

## **Politics by Other Means: The Future of National Security and Diplomacy in a Polarized Land**

*Led by **John Noonan**: Senior Counselor for Military & Defense Affairs, National Security Advisor to Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR) and the Presidential Campaigns of Governor Jeb Bush and Governor Mitt Romney*

To understand national security is to understand the nature of threat, and how threat evolves and emerges in a fast-paced world. Political influences on technology, demographics, culture, and identity all play a role in how voters comprehend threat. In a world led by western democracies, those voters and their beliefs shape the geopolitical order. 2016's unusual electoral cycle is an apt and recent example of that dynamic.

This study group will examine the impact of ideology on national security and foreign policy. Since the end of the Cold War, strong political undertows have altered our traditional understanding of defense and diplomacy. Resurgent nationalism has placed great strain on the North Atlantic Treaty and the European Union, while similar dynamics have complicated international trade and the balance of power in Asia. New powers have risen, old powers have returned, and aspiring powers have emerged. Though this composite lens, we will endeavor to decipher how politics affects threat, looking to the past to help understand the future.

**Course Plan** (Order subject to change based on speaker availability)

### **Week 1 — September 19 — Democracy: The Worst Form of Government (Except all the others): International Threats to Electoral Integrity.**

The interference by the Russian Government in the 2016 election stunned many Americans and international observers. But election meddling is an old game, played by adversaries and allies alike over the course of human history. We will strive to understand the nature of this perpetual menace, how the United States and liberal democracies can insulate themselves from electoral interloping, and the impact of foreign powers on domestic debate.

*No invited guest for this session*

### **Week 2 — September 26 — Nuclear Deterrence is Dead, Long Live Nuclear Deterrence.**

For 70 years, nuclear deterrence has kept at bay war between major powers. But deterrence is based on political credibility and constancy. Is this fragile equation shaken by current partisan instability? Uncertainty at home pushes the public towards dismantlement, uncertainty abroad pushes the public towards rearmament. We will discuss the civic debate around nuclear

weapons policy, the current nuclear chain of command, the propagation of atomic weapons, and the question of a bilateral deterrent in a multipolar world.

**Confirmed Guest:** General John Hyten, USAF. Commander, United States Strategic Command

**Week 3 — October 3 — Do Drones Dream of Electric Sheep? The Future of Ethics and War.**

Emerging technologies bring new strategic, legal, and moral challenges. We will explore the latest political and ethical debates such as autonomous robotics in military and surveillance functions, the definition of what constitutes an act of cyberwar, the eventuality of a conflict in space, the rise of hypersonic weapons, and the dangers of militarized artificial intelligence, among others.

**Guest (invited but not confirmed):** Peter Thiel, Chairman of Clarium Capital, Chairman of Palantir, Facebook Board of Directors, Author of *Zero to One: Notes on Startups, or How to Build a Future*

**Week 4 — October 10 — Campaigns and Conflict: National Security Policy on the Presidential Trail.**

The most solemn responsibility a Presidential candidate has is presenting a clear strategy and policies for the defense of the United States. From President John F. Kennedy's suggested "missile gap" with the Soviet Union, to Senator John McCain's controversial decision to run on his support of the Iraq War (and President Barack Obama's campaign against it), to President Trump's campaign on withdrawal from international treaties, the most pressing national security challenges of our times are often first shaped on the campaign trail. Senator John McCain's foreign policy advisor from his 2008 run will join us in a class/workshop that both explains how strategies are written and how students can successfully seek a career in campaigns and political policy.

**Confirmed Guest:** Dr. Kori Schake, Deputy Director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, former Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to McCain 2008 Campaign, Author of *Safe Passage: The Transition from British to American Hegemony*

**Week 5 — October 17 — Treaties Last Until They Don't. The Relevance of Contracts, Pacts, and Accords in the Post-Cold War World.**

International treaties are the backbone of the rules-based liberal world order. But is the ecosystem of treaties and agreements signed in the mid to late 20<sup>th</sup> century failing? From new strategic trials like a revanchist Russia and Brexit, to emerging political challenges like the rise of U.S. and European nationalism, what is the future of international agreements like the North Atlantic Treaty, the Treaty on the European Union, the looming START renegotiation, and the INF Treaty?

**Guest (invited but not confirmed):** His Excellency Sir Kim Darroch, British Ambassador to the United States

**Week 6 — October 24 —Back to the Future with the North Korean Nuclear Crisis.** High stakes diplomacy between the Trump Administration and Kim Jong Un regime over the North Korea's nuclear program has the potential for great success. But so too did unsuccessful diplomatic efforts from the Clinton, Bush, and Obama Administrations. As North Korea works to mate long-range ballistic missiles with their new atomic arsenal, they will soon have the ability to threaten U.S. and Canadian cities with nuclear devastation. A leading Senior State Department official on the North Korean negotiating team will give us an inside look at the challenging and elusive prospect of denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula.

**Confirmed Guest:** Alex Wong, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Asia, Deputy Special Representative for North Korea

**Week 7 — October 31 —The Fight on The Hill. Legislation, Damn Legislation, and Statistics.** Every year, the United States passes a \$700 billion defense bill, the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA). Long viewed as one of the last bastions of bipartisan Congressional consensus, the NDAA process has been strained in recent years by increased political polarization. We will go inside the mysterious and often closed-door process by which the U.S. Congress authorizes the annual defense budget, and examine the NDAA's most controversial issues, from the proposed Space Corps, to the debates over transgender service and defense spending, and explore the political dynamics that shape American defense policy.

**Speaker** (invited but not confirmed): Congressman Adam Smith (D-WA), Ranking Member of the House Committee on Armed Services

**Week 8 — Nov 7 — Congressional Bench-Warming? Article II Authorities and the War Powers Resolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.** Has Congress surrendered their say in when and where America goes to war? Congress has not granted new war making authorities since September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and October 2002, despite U.S. military involvement in over a dozen countries in 16 years. The lines of conflict have blurred, with states using cyber, economic, space, and other domains to wage soft wars against their enemies. We will discuss the rise of "lawfare" and Congress' historical role in war making powers, whether they've been sufficiently confident in their Constitutional role, and the graying line between Congressional responsibility for national security and their responsibility as elected officials.

**Speaker** (invited but not confirmed): Congressman Mike Gallagher (R-WI), House Armed Services Committee, House Homeland Security Committee