

2018

ASPEN  
SECURITY  
FORUM  
REPORT

ASPEN, CO JULY 2018

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SECURITY  
FORUM



# FORWARD

Dear Reader,

Our inaugural Aspen Security Forum Report provides insights for decision makers, security professionals, and the public from the discussions held during the 2018 Aspen Security Forum. As we close the doors on the ninth annual ASF, we reflect on the diversity of issues affecting our world across multiple domains – air, land, sea, space, and cyberspace.

The key theme brought up by speakers throughout the Forum was the changing relationship that the United States is creating with friends, foes and competitors around the globe. This plays out most dramatically in how the United States addresses current and future threats to our interests. From the renewed concern about great power conflict, to the rising threats and opportunities from emerging technologies, to the warming of relationships on the Korean Peninsula and cooling of those across the Pond, to the quest for clarity in our strategic vision in Iraq and Afghanistan, Forum experts provided keen insights in how today and tomorrow's crises might play out and what warning signs to watch for.

This report aims to capture key highlights from the 2018 Aspen Security Forum about the critical security issues of the day, while helping us to frame the unanswered questions as we look forward to our tenth anniversary. To keep your interest, this report is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive, rather a snap shot of what was deliberated and an effort to record the key insights of some of America's and our partners' most thoughtful national security professionals.

The Aspen Security Forum would not be possible without the interest and support of stakeholders like you. It is your partnership, whether as a speaker, moderator, attendee, observer, underwriter, or reporting journalist that makes the Forum a continued and growing success! I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to you all.

Finally, this report is truly made possible through the volunteer work and contributions of the writing team. Their enthusiasm and efforts are truly appreciated. Thank you all for your hard work and focused talents.



Rob Walker  
Executive Director  
The Aspen Security Forum

For 90 Years, Solving  
What Matters Most  
for Our Nation.

“for the *Greatest Good* for *Humanity*”

*Gordon Battelle*



**BATTELLE**

It can be done

# THE 2018 ASPEN SECURITY FORUM

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From July 18-21, 2018, the Aspen Security Forum (ASF) brought together a nonpartisan, interdisciplinary group of 20 moderators and 61 speakers from the national security community to discuss the most pressing security issues of the day. Following the Aspen Institute's model for reasoned and open discourse, the assembled experts and program attendees spent more than 25 hours of formal program time and countless hours of sidebar conversations discussing national security threats and responses.

This report distills these discussions into four major themes and highlights key points with curated excerpts from some of the exceptional conversations that are shaping America's internal and external security policies in the coming year.

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**For a more in-depth review of the agenda, full transcripts, and videos are available on the Aspen Security Forum's website: [aspensecurityforum.org/media](https://aspensecurityforum.org/media)**

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## **REPORTING THROUGH THE LENS OF "STRATEGIC RENOVATION?"**

In testimony before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 26, 2018, Wess Mitchell, the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian affairs, described the Trump Administration's goals in Europe as a "*strategic renovation*." That term proved useful as a concept because it implies a transformational kind of change. It helped explain how the ASF participants discussed renovations in the way the United States relates to the world; how the security environment is changing due to technology innovations; how threat actors are revamping their challenges; and, how departments and agencies are adapting to protect and defend against threats and changing conditions. Although we have broken the discussions into these categories, it is impossible to deny the interconnectedness of issues and ideas across these reporting areas. The executive summary offers only the top-level takeaways. For those who have more time, the full report provides a better feel for the richness of the discussions, and the transcripts of all conversations are available at the website featured in the text box above.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## RENOVATING THE WORLD ORDER

Throughout the Forum, panelists discussed the practical and still valuable role that alliances and partnerships, most built in the aftermath of World War II, have played in organizing what is known as the “US-led world order.” Built on democracy, free markets, rule of law, and concern for human rights, this order provided the West with the benefit of getting to make the rules. Participants described this system as “in flux.” Our European colleagues highlighted the overarching importance of maintaining security relationships, especially NATO. Most speakers identified a continuing, strong working-level relationship between the United States and its partners, even when there is friction at the political leadership level. No one had a clear view of what the eventual end state will be.

## TECHNOLOGY RENOVATING THE WORLD

Computing innovations, in all their manifestations, along with biology, nuclear, and engineering advances continue to change the security environment for everyone. Those who master critical technologies first attain powerful advantages. Some technologies, such as 5th generation communications (5G), were described as a security game changer, capable of providing significant strategic advantage. A common forum consideration was not just the technology creation, but its adaptation and control by governments, industries, and citizens.

## RENOVATION OF THREAT ACTORS

As the United States and the West take stands on the role of partnerships and multilateral negotiations, competitors are looking for opportunities to take advantage in shifting alliances. They are positioned to revise and adapt their efforts to gain power, influence, and in some cases control of territory. Panelists described the current threat environment as shifting away from terrorism and toward great power conflict and hybrid warfare.

## RENOVATING US RESPONSES, CAPABILITIES AND POSTURES

The most important takeaway from the 2018 Aspen Security Forum is the US’ enduring ability and resolve to respond to the changing security environment. The leaders of numerous US departments and agencies detailed their plans for responding to new – and old – threat vectors. These strong and steady public servants left the Forum confident that they are addressing today’s issues and readying for what may come tomorrow.

# REPORT

## WHAT IS “STRATEGIC RENOVATION?”

### INTRODUCTION

In testimony before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 26, 2018, Wess Mitchell, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, described the Trump Administration’s goals in Europe as a “*strategic renovation*.” That term (which we now phrase as a question) proved useful as a common theme for reporting how ASF participants agreed with, disagreed with, discussed, and questioned recent changes in the way the United States relates to allies, neutrals, competitors, and enemies across a dynamically changing world order. The panelists generally identified four key areas of changes that the United States is leading or reacting to as a part of the ongoing “Strategic Renovation.”

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## FOUR KEY AREAS OF RENOVATION

- 1 RENOVATING THE WORLD ORDER**  
Roles of allies, competitors, and foes are changing.
  - 2 TECHNOLOGY RENOVATING THE WORLD**  
Technology affecting everything from democracy, the role of government, winners and losers, and who makes the rules.
  - 3 RENOVATION OF THREAT ACTORS**  
War, cold war, weapons, force, and other friction.
  - 4 RENOVATIONS OF THE US RESPONSE CAPABILITY AND POSTURE**  
Ways to stay strong despite the changes.
-

## RENOVATING THE WORLD ORDER

**The 2018 Aspen Security Forum (ASF) discussion of President Trump's America First Agenda took place following a week of swirling international news about the NATO Summit and then the Helsinki Summit between Presidents Trump and Putin. Former UK Ambassador Peter Westmacott** acknowledged that it was

indeed unreasonable for the United

States to pay 75% of NATO expenses; but noted that change there was necessary and inevitable. **Hugh Hewitt, Host of the Hugh Hewitt Radio Show**, supported President Trump as 'just being a realist that talks tough,' and that the way ahead will be a little rocky but will put us on a good path. However, a number of speakers described their concerns about the combination of worldwide populist movements, whether America will pursue its interests in the world alone or in tandem with allies, and what this means for the current world order that is being counterbalanced by a different vision from China. President Trump's rhetoric has made some national leaders wonder about his intentions: to shake the trees of multilateral alliances for more contributions, or to chop them down.

**President Trump has been taking unilateral and bilateral action, making some wonder about the future of the US-led multilateral solutions.**

**Director, President and CEO of the Wilson Center, Jane Harman**, weighed in on this saying the world order is frayed but not over. She gave President Trump credit for asking the right questions about the multilateral relationships. However, she disagreed with his answers about what the outcomes should be, suggesting to "mend it, not end it." Harman added further that it was American values that should be leading the world, not the isolationist tenor that is part of President Trump's "America First," ethos. **William Kristol, Editor-at-Large of *The Weekly Standard***, posited that we are not at the precipice of shattering relationships with our allies yet, but noted that social factors driving populism are the symptoms that could be the causes for major change.



On to world order,  
and whether it's  
frayed, or whether it  
exists. It's frayed.

It's not over but it is frayed.

We should mend it, not end it.

PRESIDENT, DIRECTOR & CEO  
OF THE WILSON CENTER JANE HARMAN

# REPORT

**The President's goals for change do indeed combine with other dynamics that are driving social and political movements worldwide.** *New York Times*

**The question I've actually been exploring in my column is why are political parties all over the industrial world blowing up? They're actually all blowing up at the same time.**

NEW YORK TIMES FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OP-ED COLUMNIST,  
THOMAS FRIEDMAN



**Foreign Affairs Op-Ed Columnist Thomas Friedman** described three key worldwide types of “climate” (or long-term and pervasive) changes important to this dynamic period: “environmental climate change,” where response is needed now; “globalization climate change,” which has linked economies so significantly that our partners' actions can be more damaging to us economically than the actions of our enemies; and “technology climate change,” where machines are acquiring human attributes and capabilities. These changes have affected the ecosystem of work and are partially causing a global divide that Friedman describes as order in the global north, and chaos in the global south.

**The US-led international order has relied on a set of common values that include democracy, rule of law, and human rights; panelists discussed whether these values were part of the strategic renovation.** Speakers questioned, but mostly agreed, that US allies and partners still hold the same values, but added they may be getting out of step on exactly what they mean to different countries. Former UK Ambassador Westmacott noted that something is changing in our societies and our values are being challenged.

**Panelists discussed the President's harsh criticism of allies and what that means for renovating these relationships in multilateral organizations. Speakers distinguished between economic and security alliances.** **Former CIA Acting Director John McLaughlin** laid down the foundational premise that in politics, words matter, and especially when they come from the president. **German Ambassador Emily Haber** made a significant distinction between the economic multilateral relationship of the European Union (EU) and those of the security umbrella provided by NATO. She said multilateral trade agreements provide economic strength, and thus are clearly valuable. On the other hand, she called the NATO security relationship “existential.” She stated clearly that she perceives Russia as

a persistent adversary and that NATO is needed to protect the United States and the EU from it. **David O’Sullivan, Ambassador of the EU to the United States**, noted that he believes the President is seeking a “reset” with the EU, and although it will be a tough conversation, it will be worked out. Ties remain deep and strong, but the rhetoric against the EU and NATO, he says, is making it harder for close allies to come together on important issues. That reality was why O’Sullivan explained it was in everyone’s interest that “We need to reinvent this relationship for every successful generation.” No country can afford to assume that successive generations will share the same views of the world and how to engage in commerce, trade, travel, and security partnerships.

**Panelists described two American governments.** Former CIA Acting Director John McLaughlin described the difference in the two governments as being: 1) what the President says and tweets, and 2) what other senior government personnel implement. **Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs Michael Murphy** highlighted this as a positive based on the 2018 NATO Summit, which displayed both President Trump’s negative rhetoric side-by-side with working-level collaboration resulting in concrete multilateral accomplishments. He said, “On defense and deterrence, we did an awful lot..., and it’s been under-reported. The 30/30/30 initiative, the readiness initiative where the allies agree to ensure that we have 30 air squadrons, 30 naval squadrons, 30 maneuver brigades available to the alliance for its defense in 30 days is a big deal.” Nearly a dozen other multilateral security agreements were mentioned. Comments similar to these were a mainstay of the Forum discussion panels, indicating that while rhetoric may be troubling for allied leaders, our countries continue to work together productively, even if the relationship is seeking a new balance.

 **We’re condemned to be each other’s best friends even if we don’t want to be, because we have such a tissue of relationships that binds us together.**

AMBASSADOR OF THE EUROPEAN UNION  
TO THE UNITED STATES, DAVID O’SULLIVAN

# REPORT

**China poses a problem that the United States has never faced, which is having a genuine peer competitor.**

COLUMNIST  
AND AUTHOR,  
DAVID IGNATIUS



**China featured more significantly than other adversaries because it is the key change agent capable of “renovating” the rules of world organization in its favor. Many panelists said that to retain US advantages, we will need to be resolute in protecting the current order.** The panel characterized China as a full-peer competitor that is getting stronger all the time. **Michael Collins, the Deputy Assistant Director of CIA’s East Asia Mission Center,** went further to say that we are in a cold war with China. He noted that China uses all instruments of state and social power to

seek advantages and pushes in any way that the international order allows. **Ashok Mirpuri, Ambassador of Singapore to the United States,** eloquently spoke of how overwhelmingly large the Belt and Road Initiative architecture is, and that without a countervailing structure from the United States, countries will be drawn into its powerful influence. Finally, Thomas Friedman said that multilateral economic effort is called for to check the surge of China and prevent their ascendancy. He noted that hard work, education, and cheating on trade made them wealthy on inexpensive goods, but if they use the same model in artificial intelligence (AI) and 5th generation (5G) cyber technology, we will all be in big trouble. He suggested that a bilateral trade war between the United States and China would be less effective than an exclusive multilateral trade group that commanded a large amount of the world’s gross domestic product and demanded corrections to unfair practices. China remains the wild card in future world organization and to retain US advantages, the United States will need to be resolute in protecting the current order.

## TECHNOLOGY RENOVATING THE WORLD

**The world is in the middle of strategic security changes driven by new technology—and the US has been slow to react. Panelists discussing cyber-based election interference said Russian influence operations are not isolated efforts, but a continuing, orchestrated campaign.** **Microsoft Corporate Vice-President Tom Burt** identified a recent case where Microsoft took control of spoofed websites controlled by APT 28 (a threat actor linked to Russian intelligence), with the intent to phish three candidates in the upcoming 2016 mid-term elections. Panelists agreed that the United States is not in the position of

cyber-attack prevention—it is and must be engaged in combatting these operations as they occur. **Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein** laid out some of what the Department of Justice will do to combat these operations in his presentation of the Attorney General's Cyber-Digital Task Force Report (which, among other topics, identified the factors that the department will consider before disclosing known influence operations to the public). **Greg Clark, CEO of Symantec**, complemented Rosenstein's presentation, saying that he was happy to hear that government recognized that democracy required cybersecurity to be better defined. In addition, he said there had to be consequences for attacks on civilians,

## ON INFLUENCE OPERATIONS

**Influence operations are a form of information warfare. Covert propaganda and disinformation are the primary weapons. The Russian effort to influence the 2016 presidential campaign is just one tree in a growing forest, focusing merely on a single election, misses the point... They are meant to undermine democracy on a daily basis regardless of whether it is election time or not.**

DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
ROD ROSENSTEIN

## ON ELECTION INTERFERENCE

**The best thing that you can do is if you see something, say something. We talk about it in the physical space. It's the same thing in the virtual space as well. The more trust that we can build, the more the people are willing to share, the more that we can start to correlate amongst ourselves what's really going on.**

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF HOMELAND  
SECURITY FOR CYBERSECURITY AND  
COMMUNICATIONS JEANETTE MANFRA

companies, and particularly our democracy; he now sees the United States taking on that job. Cybercrime alone, he noted, diverts between two and three percent of gross domestic product to criminal enterprises. This slow-burning crisis calls for increased awareness and cooperation between the government agencies and cybersecurity companies like Symantec

**Regarding nuclear weapons, panelists identified that, despite past and current Russian and Chinese modernization and innovation in the nuclear arena, the US has failed to update the nuclear triad since the Cold War.** While panelists disagreed about the levels of necessary investment, there was consensus that this

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new nuclear competition would not be a race for numbers but rather an expansion of capabilities and delivery options, including hypersonic delivery as a reflection of Russia's recent interest in opportunities for low-yield nuclear weapons in conventional conflict.

## ON A NEW NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

Something's happening where there's more interest in weapons, more interest in new types of weapons, more interest in technology that can be used to enhance these weapons...So while it's not traditional, there is certainly something that's going on.

FORMER COORDINATOR FOR  
THREAT REDUCTION PROGRAMS, US  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE, BONNIE JENKINS

**Leaders argued that the slow process for establishing or allocating department and agency authority on emerging technology issues discourages them from taking initiative.** When asked about what new technologies the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is tracking, **Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen** commented that the Department is highly concerned about possible threats from drone technology, but currently lacks the authority to take substantive action (the Administration maintains direct authority over drone regulations). Separately, **Representative Will Hurd** highlighted frustrated efforts by a few congressional representatives to develop a quantum technology agenda, including the

proposal of a national coordinator for quantum technologies, better orchestration of funding, and cooperation among relevant agencies. Panelists argued that the lack of designated responsibilities and authorities deters actions in these emerging areas. They further detailed the constant catch up by government, legal, and policy mechanisms have as new and emerging technologies are introduced into the world's commerce and security environments.

**The US government writ-large is focused less on chasing the acquisition of specific tools or technologies and more on creating the right conditions for the generation and adoption of innovation. Panelists argued even here, it could do more in workforce-related public policies to attract highly skilled labor.** Several panelists called out the importance of strategic guidance, highlighting the increasing declarations of national strategies and whole-of-nation approaches to cyberspace, artificial intelligence (AI), and cloud computing. Panelists also emphasized the need to develop and attract talent for the workforce of the future. **Amazon Web Services' Vice President for the Worldwide Public Sector, Teresa**

**Carlson**, explained how Amazon partners with universities to develop machine learning engineers. Representative Hurd also identified the urgent need to reform immigration policy to match high-tech and other labor requirements. **General Paul Nakasone**, who leads both US Cyber Command and the National Security Agency, commented that, considering the fierce competition for talent from industry, Cyber Command is moving towards a more flexible and attractive workforce model, where soldiers may move back and forth between the military and private sector with greater control over the assignments they pursue.

**As emerging technologies mature and become more widespread, other nations may soon be dictating the ethics, norms, and standards of ‘use,’ instead of the United States.** Panelists pointed to historic cases of nuclear engineering and aeronautics, where America’s innovative edge allowed it to set international standards for these technologies and establish positive and effective norms.

**Then-Deputy Director of the Intelligence Advanced Research Projects Activity, Stacey Dixon**, identified synthetic biology as a new technology where there is a disconnect between the United States’ high ethical standards and those of rival countries that are willing to follow less rigorous standards, ranging from cosmetic (or even eugenic) gene editing, to the threat of new disease creation.

**Facebook Head of Product Policy and Counterterrorism, Monica Bickert**, commented that Facebook faces many challenges, as an American company with free speech beliefs, in countries where domestic laws may identify certain content as illegal.

**MITRE Head of National Cybersecurity Samuel Visner** emphasized that 5G capabilities will dramatically change the nature of the cyber ecosystem around the Internet of Things and, since the Europeans and Chinese are leading technological development in this space, the Chinese may be positioned to re-define cyberspace on their own terms. General Nakasone pointed out that Cyber Command’s new vision for “persistent engagement” in cyberspace could escalate to war because of Washington’s decision to abdicate moral authority for the use of new cyber technologies.

**To compete with state-directed economies, the free-market United States and the private sector must work to foster greater trust and exchange of talent and ideas.** The private sector needs to deliver higher security and privacy standards for the government to quickly adopt and experiment with new technologies. On the other hand, government and military panelists recognized the need to build trust with the private sector, exemplified by the recent controversy over Project Maven (which used AI algorithms to help the Pentagon analyze and target images from drone footage), and called for the private

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## ON CYBERSECURITY

I don't think it's the government's job and it'll never be the government's full mandate in this country with its size and complexity, to provide for the centralized collective defense of every system, every piece of data, every network connected to the internet. It is not possible under our form of government.

FORMER ASSISTANT TO  
THE PRESIDENT FOR  
HOMELAND SECURITY AND  
COUNTERTERRORISM,  
TOM BOSSERT

sector to meet with them and learn more about what they do. General Nakasone explained how Cyber Command continues to meet with academic and industrial partners, form relationships with innovation hubs, and work with other government agencies. Government, industry, academia, and the military will need to bridge the trust gap if the United States is to compete with countries like Russia and China, where industry and government is effectively the same enterprise.

## RENOVATIONS OF THREAT ACTORS

**In this complex, technology-driven security environment, US policymakers today face an unprecedented and complex foreign threat picture.** Forum participants described a rapidly evolving geopolitical power balance and noted that individual crises are increasingly complex and demand more consideration of systemic effects. Participants described a macrotrend toward a long-term geopolitical struggle of great powers between the US, China, and Russia. The role of Europe and its constituent states in the emerging balance of great power conflicts was conspicuously absent.

**Influence campaigns, non-military power, and hybrid warfare are the principal adversaries' core tools to weaken the United States.** In many of the China and Russia-related conversations, it became clear that the present great power struggle is largely being fought against the United States along hybrid lines that do not cross into the domain of conventional war or nuclear conflict. Asymmetric methods, such as exploiting the cyber domain, advanced technology theft, industrial sabotage, espionage, information warfare directed at civilian populations, and proxy military conflicts in disputed geographies are likely to continue and expand as the conflict evolves. Pitched battles, such as those waged by Russian proxies in Ukraine and Syria, or military buildup below the threshold of war, such as China's actions in the South China Sea, are already underway. More of these types of low-grade conflict are

likely to arise in other areas where great power interests overlap.

**The Peoples Republic of China presents the United States' top long-term national security, diplomatic, and hegemonic challenge.** In one panel, the conversation focused on a holistic Chinese approach to global competition centered around the expansion and leverage of its massive national security enterprise. Below the surface-level conversation on tariffs and trade, China has been heavily investing in conventional military and nuclear modernization, space warfare and expanding its asymmetric ability to fight

**[The China threat] the way the Chinese are thinking about it, is a whole of government, whole of system, whole of state approach ...The influence operations, and cyber-enabled espionage, and intellectual property theft all fit into this as well. In short, it's a whole systemic approach to advancing their interests by growing out the power and capability of their national security enterprise.**

MARCEL LETTRE, FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR INTELLIGENCE



**“ We look at China in a different way than we look at Russia. I think they do have different intents. China wants to be a global power, and you see them spreading their influence, this one belt, this one road.**

DAN COATS,  
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE

its battles below the threshold of war. Thus, China was deemed the most significant threat to the United States and its allies.

**The Russian Federation, under Vladimir Putin's dictatorship, will continue to be the most active disrupter and oppositional force to US interests across 11-time zones.** Led for the foreseeable future by a former KGB officer with a stated vision to regain his country's place in world affairs, Russia is America's boldest and most cavalier threat. Far from the Helsinki Summit and even outside discussion about US election interference, ASF participants spoke of Russia's many other recent violations of international norms, including political assassinations, diplomatic expulsions, and annexation of land on Europe's borders in Ukraine and Georgia. The high importance of individual psychology and the worldview of Mr.

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**The political logic of Putin’s regime... is we’re surrounded by enemies and by unifying and defending ourselves against these foreign threats, we will not be brought back to the low point of the 1990s.**

ANDREW WEISS, FORMER DIRECTOR ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL FOR RUSSIAN, UKRAINIAN, AND EURASIAN AFFAIRS



Putin himself was discussed at length during a panel with Russia experts including **Victoria Nuland, former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs**, and Andrew Weiss, former Director at the National Security Council (NSC) for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs. Other Russia experts with unique perspectives also weighed in, including moderator **Julia Ioffe, GQ Correspondent**, herself a Russian immigrant, and **Professor Nina Khrushcheva**, the great granddaughter of Nikita Khrushchev. Nuclear treaty violations and a new United States-Russia missile race may also be on the immediate horizon, as Russia recently violated an existing missile treaty by building new intermediate-range offensive capabilities. Third-party “hotspots” where the geopolitical interests of the United

States and Russia are in opposition can also present small proxy battles with real combat. Andrew Weiss described an incident in Syria in February 2018, during which a conventional attack by Russian contract soldiers on US Special Operations Forces in Syria was decisively and forcefully repelled at high cost to Moscow. Despite the geopolitical and power balance struggles, most participants asserted the importance of attempted diplomatic engagement with the Russians through both bureaucratic and direct presidential mechanisms.

## ON PRESIDENTIAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE US

**I always believe that talking is better than not talking.**

VICTORIA NULAND, FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN AFFAIRS

**North Korea remains extremely dangerous, and any peace is precarious, despite recent high-profile diplomatic activity.**

The near-term focus on North Korea will be to continue a pressure campaign toward a verifiable and transparent total denuclearization. Participants noted that North Korean regimes in the 1990s and 2000s made and broke many pledges, establishing a very weak level of trust. As a result, a general consensus from several different sessions was that the US and its allies must diligently verify all claims made by Kim Jong Un and his representatives on matters related to denuclearization. In a live video teleconference session, **General Vincent Brooks**, commander of all US, UN and allied troops on the Korean peninsula made it clear that the effort to verifiably denuclearize North Korea is going to be a long process. General Brooks also made clear that the

**Not only do you have to do everything we had to do for Iran, get rid of the fissile material production facilities, and the existing stocks of fissile material, you actually have nuclear weapons, highly unstable, can't be moved out, and they're gonna have to be taken apart on site, and that's a long arduous process.**

ELIZABETH SHERWOOD  
RANDALL, FORMER DEPUTY  
SECRETARY OF ENERGY



## ON NORTH KOREA

To be sure, they have significant asymmetric capabilities, that is things that could be used in a way that is not traditionally military, cyber capabilities, some special operations capabilities. Even their missile capabilities could be used to threaten the populated areas, not just the threat in military forces.

GENERAL VINCENT BROOKS,  
COMMANDER, UNITED STATES FORCES  
KOREA AND COMMANDER, UNITED  
NATIONS COMMAND

overall military preparedness of forces for the defense of South Korea is not being reduced, even as postures and words are being more carefully tailored to support diplomatic dialogue. Complicating matters and adding to the danger will be North Korea's extensive asymmetric capabilities to do harm through unconventional vectors such as cyberattacks, special operations, or renewed missile launches.

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## An accident could have us at war.

WENDY SHERMAN,  
FORMER UNDER  
SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS



**Iran remains a top multidomain threat and state sponsor of terrorism, while many new questions were raised since the United States left the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA).**

The potential consequences of US JCPOA departure generated vigorous debate throughout the Forum. What, if any, elements of the agreement stand as enforceable without US participation? How will the White House respond if the Iranians restart centrifuges to generate

new enriched uranium? Some participants suggested that a flawed agreement could still be better than no agreement at all, especially if it means that the Iranian regime does not restart its centrifuges. The impact on the JCPOA withdrawal were not the only threat considerations related to Iran. A consensus existed that aside from nuclear concerns, Iran remains a danger to the US and allied interests in the Middle East and Europe. Concerns were raised on issues such as recent Iranian paramilitary activity in Syria and Iraq, continued Iranian support to Hezbollah and other terrorist groups, and the possibility of direct confrontation between Riyadh and Tehran in Yemen. A consensus was expressed that Iran remains an ever-present regional danger to US interests and that an accident related to any number of their activities in the Middle East could escalate into a much broader regional war.

**Questions remain on prospects for long-term US commitments and goals for stability in Iraq and Afghanistan.** In a panel on paths to victory in both Iraq and Afghanistan, and in other discussions, it was made clear that there are structural similarities in the two mission sets. In Iraq, Islamic State forces have lost geographic control, but the threat of a resurgence without continued US conventional military presence was suggested by **Juan Zarate, former Deputy National Security Advisor for Combatting Terrorism** under President George W. Bush. Similarly, in Afghanistan, despite seventeen years of US combat operations, the Taliban remains a major force in domestic politics, while endemic corruption in the nominal Afghan government



**There's still a hangover from Iraq and Afghanistan and there's really... no constituency in the US for doing more in the Middle East.**

YOUSSEF AL OTAIBA, UAE  
AMBASSADOR TO THE US

creates hazards to stability in the foreseeable future. While there was not a consensus from the experts on how long the United States is willing to retain combat elements in these states, all agreed there are perils in withdrawal, such as terrorists moving back into previously cleared areas

**Transnational terrorism, while still important, is increasingly being addressed as a regional challenge and through partnerships.** The pursuit, disruption, and prosecution of terrorists remains a global mission, but US counterterrorism overall is becoming a regional problem. Battles with terror groups who threaten the United States still span the globe and include Libya, Somalia, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Indonesia. The ultimate accomplishment of these missions is increasingly a local effort with US forces in an advisory or assistance capacity. The **Director of National Intelligence, Dan Coats**, even suggested that counterterrorism missions should be done in partnership, even with

**Cyberspace is an environment upon which you have to be engaged every single day. You have to be engaged understanding what your adversaries are doing.**

GENERAL PAUL NAKASONE,  
COMMANDER, US CYBER  
COMMAND AND DIRECTOR,  
NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY



## ON COUNTERTERRORISM

**This isn't a classic war... we have to find ways of disrupting these groups, because if we don't, we're going to find ourselves in positions where we're going to have to come back in more aggressive ways, we're going to have to invest more time resources, blood and treasure, and we don't want to do that.**

JUAN ZARATE, FORMER DEPUTY  
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR FOR  
COMBATTING TERRORISM.

adversaries, when threats endanger mutual civilian populations.

**Cyber Domain threats and conflict grow from diverse threat actors.** All the major threat actors described above also present ongoing challenges in cyberspace. Several panelists suggested that foreign threats through cyber vectors were their number one concern after the use of nuclear weapons. General Paul Nakasone clarified that cyberspace was an operating environment that the US would not leave unmonitored or

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uncontested. He spoke of the rise of the Internet as both an engine for growth and as a field of new hazards to US critical infrastructure that must and will be addressed through a whole-of-nation approach.

## RENOVATIONS OF THE US RESPONSES, CAPABILITIES AND POSTURES

**Despite the dangers and worries of the strategic renovations to our alliances, the strategic environment, and threat actors, panelists provided many reasons for US citizens to remain positive.** Leaders of front-line security departments and agencies indicated a clear dedication to doing what was needed to counter the challenges the country currently faces as well as those in the future. In balance with the forces of change brought on by the administration's "strategic renovation" are the enduring institutions, processes, relationships, and values that are providing continuity for the US security mission.

**We all benefit from critical thinking, but for the FBI to be successful in its work, *Our process has to be bulletproof.***

FBI DIRECTOR  
CHRISTOPHER WRAY



**The importance of following standard procedures and processes was a key message of FBI Director Christopher Wray in his discussion with NBC News' Lester Holt.** He

acknowledged the criticism that the FBI received for not following procedure during the high-profile investigation of Secretary Clinton's email server during the 2016 elections. He also recognized that there will always be "tensions" with and between the congressional, political, media and public oversight

of the Bureau and its conduct. For Director Wray, however, "criticism that matters is [from] those that know us and work with us," especially the victims of crime and the public. He explained that behind process is the rule of law, where "our Constitution is a strength." Director Wray's answer to how he withstands political pressure resonated strongly with the ASF audience: "I'm a low-key, understated guy, but that should not be mistaken for what my spine is made out of."

**Director of National Intelligence (DNI) Dan Coats expressed the same dedication to mission, even when it means speaking truth to power.** As the head of America's intelligence community, DNI Coats has focused on leading a group of professionals to "depoliticize information wherever [they] can." **NBC's Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent Andrea Mitchell** asked Coats about his public contradiction of President Trump's Helsinki news conference comments that Russia did not interfere in the 2016 Presidential election. Coats' answer was matter

of fact: “I thought I needed to correct the record. This is the job I signed up. It was my responsibility.” He added that Russian interference in the 2016 election was “undeniable” and intended to undermine our values and “wreak havoc with our processes.” To combat Russian and other nation-state cyber threats, DNI Coats, like so many others, described that “a whole-of-government operation” was required, where the federal government’s agencies are engaged with the private sector, their state and local counterparts, and with its allies to thwart those who want to harm us. In “ramping up,” those efforts, the United States has to be “putting the right defenses and strategies in place.”

**Indeed, a key takeaway of the election manipulation discussion was the broad partnership that is forming to successfully address that threat: the federal government, fifty state governments, and social media titans like Facebook, and many others, are all in this together.** As Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen described to NBC News’ White House Correspondent Peter Alexander, DHS is focused on protecting America’s election infrastructure. **Kim Wyman, Secretary of State for Washington State** with responsibility for election systems, said that the relationship between DHS and the

**I’m a Reagan guy and believe in ‘trust but verify.’ I’m now the verify guy...as long as I am able to seek the truth and speak the truth, I am on board.**

DNI  
DAN COATS



**Any attack on our elections is an attack on our democracy.**

SECRETARY OF HOMELAND  
SECURITY KIRSTJEN NIELSEN

state election systems was “bumpy at first” after the 2016 attacks, but it has since improved. States no longer fear a takeover by the federal government. Instead, DHS has focused on information sharing and coordination. Today, all 50 states are working with DHS to safeguard their election infrastructure, and all of them were taking advantage of the available funding, expertise and resources to ensure their elections are free from tampering. Tom Burt, Corporate Vice President for Customer Security and Trust at Microsoft confirmed that there continues to be attempts on 2018 electoral races, but Microsoft is much smarter and better positioned now to identify and stop those attacks. Additionally, it is committed to sharing information about them with industry and government partners.

# REPORT

So, we've got to work closely with friends and allies, we've got to defend the rules-based order and we also have to be open to opportunity for collaboration. Where there's an opportunity, where our interests align, where we have an opportunity to do something together with the Russians, we should look for those opportunities as well going forward.

JOHN ROOD,  
UNDERSECRETARY OF  
DEFENSE FOR POLICY



And what's astonishing to me is that the vision for the Army is on a single piece of paper, back and front, drafted by the Secretary. And what I know as a reporter is that it tells me that there's a real vision, but I think more importantly that there is a clarity of vision.

CATHERINE HERRIDGE,  
FOX NEWS CHIEF  
INTELLIGENCE  
CORRESPONDENT



**John Rood, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, confirmed the continuing strength of US engagement with allies and partners around the world on shared interests.**

He was convincing when he stated that the current National Military Strategy sets out a clear vision and serves as his road map for what the US military needs to do in response to current and near-future threats. It has three lines of effort. First, build the lethality of the military that the United States operates. Second, to work closely with friends and allies to reinforce existing alliances and to build new partnerships. Finally, the third is to talk about reforming the Pentagon so that we can do that in a more affordable way. The high priority of partnerships continues to ensure that our established relationships endure even in the face of executive criticism. Rood spoke optimistically about Russia and the United States following through on non-proliferation initiatives, while ensuring that Russia is deterred from further aggression against NATO and all countries—in keeping with the international rule of law.

**The Secretary of the Army, Mark Esper, discussed what he called a “strategic inflection point” for the Army.**

While being quick to reassure the forum that the US Army is ready to fight and win today's wars against any adversary, Secretary Esper stated that it is undergoing what he describes as a “renaissance” to prepare for overmatching adversaries and winning future wars. He said the Army has established a clear vision for the renovation that is needed, and is creating carefully defined initiatives to move forward

on implementation. Key among the initiatives is the goal of a 500,000-person force that is mentally and physically exceptionally well trained to be “smart, innovative, and tough.” This force will have to work in a joint environment, in multi-domain warfare. He said, “It’s air, land, and sea. it’s cyberspace. It’s outer space and it’s across the electronic warfare spectrum.” In order to modernize the force over the next decade, Secretary Esper noted that previously, innovation responsibilities were spread throughout the various parts of the Army, which resulted in delays and even failures to bring some systems online in the past. He was adamant that he can’t let that happen again. The newly established Army Futures Command is now a single source of accountability to improve requirements and systems development that will renovate the US Army. It will focus on six priorities: long-range precision fires, a next-generation combat vehicle, future vertical lift platforms, a mobile & expeditionary Army network, air & missile defense capabilities, and soldier lethality. The US Army goals for the future are a framework of collaboration and joint responsibilities not often seen in previous strategic plans. The Army sees itself as either leading or supporting all other activities in all domains.

**“ There are a number of areas, in terms of these six priorities, that will really require cutting-edge technologies. The key is whoever gets there first will have unmatched lethality on the battlefield for some years to go after that.**

**MARK ESPER, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY**

# REPORT

## THE ASPEN SECURITY FORUM

To answer critical questions about national and global security, the Aspen Institute presents the annual Aspen Security Forum. In the intimate setting of the Aspen mountains, key national and global security issues of the day are explored in detail during three days of in-depth discussion by leaders from government, industry, academia and journalism.

The Aspen Security is hosted, planned, scheduled, and managed by the Aspen Security Forum team. Led by Executive Director Rob Walker, the 2018 Aspen Security Program was supported by Deb Cunningham, Senior Advisor for Strategic Partnerships, John Hogan, Program Manager, and Emily (Ema) Beeler, Strategic Partnerships Assistant. Also indispensable to ASF 2018 were the Aspen Conference Services and Aspen Communications teams.

This product was written by the Aspen Security Forum Writing team, led by Laura Manning Johnson. Contributors included Andrew Borene, Richard Cooper, and Philip Chertoff. While this summary document is a good overview of the panelists' statements and discussions at the 2018 Aspen Security Forum, we encourage readers to access the Forum's transcripts and video library at [aspensecurityforum.org](http://aspensecurityforum.org) located under the MultiMedia tab.

For additional information about the Forum, please contact John Hogan at [John.Hogan@Aspeninstitute.org](mailto:John.Hogan@Aspeninstitute.org).

## ABOUT THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

The Aspen Institute is a nonpartisan forum for values-based leadership and the exchange of ideas. It is an educational and policy studies organization based in Washington, DC. Its mission is to foster leadership based on enduring values and to provide a nonpartisan venue for dealing with critical issues. The Institute has campuses in Aspen, Colorado, and on the Wye River on Maryland's Eastern Shore. It also maintains offices in New York City and has an international network of partners.

For additional information about the Institute, please visit our website: [www.aspeninstitute.org](http://www.aspeninstitute.org).

# APPENDIX A 2018 AGENDA

WEDNESDAY, JULY 18, 2018

## A Chat with the Director of the FBI

The FBI Director describes the Bureau's role in national security generally and cyberterrorism and counterintelligence specifically.

**Christopher Wray**, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

**MODERATOR: Lester Holt**, Anchor, NBC Nightly News

GREENWALD PAVILION

THURSDAY, JULY 19, 2018

## Securing the Homeland

The Homeland Security Secretary briefs us on the security challenges the nation faces and how the Department and its partners, domestic and foreign, are working together to meet them.

**Kirstjen Nielsen**, Secretary of Homeland Security

**MODERATOR: Peter Alexander**, National Correspondent, NBC News

## Defending Democratic Institutions: Election 2018 and Beyond

Though the motivation and the effects are disputed, nearly everyone agrees that Russia interfered in the 2016 presidential election, and security experts agree that it is already interfering in this year's mid-terms. Though efforts are underway to stop them, what more can be done to put an end to Russia's interference in our elections and democratic institutions?

**Monika Bickert**, Head of Product Policy and Counterterrorism, Facebook

**Tom Burt**, Corporate Vice President for Customer Security and Trust, Microsoft

**Michael Chertoff**, Former Secretary of Homeland Security

**Jeanette Manfra**, Assistant Secretary of Homeland Security for Cybersecurity and Communications

**Kim Wyman**, Secretary of State, Washington State

**MODERATOR: Michael Isikoff**, Chief Investigative Correspondent, Yahoo News

## America First

From pulling out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Paris climate accord, to questioning the value of NATO and imposing tariffs on European allies, to renegotiating NAFTA, to tearing up the Iranian nuclear agreement, to promising to pull troops out of Afghanistan and Syria in the not too distant future, President Trump is upending 70 years of foreign policy orthodoxy in pursuit of his "America First" agenda. Meanwhile, a rising China and a revanchist Russia are working feverishly to fill the void. Does the President have it right or is he taking the nation – and the world – down a dangerous new path?

**Thomas Friedman**, Foreign Affairs Op-Ed Columnist, *The New York Times*

**Jane Harman**, President, Director, and CEO, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

**Hugh Hewitt**, Host, The Hugh Hewitt Show

**Peter Westmacott**, Former Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the United States

**MODERATOR: William Kristol**, Editor-at-Large, *The Weekly Standard*

# APPENDIX A 2018 AGENDA

## A Look Over My Shoulder: The DNI Reflects and Foreshadows

Legendary CIA Director Richard Helms titled his memoir, “A Look Over My Shoulder,” to describe his extraordinary career in the intelligence community. As that book title suggests, perhaps the spymaster’s toughest task is to try to peer around corners to get a sense of threats that are now seen only dimly, if seen at all. Having been surprised by the speed with which Kim Jong Un developed the nuclear capability to threaten the United States and the extent of Bashar al-Assad’s remaining chemical weapons stocks, to cite two recent examples, what else is on the horizon that could pose a danger to America and our interests around the globe?

**Daniel Coats**, Director of National Intelligence

**MODERATOR: Andrea Mitchell**, Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, NBC News; Host, “Andrea Mitchell Reports,” MSNBC

## “There’s a War Coming”

So predicted no less an authority than Marine Corps Commandant Robert Neller, a man not prone to drama or hyperbole. Though he seemed to be speaking specifically of the prospect of a hot war over Europe, he might as well have been referring to the prospect of a war among the US, Russia, Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states in and over Syria. Secure in power once again, Assad has demanded the withdrawal of American forces and raised the specter of clashes with them if they do not. President Trump appears eager to confront Iran militarily if it responds to his scrapping of the nuclear deal by increasing its regional meddling and/or resuming its nuclear program. Meanwhile, Israel has struck Iranian forces deep inside Syria and Lebanon. How likely is such a great power war, and are there ways to counter it diplomatically?

**Yousef Al Otaiba**, Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to the United States

**Tony Blinken**, Former Deputy Secretary of State

**Wendy Sherman**, Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

**Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall**, Former Deputy Secretary of Energy

**MODERATOR: Jim Sciutto**, Chief National Security Correspondent, CNN

## Confronting Global Cyber Threats

The nation’s second most senior law enforcement official describes the work of the Attorney General’s Cyber-Digital Task Force and makes an exclusive policy announcement. A panel of prominent former government officials and industry leaders reacts to that announcement.

**Rod Rosenstein**, Deputy Attorney General, US Department of Justice

**Thomas Bossert**, Former Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism

**Greg Clark**, CEO, Symantec

**Lisa Monaco**, Former Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism

**MODERATOR: David Sanger**, Chief Washington Correspondent, *The New York Times*

**GREENWALD PAVILION**

# APPENDIX A 2018 AGENDA

FRIDAY, JULY 20, 2018

## “Taking Our Fate Into Our Own Hands”

Thus, German Chancellor Angela Merkel famously summed up Europe's reaction to Trump's America First agenda. For the first time since its founding, the strength of the NATO alliance is being questioned. Would a President who said that he was elected to “represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris” really go to war to save Vilnius? And, it appears that Europe is as much in the President's crosshairs for trade imbalances as China. In short, is the Trans-Atlantic partnership, the bedrock of the global order since WWII, being consigned before our eyes to the dustbin of history?

**Emily Haber**, Ambassador of Germany to the United States

**John McLaughlin**, Former Acting Director and Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency

**Elisabeth Millard**, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs

**David O'Sullivan**, Ambassador of the European Union to the United States

**MODERATOR: Terry Moran**, Chief Foreign Correspondent, ABC News

## Cold War Redux

Relations between the US and Russia, and Russia and the West as a whole, are at their lowest point since the Cold War. What are Putin's aims and can he be stopped in his quest to achieve them?

**Nina Khrushcheva**, Professor of International Affairs, The New School

**Victoria Nuland**, Former Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Eurasian Affairs

**Andrew Weiss**, Former Director, Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council

**MODERATOR: Julia Ioffe**, Correspondent, GQ

## A New Nuclear Arms Race

Reminiscent of the Cold War, the US and Russia are racing to develop a new generation of more powerful nuclear weapons, making the prospect of cataclysmic war more realistic than at any time in generations. Can the nuclear arms race genie be put back in the bottle?

**Bonnie Jenkins**, Former Coordinator for Threat Reduction Programs, US Department of State

**Frank Klotz**, Former Administrator, National Nuclear Security Administration

**Franklin Miller**, Former Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control, National Security Council

**Andrew Weber**, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Defense Programs

**MODERATOR: Michael Gordon**, National Security Correspondent, *The Wall Street Journal*

## Taking Our Fate into Our Own Hands: Part II

Three more key European countries and an American expert give us their perspectives on how to respond to Putin, given President Trump's decision to conciliate him.

**William Browder**, Head, Global Magnitsky Justice Campaign

**Vadym Chernysh**, Minister for Temporarily Occupied Territories and IDPs of Ukraine

**Mikk Marran**, Director General, Estonian Foreign Intelligence Service

**Andrew Pike**, Director of International Communications, 10 Downing Street

**MODERATOR: Courtney Kube**, National Security & Military Correspondent, NBC News

# APPENDIX A 2018 AGENDA

## China Rising

Having consolidated power and extended his term, President Xi Jinping is now the mightiest Chinese leader since Mao. And, his rise to political primacy coincides with a moment in history when China itself is rising – economically, militarily, and geopolitically. It coincides, too, with a moment in history when America is both withdrawing from the global stage and riven internally by toxic partisanship. Is China on its way to becoming the new global hegemon and, if so, what are the geostrategic implications?

**Michael Collins**, Deputy Assistant Director, East Asia Mission Center, Central Intelligence Agency

**Marcel Lettre**, Former Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence

**Ashok Mirpuri**, Ambassador of Singapore to the United States

**Susan Thornton**, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

**MODERATOR: David Ignatius**, Columnist and Associate Editor, *The Washington Post*

## Emerging Technologies

Representatives from the “brave new world” of artificial intelligence, drones, robots, quantum computing, and data analytics explain the promise and peril of these emerging technologies and the security implications they entail.

**Teresa Carlson**, Vice President, Worldwide Public Sector, Amazon Web Services

**Stacey Dixon**, Deputy Director, Intelligence Advanced Research Projects Activity

**Will Hurd**, Member, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

**Samuel Visner**, Director, National Cybersecurity FFRDC, MITRE

**MODERATOR: Cecilia Kang**, Technology Reporter, *The New York Times*

## Pentagon Policy

The chief formulator and coordinator of national security policy within the Department of Defense surveys the world scene and explains the role DOD plays in making and executing national security policy in support of US interests around the globe.

**John Rood**, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

**MODERATOR: Barbara Starr**, Pentagon Correspondent, CNN

# APPENDIX A 2018 AGENDA

SATURDAY, JULY 21, 2018

## “Victory” in Afghanistan and Iraq

Strategy guiding the US-led military mission in Afghanistan – now in its seventeenth year – remains essentially the same, and a political resolution remains out of sight. In Iraq, Muqtada al-Sadr, a man responsible for hundreds of American deaths early in the war, has returned to center stage as a self-professed political reformer and fervent nationalist. In short, “victory” in both Afghanistan and Iraq remains as hard to define and illusive as ever. What would “winning” these wars look like now?

**Adam Schiff**, Ranking Member, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

**Thomas Shannon**, Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

**Samantha Vinograd**, Former Director for Iraq, National Security Council

**Juan Zarate**, Former Deputy National Security Advisor for Combatting Terrorism

**MODERATOR: Kim Dozier**, Contributing Writer, *The Daily Beast*

## Southern Discomfort

Thanks to the autocratic Maduro regime, Venezuela is in political and economic free fall, with thousands of its citizens fleeing to other countries in the region and threatening to destabilize them. Autocracy is ascendant in Honduras as well. The once regional powerhouse, Brazil, has been consumed by a crippling corruption crisis for years. And, Mexico continues to be plagued by political and economic corruption and drug-fueled violence. Meanwhile, US immigration policies are alienating our long-time friends and partners, and China is making inroads where we have long dominated. Can we get US-Latin American relations back on track?

**Sergio Silva do Amaral**, Ambassador of Brazil to the United States

**Cynthia Arnson**, Director, Latin American Program, The Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars

**Roberta Jacobson**, Former US Ambassador to Mexico

**MODERATOR: Enrique Acevedo**, Anchor, Noticias Univision, Univision

## And the Army Goes Rolling Along

The Secretary details the steps he is taking to keep the Army on top of its game in the fight to secure the land of the free and the home of the brave.

**Mark Esper**, Secretary of the Army

**MODERATOR: Catherine Herridge**, Chief Intelligence Correspondent, Fox News

# APPENDIX A 2018 AGENDA

## The “New” Mideast and Regional Counterterrorism

Led by a dynamic new Crown Prince, Saudi Arabia is modernizing its society, diversifying its economy, and moderating its version of Islam. It is also asserting itself militarily in the region to an unprecedented degree, with the Yemeni campaign the most notable example. Meanwhile, around the region, the once ascendant Muslim Brotherhood has been suppressed; Egypt is cracking down hard on militants in the Sinai; ISIS has lost nearly all of its territory but remains a serious threat to the region and the international community; and its defeat is a prerequisite to a viable political solution in Syria. Arab nations are finding common cause with Israel in attempting to counter Iranian regional adventurism. In short, like the desert sands, old alliances, enmities, and aspirations are shifting. What are the implications for regional counterterrorism behind the leading efforts of our most steadfast Gulf ally?

**Khalid bin Salman**, Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the United States

**Michael Nagata**, Director of Strategic Operational Planning, National Counterterrorism Center

**Nathan Sales**, Ambassador-at-Large and Coordinator for Counterterrorism, US Department of State

**MODERATOR: Dina Temple-Raston**, Counterterrorism Correspondent, NPR

## Peace on the Peninsula?

Is peace at hand on the Korean Peninsula? Denuclearization and reunification, miraculously, now seem possible. Is this prospect real or a mirage?

**Vincent Brooks**, Commander, United States Forces Korea; Commander, United Nations Command; Commander, ROK-US Combined Forces Command

**Suzanne DiMaggio**, Senior Fellow and US-Iran Initiative Director, New America Foundation

**Woongsoon Lim**, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of South Korea in Washington, DC

**Michael McCaul**, Chairman, House Committee on Homeland Security

**Sue Mi Terry**, Senior Fellow and Korea Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies

**MODERATOR: Gordon Chang**, Columnist, *The Daily Beast*

## Countering Threats Old and New

US Cyber Command recently became the Department of Defense’s 10th Unified Combatant Command, reflecting the imperative to counter the increased cybersecurity threats from across the globe. How will the men and women of US Cyber Command meet the challenges presented by this brave new world of warfare?

**Paul Nakasone**, Commander, US Cyber Command; Director, National Security Agency

**MODERATOR: Gordon Corera**, Security Correspondent, BBC News

**GREENWALD PAVILION**

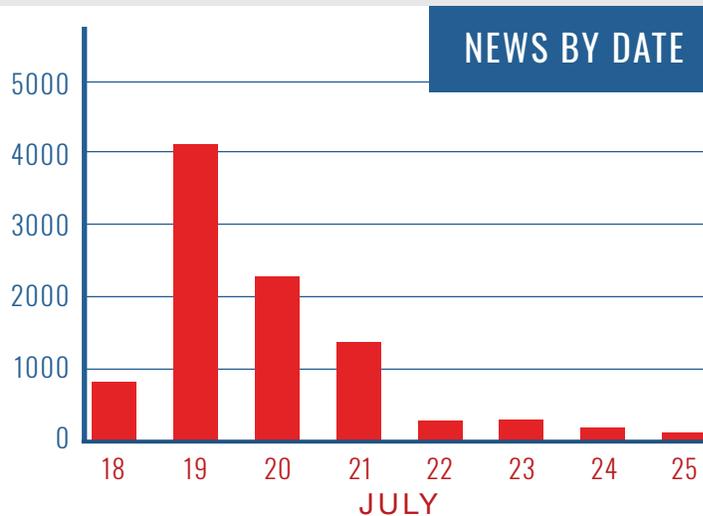
# APPENDIX B 2018 MEDIA ANALYSIS

## TRADITIONAL PRESS

**ASF 2018** was a huge media success across social and traditional platforms.

The elongated length of time that ASF content was present in the news is a result of the high-level administration officials present, constant content production and promotion by the Aspen communications team, and high visibility partnerships with major media organizations.

Throughout the end of the summer and into September, there were also smaller spikes of coverage. These are largely due to outlets quoting speakers from ASF as they related to issues in the news.



**THE 2018 ASPEN SECURITY FORUM** was covered by a range of broadcast, print, and online outlets spanning the ideological spectrum including:

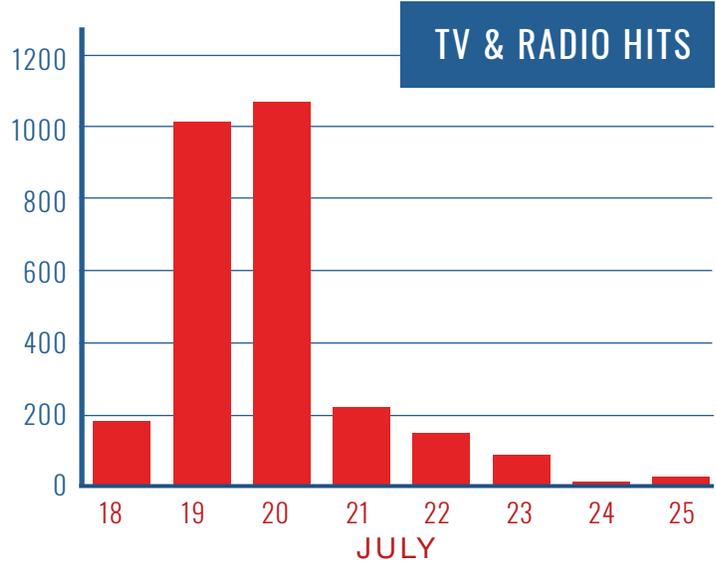
- NBC/MSNBC News
- ABC News
- CBS News
- CNN
- Fox News
- NPR
- WTOP Radio
- The AP
- Axios
- The Atlantic
- BBC News
- Bloomberg View
- Defense One
- Newsweek
- Politico
- The Asahi Shimbun
- The Daily Beast
- The Gazette
- The New York Times
- The New Yorker
- The New York Times Magazine
- The Wall Street Journal
- The Washington Free Beacon
- The Washington Post
- Vox
- Univision
- GQ
- Yahoo News
- The Weekly Standard

# APPENDIX B 2018 MEDIA ANALYSIS

## BROADCAST MEDIA

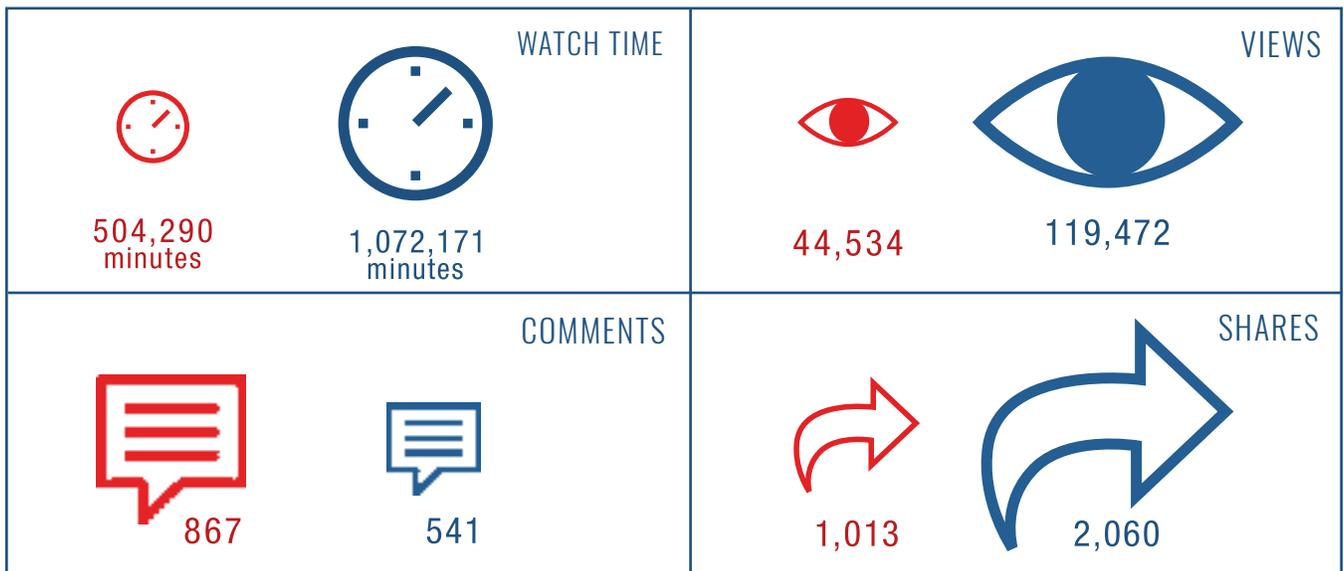
### ASF 2018 WAS OUR MOST SUCCESSFUL YEAR

to date in terms of broadcast coverage, with Forum discussions driving or dominating the news cycle. Some sessions were broadcast simultaneously on CNN, FOX, and NBC News, a rare occasion typically associated with major breaking news events. The estimated value (AVE) of ASF coverage across July and August reached roughly \$100,000,000.



## DIGITAL & SOCIAL MEDIA

### YOUTUBE ANALYSIS



**ASPEN SECURITY FORUM 2018**  
July 18 - July 21, 2018

**ASPEN SECURITY FORUM 2017**  
July 19 - July 22, 2017

# APPENDIX B 2018 MEDIA ANALYSIS

## ASF 2018 TWITTER ENGAGEMENT RATES

**ENGAGEMENT RATE:** 1.1%

**LINK CLICKS:** 1,000  
– averaging 72 per-day

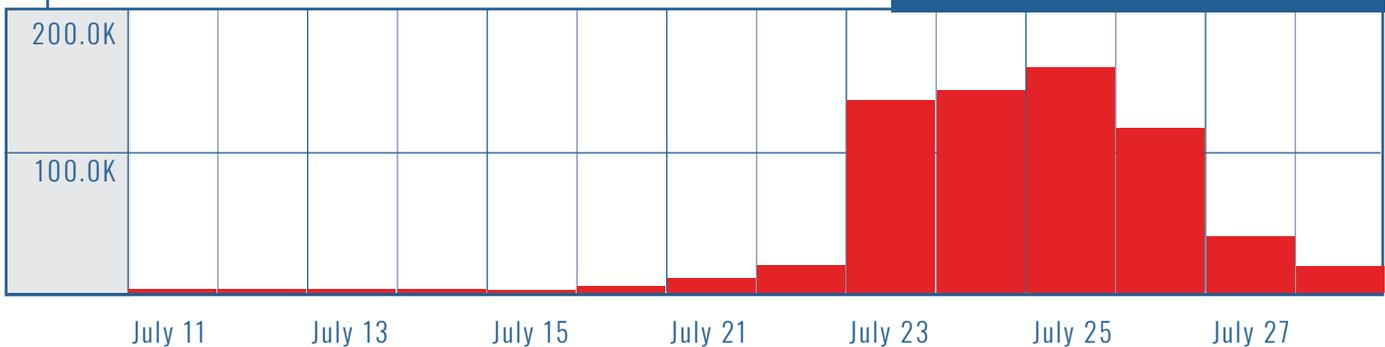
**RETWEETS:** 1,300  
– averaging 90 retweets per-day

**LIKES:** 1,800  
– averaging 127 likes per-day

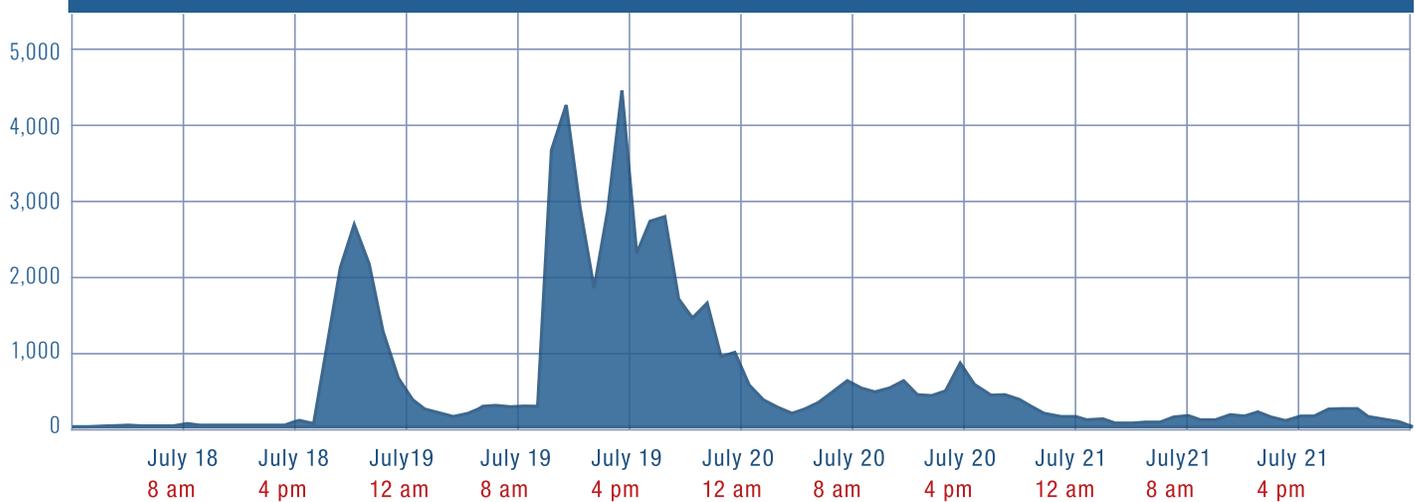
## THE ASF TWITTER ACCOUNT

reached 706,000 impressions in the month of July and saw an 80% increase in the number of posts using the event hashtag.

## TWITTER IMPRESSIONS



## #ASPENSECURITY ACTIVITY TIMELINE



 **58,299**  
POSTS

 **30,637**  
USERS

 **125,269,938**  
REACH

 **314,706,308**  
IMPRESSIONS

For additional information about the Aspen Security Forum, please contact John Hogan at [John.Hogan@AspenInstitute.org](mailto:John.Hogan@AspenInstitute.org) or (202) 721-2327.

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# SAVE THE DATE



## ASPEN SECURITY FORUM 2019

JULY 17 – 20, 2019 | ASPEN, CO

For updated information  
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