Trump Administration's National Security Strategy

Evaluating its Vision & Utility

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Introduction

- Key players & policies of the past year
- National security threats (May 2017)
- National Security Strategy (December 2017)
- Russia, China, Iran and North Korea
- How useful is the new Strategy?

Sources

- DNI's Annual World Wide Testimony on Threats (May, 2017)
 - Intelligence Community updates Congress on threats
- US National Security Strategy (Dec, 2017)
 - Describes Administration's general policy priorities & direction
- US National Defense Strategy (Jan, 2018)
 - Pentagon's response to the National Security Strategy
- Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House, by Michael Wolff (2018)
 - Controversial; accurate?
- **Understanding Trump**, by Newt Gingrich (2018)

National Security Team

- National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster, LTG USA
- Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, fmr ExxonMobil CEO
- Secretary of Defense James Mattis, ret Gen USMC
- Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen, fmr Dep WH Chief of Staff
- Secretary of Energy Rick Perry, fmr Governor (TX)
- Attorney General Jeff Sessions, fmr US Senator
- Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats, fmr US Senator
- Director of CIA Mike Pompeo, fmr US Congessman
- Director of FBI Christopher Wray, fmr Justice Dept
- US Amb to UN Nikki Haley, fmr Governor (SC)
- Chief of Staff -- John Kelly, ret Gen USMC

How is the team functioning?

Some apparent disagreements (e.g. North Korea, China)

Stable, except for Homeland Security; State Dept.?

- Do the principal advisers speak their minds to Trump?
- Does Trump listen to intelligence & policy advisers?
- What influence do others have?

Key Policy Actions of 2017

- Obamacare repeal, immigration limits & tax reform (efforts mixed)
- Opposed NAFTA & Pacific trade agreements and climate treaty
- DOJ report on Russia & election meddling (pending)
- Defeat of ISIS militarily (terrorist threat remains)
- Saudi Arabia/Yemen (countering Iranian influence)
- Recognized Jerusalem as capital of Israel (counters previous US policy)
- China (trade issues & North Korean threat)
- Russia (support to Ukraine; Syrian civil war cooperation?)
- Iran (oppose nuclear accord, but it continues so far)
- North Korea (confronting nuclear & missile threats; risk of war?)

DNI Testimony on National Security Threats (May 2017)

- Cyber warfare
- Radical Islamic movements & terrorism
- Proliferation of nuclear weapons & material
- Counterintelligence
- Space & counter-space
- Disruptive technologies, economics, disease & natural resources
- Regional instabilities
- Russia, China, North Korea, Syria, & Iran

What is a National Security Strategy?

- Outlines threats, goals & priorities
- Gives general policy direction to departments/agencies
- Informs Congress, US public and foreign governments
- Tries to satisfy some expectations of political base
- Typically is dismissed by many as irrelevant (read editorials)

Trump's "America First" Strategy

- Revitalize our economic power
- Rebuild our military, intelligence & diplomatic capabilities
- Defend our borders
- Protect our sovereignty
- Advance our values
- Not isolationist!

The International Vision

- Rally the world against rogue states (e.g. North Korea and Iran)
- Renew friendships in Middle East (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt)
- Crush radical Islamic terrorist organizations (e.g. ISIS & al-Qaeda)
- Fight economic aggression & unfair trading practices
- Seek more contribution from Allies for our common defense

Five Pillars of the Security Strategy

- Protect American people, homeland & way of life
- Promote American prosperity
- Preserve peace through strength
- Advance American influence
- Deal with regional threats & opportunities

Protect American People

Secure US borders & territory

- Defend against WMD threats
- Strengthen border control & immigration policy

Pursue threats to their source

Defeat Jihadist terrorists & international criminal organizations

Keep America safe in the cyber arena

Build stronger networks & deter/disrupt malicious actors

Promote American resilience

• Improve risk management & preparedness

Promote American Prosperity

- Rejuvenate domestic economy
 - Reduce regulations & debt; improve infrastructure
- Promote fair reciprocal economic relationships
 - New trade/investment agreements; counter unfair & corrupt practices
- Lead in research, development & innovation
 - Attract/retain innovators, leverage private capital & rapidly field inventions
- Protect US innovation base
 - Tighten visa procedures; protect data & infrastructure
- Embrace energy dominance
 - Reduce barriers, promote exports, ensure security & technological edge

Preserve Peace through Strength

Renew our competitive advantages

- Prepare for continuous, unconventional competition
- Use our national talent, creativity & dedication

Overmatch our intelligence, military & industrial capabilities

- Modernize existing and seek new capabilities to defend & fight
- Encourage investment, protect & grow skills

Strengthen diplomatic efforts & statecraft

- Upgrade our forward diplomatic presence & alliances
- Identify and capitalize on opportunities for commerce & cooperation

Advance American Influence

Encourage aspiring partners

Promote US aid/investment & assist fragile states to prevent threats to US

Achieve better outcomes in multilateral international bodies

- Lead and engage, but prioritize involvement
- Reform international organizations (e.g. UN, IMF, WB & WTO)
- Seek better cost sharing (i.e. NATO)

Champion American values

- Support dignity of individuals, especially women & youth
- Protect minorities & reduce human suffering

Regional Priorities

Indo-Pacific

- Meet the challenges from China & North Korea
- Promote ties with S. Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, & SE Asia

Europe

- Promote Allies' strength and blunt Russian, Chinese & radical Islamic influence
- Strengthen NATO through balanced cost sharing

Middle East

- Solve Syrian crisis, deny Iran nuclear weapons, promote Israel/Palestinian accord
- Encourage Egypt & Saudi Arabia to modernize their economies

South & Central Asia

- Seek a Pakistan not engaged in destabilizing behavior; promote ties with India
- Seek and support a stable & self-reliant Afghanistan

Regional Priorities (con't)

Western Hemisphere

- Build security & prosperity through diplomacy and economic arrangements
- Blunt Russian and Chinese influence in Cuba & Venezuela
- Reduce crime & corruption

Africa

- Help fight corruption & weak governance
- Blunt countries from becoming battlegrounds for extremists & Jihadists
- Offer alternatives to Chinese influence

Threats vs. Strategy Comparison

Threats

- Cyber warfare
- Radical Islamic movements & terrorism
- Proliferation of nuclear weapons & material
- Counterintelligence
- Space & counter-space
- Disruptive technologies, economics, disease & natural resources
- Regional instabilities
- Russia, China, North Korea, Syria, & Iran

Strategy

- Peace through strength
 - WMD proliferation, cyber defense, intelligence, military modernization & diplomacy
- Secure US borders & territory
- Promote American prosperity
 - Rejuvenate economy & fight unfair trade practices
- Advance American influence
 - Encourage partners & support fragile states
- Regional challenges
 - Russia, China, North Korea, & Iran

Is the Strategy useful?

General guidelines & priorities, no specifics

Will be constrained by domestic economic & political realities

Will be constrained by international players & actions

Will be affected by unanticipated events!

What happens next?

 National security departments & agencies must now operationalize general guidelines

National Security Council must refine major US policy initiatives

White House must obtain congressional & public support

White House must convince foreign allies to support

Good policymaking requires ...

- Courageous, honest & effective leadership (strong Nat Sec team)
- Clear, consistent priorities & policies
- Effective intelligence, strong military, and effective soft power
- Strong alliances & international cooperation
- Congressional & public support

Three Biggest Challenges (thus far...)

Russian influence in Europe & Syria

Iranian nuclear weapon ambitions & future of nuclear accord

North Korean nuclear missile threat

Russian Challenges

Cyber threats

Dealing with Putin's anti-US nationalistic ambitions

• Blunting influence in Europe (e.g. Ukraine & natural resources)

Solving Syrian civil war and future of Assad regime

Iranian Challenge

Declared enemy of US & Israel

Desires regional power/influence & ability to deter US

Receives support from Russia & China

Seeks nuclear weapons (status & deterrence)

Future of Nuclear Accord with Iran

- Trump continues to call the nuclear accord (JCPOA) flawed
 - Yet, he has hesitated to pull the plug

- Trump recently recertified Iranian compliance, but with conditions
 - Allowing immediate inspections & making the agreement indefinite
 - A follow-on agreement related to missiles

- Potential reaction of others if US tries to change or kill accord
 - Russia, China & EU countries

National Security Strategy and Iran

No specific policy direction provided

- Seems to reflect hesitancy on the part of the White House
 - May reflect disagreements within Administration

- However, a red line now has been laid down (i.e. conditions)
 - Congress & Europeans must come up with recommended changes within 120 days to strengthen the Iran's commitment

North Korean Nuclear Missile Threat

Kim is unpredictable & potentially dangerous

Has nuclear weapon arsenal

Is source of nuclear proliferation

Developing intercontinental-range missiles vs. US

North Korean Goals

Maintain regime's control

Deter the US militarily & eliminate US influence

Achieve international legitimacy

Unify the peninsula

Why North Korea wants nuclear weapons

Deterrence vs. US

Leverage to undercut US influence & alliances in region

So, is a nuclear attack on US territory or Asian allies likely?

What can the US do?

Denuclearize North Korea?

• Preemptive military strike or regime change (unrealistic options)

Stronger ballistic missile defenses?

Reinforce regional alliances (i.e. South Korea & Japan)

Covert action?

• Slow nuclear weapon program & influence North Korean people

What can the US do? (con't)

- Strengthen international sanctions?
 - Requires Russian & Chinese cooperation to be effective
- Get the Chinese to turn the screws?
 - China has the most influence & leverage
- Negotiate a non-aggression pact & peace treaty thru UN?
 - Guaranty legitimacy & security, but insist on intrusive inspections
 - Would require Chinese, Russian & South Korean support
- CONTAINMENT IS ESSENTIAL!

Risks of <u>not</u> containing North Korea

US credibility as a reliable partner in East Asia suffers

- South Korea may go for nuclear weapon option
 - Previous program was stopped by US security guarantee
 - Has technology & nuclear material
- Japan may go for nuclear weapon option
 - Allergic, but what if desperate & others proliferate?
 - Has technology & nuclear material

My Conclusions

Strategy is generally consistent with IC's description of threats "America First" is not isolationist = pragmatic realism?

Lacks specific policies to deal with issues, but ...

Some specifics should come from the new National Defense Strategy Inconsistencies probably reflect tension within the Administration

Reads like a campaign or "State of the Union/World" speech

Does not mention things Trump opposes (e.g. climate change)

Bottom-line: specific policies will result from domestic requirements & in reaction to international events!

Your thoughts & questions?