent broadcast four days later) to the French people, De Gaulle exhorted France to understand that the nation was not yet vanquished. The French general declared that the Free French had the support of the British Empire and would have the support of an America still on the sidelines. De Gaulle even reportedly received broadcasting technique lessons from journalist and future chief of American public diplomacy, Edward R. Murrow in London.

From there, the Free French Forces set up the trappings of legitimacy as a governing body as it consolidated gains in French Gabon and French Equatorial Africa. In addition to setting up their own newspapers like *Le Cameroun Libre* (*Organe de français libre de Cameroun*), they also minted their own notes, the *Afrique Française Libre*. Meanwhile from Britain and later Algiers, the Free French carried out their own international broadcasting efforts aimed at shoring up support “domestically” among the French under occupation and under the Vichy regime ([as conversely did the Vichy Regime](#)).

While De Gaulle and the United States government had a complicated relationship (putting it mildly), borne out of the initial U.S. recognition of Vichy France, there were significant grassroots people-to-people connections between the partisans of the Free French and the American people.

On August 26, 1940, Eugène Houdry, a French chemist living in America, helped create the association France

Forever in Philadelphia to support Free France in America. The France Forever association conducted public diplomacy to rally support for the Free French in America. France Forever created 44 chapters in American cities, and at its height had over 9,000 members—mostly American but with many of the political committees made up of French war refugees. France Forever helped disseminate information via monthly magazines and bulletins, pamphlets, radio shows and demonstrations on behalf of Free France and helped burnish the image of General Charles De Gaulle to the American public.<sup>[1]</sup>

And De Gaulle conducted outreach through high-level surrogates to an America still on the sidelines, as a leader of a force of France that could redeem the nation.<sup>[2]</sup> From the communication efforts undertaken, it can be perceived that De Gaulle and the Free French forces were also using public diplomacy to reach out to American policy makers and opinion-shapers to help support the Free French cause, especially to help deliver it much-needed arms. Perhaps the culmination of this public diplomacy outreach to gain access to arms came with the signing of the Lend-Lease Agreement. The Musée LeClerc notes:

By the law of March 11, 1941, the United States is allowed to provide supplies to any state whose defense is necessary for the security of the USA. They, therefore, become the true arsenal of democracy desired by Roosevelt. This did reach the Free French via British lines. After November 1942, it is extended to the Fighting French by the United States. This aid ends with the war but anticipates the future Marshall Plan.

While it is difficult to create a line directly linking these efforts to the direct material support of the U.S. Lend-Lease Agreement, it cannot be discounted in the overall efforts to rally America to support the Free French forces.

De Gaulle and Free France's use of public diplomacy to rally a down-yet-not-out France remains a stirring example of how a semi-official national movement can project legitimacy and rally support for its cause. Through leaflets, communiqués, and international broadcasting efforts, as well as by projecting the trappings of authority, Free France was able to use public diplomacy to rally support domestically and throughout the areas of the French territory worldwide still under contest, as well as to supporters in Britain and the United States. The public diplomacy practices conducted by Free France, as documented by the Musée LeClerc, remains an important public diplomacy lesson even today.

[1] Raoul Aglion, "The Free French and the United States from 1940 to 1944," in eds. Paxton and Wahl, De Gaulle and the United States, (Berg Publishing, Oxford) 1994

[2] *ibid*

## Exporting Public Diplomacy to Egypt

Christian Mull

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

July 30, 2013

Marc Lynch of Foreign Policy recently published an article titled, ["They Hate Us, They Really Hate Us."](#) This article discusses the various reasons why so much anti-Americanism exists in Egypt. In short, Lynch argues that the Egyptian population has a considerably anti-American opinion and Egyptian politicians seeking election base their political campaigns on this public opinion. He states, "The anti-American rhetoric that has always flowed freely through the Egyptian media has been mirrored in public opinion. Again, this long predates Egypt's

revolution or the election of a Muslim Brotherhood government."

Because public opinion in Egypt is viewed by some politicians in Egypt as generally anti-American, it is popular for those politicians to use anti-American rhetoric. Lynch writes, "Denouncing the United States is politically useful to every Egyptian faction. The SCAF, like Mubarak, finds anti-Americanism useful in masking its strong relationship with Washington. Secular elites and felool ("remnants" of Mubarak's regime) find it useful in deflecting attention from their own return to grace. The Muslim Brotherhood finds it useful in returning to the movement's own anti-American comfort zone. Anti-Brotherhood activists find it useful as a way of appealing to nationalist public opinion to justify support for the coup." The different factions within Egypt focus on anti-Americanism, using it in their own individual way.

This resentment towards the United States coming from portions of the Egyptian population presents a very difficult challenge for U.S. public diplomacy efforts. Lynch notes that much of the public diplomacy efforts in Egypt have not had their desired effect in shaping Egyptian public opinion. Regarding the need for a new public diplomacy approach in Egypt, Lynch writes:

Public diplomacy isn't going to solve America's Egypt problem, I'm afraid. This emphatically does not mean that Washington should ignore Egyptian voices or give up on efforts at broader, deeper engagement, though. Washington should pay close attention to what it is hearing from the Egyptian public, even while recognizing the politics driving those messages. It is never a good idea for U.S. policy to hunker down, convinced by its own messaging or dismissive of widely circulating ideas or critiques.

Lynch emphasizes listening because it is only through proper understanding of the Egyptian public that the U.S. can recognize why anti-Americanism appears so prevalent and properly craft strategies to address it. Lynch also argues that public diplomacy isn't going to solve all of America's issues in Egypt immediately. He suggests an approach that relies on crafting a more compelling narrative designed to better explain U.S. foreign policy in the region. This narrative should be undertaken with the knowledge that results will not be immediate and may take years before any tangible results are achieved.

Policy makers have a variety of tools at their disposal to achieve their policy objectives, public diplomacy outreach is just one of these tools that policy makers rely on. It is important to understand both the profound effects and limitations that public diplomacy can have in influencing foreign publics.

In general, the U.S. must make efforts to better understand how foreign public opinion affects long term strategy. This isn't always so clear cut. But like in any question of foreign policy, the U.S. should seriously consider what that outcome it wants actually looks like, determine whether or not that outcome is feasible, thoroughly analyze its audience and then implement a comprehensive strategy with metrics to support it. Only after this grand strategy is set may public diplomacy efforts be instituted to help bring these goals to fruition and ultimately achieve the U.S.' overall foreign policy objectives.

## China's Growing Power, Ethnic Unrest, and Relaxed Internet Access, What's Next?

Cara Doglione

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

September 27, 2013

With the international world's [increasing negative views](#) of China, its rising economic power, and a history of ethnic unrest, how will changes in internet censorship in Shanghai's free trade zone affect China's economic growth and the Chinese people?

[As a way to stimulate economic growth](#), China will lift internet censorship in the Shanghai free trade zone of a number of foreign websites which includes Facebook and Twitter. Some users have noticed a trend of some high-end hotels in China offering access to these social media outlets as well. It is believed this is intended to make visiting China a more pleasant experience for foreign business people and investors, and thus help stimulate the Chinese economy.

But will this relaxed internet censorship truly affect foreign perception of China? Will it stimulate more business as China hopes? Currently the [negative international views of China include](#) concerns over its military, currency, and cyber warfare policies. Furthermore, there is foreign concern about China's intentions as a rising power, while others feel China needs to be more transparent and take a concrete step towards democratization. Lifting censorship may not address these key issues, but they may factor in separately from China's immediate business interests.

Whatever the outcome may be, China is using the internet to expand economically. With China's attempt to create a more viable economy using this tool, there are questions about the effect this may have on the stability of its society. Will this access create the conditions for more ethnic unrest? Clearly,

# ASYMMETRIC OPERATIONS



the Chinese believe it has been a factor before. In 2009, China shut down the internet in an effort to prevent information relating to the ethnic riots in Urumqi from being spread; however, [comments and images](#) were still disseminated. Keeping this in mind, the question remains: will this access in the free trade zone lead to unrest in other parts of China?

As a rising power, China is taking steps to maintain its economic growth, but it is not yet clear whether the tools needed for sustained growth are completely compatible with the Chinese political system. Though the change in internet restrictions is clearly aimed at foreigners, the effect this policy may have on China's domestic public cannot be ignored.

If China's goal is aimed specifically and solely at making visiting or living in China more pleasant for foreign investors, then short term benefits may be seen from this change in policy. But in the long term, lifting restrictions on the internet in only a few key areas is likely to increase demand in other parts of the country to have that same privilege. So who then, are the true beneficiaries?

## Easing Jordan's Burden Requires a Targeted Aid Strategy

Ollie Engebreston

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

August 6, 2013

As the debate over supplying aid to the Syrian opposition continues, Jordan, the welcoming neighbor to the south, moves further and further towards socio-economic crisis.

A [major Non-NATO U.S. ally](#) and important regional partner, Jordan has a distinct history of accepting large populations of refugees from neighboring conflicts. The Syrian civil war has proven no different.

According to UNHRC, over [500,000 registered refugees](#) have fled Syria into Jordan, although [many Jordanians insist](#) that that number is closer to 1 million, overwhelming rapidly erected camps and cities near the border. The Za'atri camp north of Al-Mafraq in Jordan hosts approximately [120,000 refugees](#) according to UNICEF. However a [large majority](#) of the refugee population has chosen to make do in urban centers and local communities, putting enormous strain on Jordan's already thin resources.

Prime Minister Abdullah Ensour [stated in May](#) that the Jordanian government alone has increased its deficit by \$700 million to support the Syrian refugees, which does not include indirect pressure on health care, sanitation, and other public services.

Jordanians [complain](#) that Syrians have largely crowded out hospital space, as intakes have [more than tripled](#), and previously eradicated diseases such as polio and tuberculosis have reappeared.

Especially in dryer northern cities, such as Irbid and Al-Mafraq where much of the Syrian refugees have settled, municipal distribution systems were already strained to provide enough water for Jordanian citizens. In response to the increased demand, officials have been forced to experiment with [expensive desalinization projects and purchase water from private wells](#), adding to already soaring costs.

Jordan has not avoided many of the economic woes plaguing the region either, facing unemployment and low growth coupled with rising food and fuel costs. The influx of direct international aid to help cover the expenses of refugees has [inflated prices](#) for increasingly scarce resources beyond what many locals can afford.

The international community has pledged aid packages to directly assist the Jordanian government with expenses, including a [\\$150 million promise](#) from the World Bank and [\\$200 million from the U.S.](#) in addition to the annual aid package.

However Jordan already faces critical deficit concerns outside of the refugee crisis as it attempts to reform both economically and politically.

Despite its apparent stability compared to the rest of the region, Jordan is no stranger to widespread demonstrations demanding political change.

Over the past two years, Jordanians have taken to

the streets to protest corruption and an entrenched bureaucracy that they feel has plagued government efficacy. While some demonstrators have called directly for King Abdullah II to step down and dissolve the monarchy (mostly after the [November, 2012 decision to cut fuel subsidies](#)), many have recognized the King's genuine commitment to gradual and peaceful reforms.

He has [confronted](#) many of the elite attempting to limit political liberalization and increased participation.

The government has also tackled the issue of unsustainable fuel subsidies, an obstacle that has consistently hindered Egyptian officials. By cutting subsidies and easing the burden on middle and lower income families with cash transfers, the Treasury has [saved approximately \\$707 million](#). Although initially unpopular, anger has since cooled as the population is weaned off subsidy dependence.

In addition to these reforms, the general economy has somewhat improved, with [modest growth increases](#), unemployment hovering around [12.5% after a 15.3% high in 2002](#), and stabilized reserves.

However these successes will not continue if refugee expenses continue to burden the Jordanian treasury as they have. The gradual reforms undertaken by the government must continue in a stable manner, yet growing economic pressures and social tensions could shatter the fragile developments already achieved.

U.S. officials need to develop skill-transfer programs that focus specifically on solving Jordanian public service crises without jeopardizing current reform initiatives. While international attention has fixated on the plight of refugees, accruing large amounts of vital aid, similar attention must be directed towards Jordan's diminishing resources for managing the influx. Secretary Kerry's [recent trip to Za'atari](#) generated important publicity for the camp's needs, and U.S. officials must work with other global partners to

extend this exposure to Jordanian needs as well. Aid funneled directly to refugee camps does not reach many of the [70% of Syrians](#) living in towns or cities.

A foreign aid strategy such as this does not advocate simply transferring funds for solvency's sake, but rather providing skills and institutional framework to tackle fundamental issues impeding reform. Jordan has consistently been an important regional ally and security partner, and heightened instability poses a considerable risk to that partnership.

The U.S. must recognize that one of the most significant threats posed by the Syrian conflict rests in its impact on Jordan.

## **Adapting a New Strategy for Yemen 's Dual Threat**

Ollie Engebretson

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

July 23, 2013

Counterterrorism concerns have long preoccupied much of U.S. foreign policy in Yemen over the past decade, and rightly so given the global aims of the Yemen-based al-Qaeda affiliate, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). The State Department has labeled them the most lethal branch of the al-Qaeda organization. However regional changes and recent developments in Yemen require that the U.S. broadens its strategic approach.

Today as Yemen attempts to forge a new government after the 2011 revolution that [ended](#) President Ali Abdullah Saleh's 33 year reign, political factions continue to hamper attempts at reform. (For more information, see this updated [ASP Fact Sheet on Yemen](#).)

These divisions create a [dangerous political vacuum](#) in the country, one which AQAP has not hesitated to exploit.

Despite AQAP's previous attempts against worldwide targets, the organization's focus seems to have shifted inwards to domestic power consolidation. AQAP has not publicly pursued a U.S. target since the failed 2010 attempt to [smuggle bombs on a U.S. cargo plane](#), and the group has suffered key losses in its upper ranks with the deaths of Anwar al-Awlaki and [recently Saeed al-Shihri](#).

On the other hand, AQAP made significant territorial advances after the 2011 revolution in Yemen paralyzed the country's security framework. Much of the land has [since been retaken](#) through a costly campaign by the Yemeni military, but AQAP continues to [target the Yemeni government and military](#).

The emergence of Ansar al-Sharia, however, complicates the nature of the threat posed by AQAP. Often referred to as the political wing of AQAP or simply an al-Qaeda rebranding effort, Ansar al-Sharia has orchestrated an insurgency in South Yemen, engaging the tribal-political network and carrying out attacks against Yemeni forces.

The U.S. State Department [officially lists](#) Ansar al-Sharia as an alias of AQAP, yet some analysts, including former Ambassador to Yemen Barbara Bodine, see Ansar al-Sharia as a somewhat [separate creature](#) with significant implications.

As Ambassador Bodine and [others](#) have noted, Ansar al-Sharia has taken on a Taliban-like role in Yemen, using similar techniques such as attacking military and government sites while providing social services to the country's rural poor, with the long-term goal of establishing an alternative government.

This highlights the need for a multifaceted approach, as the stability of Yemen significantly affects [U.S.](#)

[security interests](#) given Yemen's geopolitical location.

AQAP and Ansar al-Sharia still have enormous recruiting capabilities, and thus U.S. counterterrorism policies, in addition to the current concentration on eliminating high-ranking leaders, need to focus on groundwork strategies that assist the Yemeni government in orchestrating a counterinsurgency—a two pronged approach to a two-faced threat.

These strategies should address both economic issues and security concerns that jeopardize Yemeni stability.

Yemen currently suffers from extremely high unemployment, especially among Yemeni youth (40% [according](#) to the World Bank), who are much more susceptible to radicalization. Yemen's currency has stabilized and some sectors have begun to recover, yet the unskilled labor industries like construction that many Yemenis depend on remain paralyzed, causing some to turn to other sources of income.

Christopher Swift has [argued](#) based on extensive interviews with Yemeni tribal leaders that economic factors have driven many Yemeni youth to join Ansar al-Sharia and AQAP's ranks.

The U.S. should work with the Yemeni government, regional partners, and individual Yemeni businesses to prevent industries from relocating to foreign markets such as Saudi Arabia. Especially given the amount of time and focus the ongoing [National Dialogue Conference](#) has required from Yemeni officials, the U.S. must ensure that the Yemeni government has the manpower and institutional framework to [protect vital infrastructure](#) and revive the economy at this critical juncture.

The U.S. also needs to support the Yemeni government in equipping security forces for a counterinsurgency. U.S. agencies have [learned much](#) from the experience in Afghanistan, and thus can impart strategies that focus on making local political networks resilient and

more involved.

Both Saudi Arabia and the U.S. should continue to engage in intelligence sharing and involve Yemeni agencies as much as possible, with the intention of both preventing future attacks and better understanding Ansar al-Sharia's manipulation of tribal networks.

Dismantling AQAP's leadership should remain a focus of U.S. counterterrorism policy, but officials need to recognize that AQAP and Ansar al-Sharia have merged insurgent and terrorist aims and adapt accordingly.

## **Crafting a New Policy for the Crisis in Egypt (No, Not the Political One)**

Ollie Engebretson

[Flashpoint Blog](#)

July 16, 2013

The political crisis that has erupted in Egypt over the past two weeks requires a reorientation of U.S. foreign policy, the first step being to acknowledge that the true crisis exists in the country's imminent economic collapse.

The U.S. has vital security interests vested in the stability of Egypt as a regional power and close ally. Not only has Egypt helped to ensure Arab-Israeli peace through the Camp David Accords, but the country also ensures the security of the [Suez Canal](#) and helps lead regional [counter-terrorism initiatives](#). As the largest Arab country in the world, Egypt also represents a vital counterbalance to Iranian regional influence.

The crisis unfolding inherently jeopardizes these interests, especially if violence escalates into sectarian conflicts, and it requires immediate internal action

to prevent further bloodshed and a collapse of the Egyptian security structure. However the economic woes plaguing the country pose a pressing threat to the long term structural well-being of the nation.

Much of the debate has focused on who lost Egypt or why the Egypt policy failed, yet this is a distracting exercise in foreign policy theory and political rhetoric. From the perspective of crafting a forward-thinking and interest-based policy towards Egypt, U.S. officials should refocus efforts on Egypt's economic plight.

Many analysts highlight the economy as the unifying grievance amongst the protesters that brought down the Morsi administration. In fact a [Pew poll](#) released this past May indicated that a majority of Egyptians would prefer a strong economy over a good democracy.

The cycle seems inescapable—an unstable political system causes the economy to sour and investors to flee yet the economy cannot recover without a stable government. Given the instability of the Egyptian political framework, perhaps a viable solution must fix the economy first.

The economic conditions in Egypt are dire.

The country suffers from stagflation, with [2.2% growth in real GDP](#) over 2012 and a staggering [9.8% inflation](#) rate and skyrocketing unemployment, which jumped from [9.2% in 2011 to 12.3% in 2012](#).

With foreign investors causing a net capital outflow and tourism almost non-existent, the demand for the Egyptian pound has plummeted. In order to prop up the value of the currency and keep import prices low, the central bank has largely depleted its foreign exchange reserves from [\\$36 billion in 2011 to around \\$16 billion currently](#). This leaves the government with few reserves to purchase foreign wheat and fuel, and Egypt has [less than two months](#) of wheat stocks to produce the subsidized bread on which so many Egyptians depend.

Egypt operates on an [outdated rentier framework](#), with a [bloated public sector](#) and unsustainable food and petrol subsidies that suffocate the economy, but no resources to sustain it.

The system has grown increasingly dependent on foreign aid, and while the [recent contributions](#) from the Gulf States might delay the inevitable, the economy cannot survive much longer. The deficit has doubled over the past year and [public debt is now 80% of the country's GDP](#).

The U.S. needs to work with regional partners and craft a policy that prevents the Egyptian economy from imploding in the short run while simultaneously setting up safeguards that push Egypt out of this unsustainable framework in the long run.

Negotiations with Morsi for a [\\$4.8 billion IMF loan](#) fell apart over conditional reform requirements such as subsidy cuts and increasing tax revenues—highly unpopular among the Egyptian population. While these reforms are crucial to Egypt's long term growth, changes are unlikely given the current political circumstances.

However U.S. economic engagement can take a more indirect and nuanced form. Egypt needs to reverse the outflow of capital, and the U.S. can facilitate this process by engaging some of the [high-profile investors](#) that have fled the market.

Additionally, the U.S. can engage the Egyptian diaspora in America and globally to encourage them to take advantage of Egypt's incredible economic prospects while strengthening informal ties with the American market.

Sen. Chris Coons (D.-DE) in fact released a [plan](#) with similar objectives for economic engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa, offering useful parallels. In particular he advocated working directly with financial

institutions to facilitate foreign and local investment using American expertise.

The U.S. can adopt a similar approach in Egypt, which would allow financial experts to deal directly with Egyptian banks and investment firms in order to develop fast-acting growth strategies. This should not, however, give foreigners the green light to devour undervalued Egyptian industries, as much of the focus should be on Egyptian expats and global businesses.

The Egyptian subsidy framework and bloated public sector cannot survive, and nor can any politician who attempts to reform them, until a sufficient private sector exists to offer fallback. This private sector, cultivated with both Egyptian and American investors, would protect both the U.S.'s and Egypt's long-term interests.

## Should America Ground Drones?

BGen Stephen Cheney

Orlando Sentinel

August 30, 2013

Targeted strikes against al-Qaeda and affiliate organizations with weaponized drones remains a cornerstone of U.S. counterterrorism policy abroad, and robust debate surrounding the practice will certainly continue. The many arguments for and against drones raise a host of legal, human rights, and foreign policy issues, and tend to extremes of “all or nothing.” A strong case in favor of drones distinguishes policy (the decision whether to use lethal force) from technology (the platform used), and embraces the tactical advantage of unmanned systems. Such a case in favor of drones considers them as merely one tool within a larger counterterrorism strategy.

Certain arguments against drones confuse policy for

technology. The debate over civilian casualties is crucial and necessary, but attributing such deaths to drones misses the point. To claim that drones indiscriminately cause too many civilian deaths, as some argue, is an inaccurate and incomplete assessment. Predator and Reaper drones, which can orbit for hours gathering vital intel before delivering ordinance, are arguably more precise than cruise missiles and fighter jets.

It is equally erroneous to assertively claim that drone strikes cause more terrorists than they kill. Though one can argue that the application of force in general might have blowback and push certain individuals toward militancy, the lack of empirical data on this issue does not allow a definitive conclusion. When considering methods to deal with an armed threat, other alternatives and their potential for blowback should be considered as well. Which method might produce the least such blowback? An armed invasion and occupation? Fighter jet strikes? Long-range missiles? Or drone strikes of particular structures, vehicles, or individuals?

In any case, civilian casualties and possible repercussions are policy concerns not specific to drones. Deliberation surrounding whether to apply lethal force against members of al-Qaeda and affiliate organizations—which includes legal, ethical, and humanitarian considerations—is not the same debate as to which weapon to deploy in a particular case.

The fact is, drones offer battlefield advantages that cannot be ignored: precision, long-loiter times, close air support for soldiers, and battlefield intelligence. Critics may maintain that unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) remove the human element in war, rendering the decision to apply force likelier than otherwise. But given the amount of real-time data that UAVs provide, one might counter that they increase the human element. Real soldiers operate drones and make the final decision whether to strike or not. Comparatively long loiter-times and reduced fuel restrictions give drone operators more opportunity

to observe a potential target and make an informed decision than jet or Apache pilots.

Ultimately, distance killing has been a tactical goal in warfare for centuries, from drones and smart missiles, to cannons and crossbows. UAVs are simply the latest in a long line of weapons systems incorporating cutting-edge computing and satellite technology that soldiers control remotely and for which they are accountable. The Tomahawk cruise missiles the U.S. Navy launched in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, against Bin Laden in 1998, and in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, were no more “human” than are today’s UAVs.

However desirable the precision and intelligence-gathering capability of drones, and protection they afford our soldiers, one must never privilege the technological quick-fix over sound strategy. It is certainly important to consider the strategic and human implications of the decision to use force to begin with. But that is an argument that exists outside of the more immediate debate about the technology of the weapons platform itself, and most Americans would agree that tools which decrease the risk to our soldiers are undoubtedly a good thing. But, absent a wider strategy that includes strong military, political, economic, and law enforcement cooperation, and the promotion of American values, diplomacy, and the rule of law, no amount of targeted killing alone is a viable counterterrorism strategy.

## **Building Consensus for a New Somalia**

Matt Freear

[Huffington Post](#)

September 16, 2013

Mogadishu has witnessed the arrival of new development, returning diaspora and foreign

investment at a pace unseen for decades, creating a powerful constituency invested in peace and generating hope that the new era of stability in Somalia will last.

Events, however, this summer reflect a fundamental yet unresolved challenge -- how to convert military success into political stability. Last week’s bombings in the capital, including an attempt on the President’s life, follow hard on the tail of fighting in Kismayo, a horrific attack on the UN and al Shabaab’s unopposed re-occupation of areas vacated by Ethiopian troops. They speak of more than just a fragile peace, serious cracks in the strategy are emerging.

While Somalia remains entirely reliant on outside support, the international community has the opportunity to reconsider more fundamental issues before it heaps funds on institutions and reinforces a system with under-developed popular legitimacy.

Undoubtedly, Somalia is important to the national security interests of US, as the State Department reminded us last summer. More recently, a number of domestic criminal prosecutions against Somalis with terrorist connections reveal an ongoing concern that Somalia continues to matter to the US.

Far from the US ensnaring themselves further in a comprehensive nation-building project there is an important role in nurturing and protecting broad-based political dialogue that is genuinely Somali. What the US and her international partners lobby for next matters. Pushing too far, too fast in the wrong direction ultimately risks putting Somalia back to the top of the list of terrorist havens.

The military gains made, resulting from the sacrifice of so many African soldiers and the patient funding of the US and others, are startling. Yet, this can only be the precursor to a more difficult process which now requires the sort of political boldness and leadership displayed by the soldiers.

In a recent report from the Center for Strategic and International Studies, long-time Somalia analyst, Matt Bryden, describes the underlying conflict dynamics and omissions in the current political agenda. There are three urgent reasons for why the US must help Somalia to restart public debate about its constitutional future, and ensure the foundations of a stable state are laid.

First, the Somali Federal Government is clinging to a paper-thin sense of domestic legitimacy; it owes its survival to a combination of western money, African soldiers, regional and Middle Eastern goodwill but governs little outside the capital and has a dangerously small following in the country itself. The arrangement recently brokered between the Federal Government and the self-declared Jubbaland Administration acknowledging its existence but limiting it to an interim mandate is an important step forward but a stopgap nonetheless. The capital still has the opportunity to add value by campaigning for support from people and groups outside the capital in order to increase consent for the system.

Second, there is an urgent need to demonstrate commitment to moving discussions about Somalia's future forward, in accordance with the terms of the agreement that brought the Federal Government into power in the first place. The constitution remains provisional because it is palpably incomplete, with areas like federalism, left for future discussion at the time of signing. A thorough and patient debate about the national identity and future society, distribution of power, responsibilities and resources is a necessary prerequisite for any referendum and widespread consensus to be reached.

Third, ongoing Somali support for the presence of the African Union troops depends on a mandate that works at the local level, as well as in the capital. Consent for the force teetered on the edge earlier this year when one contingent, the Kenyans, were

seen to be on the wrong side of a battle between the Federal Government it is required to protect, and the Jubbaland administration. Neither the African force, the steadfast central pillar of peace in Somalia, or its backers cannot afford to see popular support being eroded.

When the extremist insurgency, al Shabaab, suddenly retreated from the capital in 2011, I saw first-hand in Mogadishu steps towards building a political strategy that continues to emerge two years later. The constitution leaves unreconciled an adherence to Islamic Sharia and a western code of human rights, reflecting the polarizing influences on Somali notions of justice. For some, this is the heart of the conflict and will remain a rallying call until a meaningful reconciliation process, like that which is only now occurring in Afghanistan, is urged forward.

There can be no silver bullet to a country riven by decades of conflict. Externally imposed solutions will not work and no constitution can remedy all political differences. Turning the page on the War on Terror demands a more thoroughly diplomatic, more Somali-centered approach. Undoubtedly, the approach to debating Somalia's constitution will need to be as patient as it is imaginative, especially when the idea of discussing territorial limits and federalism attracts so much hostility. Still, little else provides such a powerful symbolic and substantial mechanism for generating national unity in a country where cracks threaten to divide the people of Somalia once again.

## ABOUT THE EDITOR:

*Brendan Zehner was born in Glenside, Pennsylvania. He graduated from St. Joseph's Preparatory School in Philadelphia. He is also an Eagle Scout.*

*He is a junior studying history and public policy at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. His interests include American economic history and US trade policy. He is a member of the College Partnership for Kids and tutors elementary school students in basic arithmetic, reading, and writing. Currently he is a policy analyst and intern at the American Security Project.*

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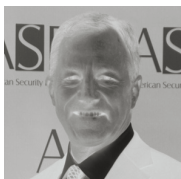
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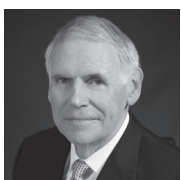
Robert B. Crowe is a Partner of Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough in its Boston and Washington, DC offices. He is co-chair of the firm's Government Relations practice.

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