



# THE BOILING MOAT

***URGENT STEPS TO DEFEND TAIWAN***

EDITED BY  
**MATT POTTINGER**

## ABOUT THE EDITOR

**Matt Pottinger** is a distinguished visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution and chairman of the China Program at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. He served as US deputy national security advisor from 2019 to 2021 and, previously, as the National Security Council's senior director for Asia from 2017 to 2019. Pottinger spent the late 1990s to mid-2000s in China as a reporter for Reuters and the *Wall Street Journal*. He fought in Iraq and Afghanistan as a US Marine during three combat deployments between 2007 and 2010.

## ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

**Dr. Ross Babbage** has worked on Australian and international defense and security issues for over four decades. He has held senior positions in the Australian Department of Defence, the intelligence community, at the Australian National University, and in the corporate sector. Babbage currently leads two companies that work on the tough security challenges confronting Australia and its allies and is also a nonresident senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments in Washington, DC. His latest book is *The Next Major War: Can the US and Its Allies Win against China?*

**Gabriel B. Collins** is the Baker Botts Fellow in Energy and Environmental Regulatory Affairs at the Center for Energy Studies at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy. At Baker, he coheads the Program on Energy and Geopolitics in Eurasia. Collins received his BA from Princeton University and his JD from the University of Michigan Law School. He is still teased by his family for joining a commodity hedge fund right before the 2008 market crash. Collins reads Mandarin, Russian, and Spanish well enough to use them in his research, speaks each just well enough to get himself in trouble, and is licensed to practice law in Texas.

**Dr. Andrew S. Erickson** is a professor of strategy (tenured full professor) in the US Naval War College's China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI)

and a visiting scholar in residence in Harvard University's Department of Government. A core founding member of CMSI, he helped establish and stand it up officially in 2006 and has played an integral role in its development; from 2021 to 2023 he served as its research director. Erickson has advised and supported other research centers whose creation was inspired by CMSI and is an associate of the China Aerospace Studies Institute. He received his PhD and MA from Princeton. His research website is <http://www.andrewerickson.com>.

**Robert Haddick** is a visiting senior fellow at the Mitchell Institute for Aerospace Studies of the Air & Space Forces Association. He is the author of *Fire on the Water, Second Edition: China, America, and the Future of the Pacific*, published by US Naval Institute Press. Haddick was a US Marine Corps officer and served in the Western Pacific and Africa, with duties ranging from security force assistance to nuclear command and control. He was a contractor for US Special Operations Command and performed research for the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment. Haddick was a national security columnist at *Foreign Policy* magazine and has delivered lectures on strategy across the US government.

**Isaac "Ike" Harris** is vice president, government strategy, at Exiger, where he directs the integration of strategy to deliver state-of-the-art supply-chain risk-management technology. Harris is a leading expert in technology competition and policy. He has two decades of experience as a US Navy officer serving at sea and across the Washington, DC, area, including in the Pentagon and Congress. Most recently, he served as an advisor to the under secretary of defense for policy on matters relating to China and technology competition. His final operational tour as a surface warfare officer was as the commanding officer of USS *Ramage* (DDG-61), deploying to Europe and the Middle East.

**Michael A. Hunzeker** is an associate professor at George Mason University's Schar School of Policy and Government, the associate director of the Schar School's Center for Security Policy Studies, and a

senior nonresident fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. He served in the US Marine Corps from 2000 to 2006 and holds an AB from the University of California–Berkeley, as well as an AM, MPA, and PhD from Princeton University.

**Ivan Kanapathy** is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service (Asian studies), a nonresident senior fellow with the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, and a nonresident senior associate with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (Freeman Chair in China Studies). A retired US Marine, he previously served as the deputy senior director for Asian affairs on the National Security Council staff, the deputy chief of liaison affairs at the American Institute in Taiwan, and an F/A-18 strike fighter tactics instructor at the US Navy Fighter Weapons School, better known as TOPGUN.

**Vice Admiral Yoji Koda** is a graduate of the National Defense Academy of Japan, the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) Command and Staff College, and the US Naval War College. He served as commander of the JS *Sawayuki* (DD-125) and the Fleet Escort Force. His on-shore duty included service as director general in the Plans and Programs and System Programs divisions of the Maritime Staff Office of the JMSDF Programming Center, Tokyo. After retiring from JMSDF as commander in chief of the Self-Defense Fleet in 2008, he spent two years conducting research on China’s naval strategy at the Harvard University Asia Center. He served as an advisor to the Japanese national security secretariat from 2014 to 2016. His publications about security include *The US-Japan Alliance: Responding to China’s A2/AD Threat*, published by the Center for a New American Security.

**Elaine Luria** graduated from the US Naval Academy and served two decades in the US Navy as a nuclear-trained surface warfare officer. From 2019 to 2023, Luria represented Virginia’s Second Congressional District, serving as the vice chair of the House Armed Services Committee and on the House Select Committee to Investigate the

January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol. In Congress, Luria consistently advocated for larger investments in defense and naval assets to meet challenges in the Pacific.

**Kobi Marom** is an expert on strategic situations on radical movements operating in the Middle East today. Marom is a decorated veteran who commanded rescue operations of Ethiopian Jews in the Sudanese desert in 1984. As the Israel Defense Forces' brigade commander for the Eastern Front in South Lebanon and as head of the Hermon Brigade, he supervised complex and varied combat units under conditions of duress and uncertainty. He is a respected scholar and a research associate at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism of the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel. He is a popular media commentator and often speaks to Jewish communities, members of Congress, and diplomatic, political, and philanthropic delegations. Kobi received a master's in business administration and security studies from the National Defense University in Washington, DC, and a BA in political science from the University of Haifa, Israel.

**Mark Montgomery** serves as senior director of the Center on Cyber and Technology Innovation, where he leads the Foundation for Defense of Democracies' efforts to advance US prosperity and security through technology innovation while countering cyber threats that seek to diminish them. Montgomery also directs CSC 2.0, an initiative that works to implement the recommendations of the congressionally mandated Cyberspace Solarium Commission, where he served as executive director. Previously, Montgomery served as policy director for the Senate Armed Services Committee under the leadership of Senator John S. McCain, coordinating policy efforts on national security strategy, capabilities and requirements, and cyber policy. He served for thirty-two years in the US Navy as a nuclear-trained surface warfare officer, retiring as rear admiral in 2017. His flag officer assignments included director of operations (J3) at US Pacific Command; commander of Carrier Strike Group 5, embarked on the USS *George Washington*, stationed in Japan; and deputy director for plans, policy,

and strategy (J5) at US European Command. He was assigned to the National Security Council from 1998 to 2000, serving as director for transnational threats. Montgomery has graduate degrees from the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Oxford and completed the US Navy's nuclear power training program.

**Grant Newsham** is a former US Marine, diplomat, business executive, and lawyer who lived and worked in Japan for twenty-five years. He was the Marine Corps's first liaison officer to the Japan Self-Defense Forces and was instrumental in creating Japan's amphibious force. He also served as the Marine attaché at the US Embassy, Tokyo, on two occasions and headed up the Sendai bilateral coordination cell during Operation Tomodachi, the recovery effort following the 2011 earthquake and tsunami. Newsham lived in Taiwan in 2019 researching the nation's defense capabilities, and he recently published a book: *When China Attacks: A Warning to America*.

**Jonas Parello-Plesner** is executive director of the Alliance of Democracies Foundation, which is dedicated to strengthening cooperation among democracies worldwide and which hosts the annual Copenhagen Democracy Summit. Parello-Plesner has a background as a Danish diplomat focusing on China and Taiwan. From 2013 to 2017, he was head of department for foreign policy at the Danish embassy in Washington, DC. He has also worked as a senior China fellow for think tanks in Washington, Brussels, and London. He writes for Danish and international media outlets, such as *Politico* and the *Wall Street Journal*, and has coauthored the books *China's Strong Arm* and *The Battle for Taiwan*.

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen** has been at the center of European and global politics for over three decades as a leading Danish parliamentarian, Danish minister of economic affairs, prime minister of Denmark, and secretary general of NATO. Upon leaving NATO, he founded the strategic advisory firm Rasmussen Global, which provides geopolitical and strategic consulting services. He is also the chairman of the Alliance of

Democracies Foundation, a nonprofit organization committed to the advancement of democracy and free markets across the globe.

**Matthew Turpin**, a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution and a senior advisor at Palantir, previously served for nearly two years as director for China at the White House National Security Council and senior advisor for China to the secretary of commerce. In that role, he managed the interagency effort to develop and implement US government policies toward the People's Republic of China. Turpin previously served in the US Army for twenty-two years, the last seven focused on China at US Pacific Command and as an advisor to the chairman and vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

**Enoch Wu** is the founder of Forward Alliance, a Taiwanese nonprofit organization that focuses on civic engagement and national security. Previously, Wu served on Taiwan's National Security Council, where his portfolio included homeland security and critical infrastructure protection. Before that, Enoch led an Executive Yuan interagency task force under the direction of Premier Lin Chuan to review protective security policies for government affairs. Earlier in his career, Wu spent a decade in the financial industry, working primarily for Goldman Sachs in its Special Situations Group. He later served in the Republic of China (Taiwan) Army's Special Forces Command, from 2014 to 2015, and is currently a reserve noncommissioned officer. He is a graduate of Yale University.