



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

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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

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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,

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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

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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.