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Hearing on “Countering a Resurgent Russia”  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
May 1, 2019

Thank you, Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul and Members of the Committee for the opportunity to appear before you today on this important subject. I commend this Committee for the bipartisanship it has shown on Russia-related legislation in recent years.

The first President for whom I worked, Ronald Reagan, set the gold standard for policy leadership vis-a-vis the Kremlin. He understood that we had a dual mission: to contain, deter, and defeat dangerous and destabilizing behavior by the Kremlin; but also, to offer Moscow a path to a better, more collaborative relationship if it changed course. Reagan also regularly spoke over the heads of Soviet and East Bloc leaders directly to their people, holding out the prospect of a more prosperous, secure life if we worked together.

Today, our greatest challenge in countering a resurgent Russia is the lack of leadership, unity and consistency in the United States in managing relations with Moscow. This in turn leaves our Allies and partners adrift in confronting the many challenges from the Kremlin to our security, our democracy and the liberal rules-based order. It also leaves Moscow unsure what we value, and even more tempted to test the limits of U.S. and Allied will to defend ourselves.

Reagan in his day did not view Moscow as a permanent enemy, and nor should we today. The American people don't want that, and I don't believe the Russian people do either. What we don't know, and what we must continue to test, is whether Russian President Putin truly wants to improve relations. It may be that his psychology and leadership model are too dependent on “the enemy abroad” to change course. We must also steel ourselves for what may be a very long game that outlasts Putin, one in which we hope the Russian people eventually get a true vote.

In the meantime, none of us should have any illusions about the challenge. Here are some highlights from the Kremlin's current playbook:

-Our democracy and those of our Allies have been infected and undermined by Moscow's digital aggression;

-Russia's neighbors have been intimidated, invaded, and in the case of Crimea, Ukraine, annexed;

-Arms control agreements that kept the peace for decades have been violated, including the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) and the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE);

-Thugs and dictators from Assad in Syria, to Maduro in Venezuela and Haftar in Libya survive and thrive thanks to Kremlin support;

- Moscow routinely exports corruption, and resorts to money laundering and criminality as tools of coercion and enrichment of Kremlin loyalists; and

-The human and civil rights of Russia's own citizens have been trampled, and the innovation and talent of the country stifled.

In 2005, Putin declared the break-up of the Soviet Union to be one of the greatest geopolitical disasters of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. His goal then was to restore the super power throw-weight of Moscow's perceived 'glory days.' He did not succeed because he invested more in his military and foreign adventures than he did in rejuvenating Russia's economy and tapping the talent of its people.

Today, Putin aspires to more. He believes the West is weak, our political and economic systems are vulnerable, and that the values of tolerance, inclusion and universal rights that we protect when we are at our best can be exploited to divide us. He aspires to build and lead a global club of autocrats who offer their citizens and the world an ideological and political alternative to the messiness and compromise of free, open societies. All the tools and tactics he has used over the last decade and a half are designed to make the world not just safe for autocrats like him, but favorable to them. China and other centrally controlled countries are becoming increasingly close partners in this effort. We enable Putin's quest when our own leaders call into question the basic rights enshrined our liberal constitution: an independent judiciary, free press, protection of minority rights, and the oversight powers of this Congress.

So, I agree with the premise of the Trump Administration's national security strategy that we have re-entered a period of competition with Russia. What I don't see is a coherent, full-government response to that challenge, led by the President in partnership with the Congress. In the absence of that leadership, Congress has taken important steps of its own to sanction malign activity and shore up support for NATO and our Allies. To be effective, however, our approach must harness all the tools of our national power and those of our Allies: military, political, economic, informational and now digital, deployed overtly and when necessary, covertly.

We must once again marshal both a big stick and a big carrot in dealing with Putin and Kremlin. And we should speak directly to the Russian people, who are now tired of their government's focus on Ukraine, Syria, and new weapons, instead of improved schools, hospitals, jobs and the corruption that rots Russia itself.

A coherent policy should include separate lines of effort in all the areas of concern: from digital interference, to arms control, to Russia's threat to its neighbors, to regional conflicts, anti-corruption, and economics and trade. Each of these strands of work requires hardening our own defenses, better exposing and blunting Russian malign activity, and increasing the costs for Moscow, while offering a path to de-escalation and even collaboration if the Kremlin changes course. And all must be tightly coordinated with our NATO, EU and Asian Allies and partners to amplify the impact, and close opportunities for Moscow to divide us.

I'll give just two examples to illustrate the larger strategy.

To address Russia's digital assault on our democracies, we need:

- a Cyber Tsar in the White House to coordinate national and international policy;
- a national intelligence and operational fusion center that collaborates closely with industry and academia, state and local authorities and our allies to expose, defeat and deter digital influence campaigns, electoral manipulation and inauthentic speech, and develops initiatives to improve citizen education and cyber hygiene;
- an agreed and publicly declared escalation ladder of painful new economic sanctions, legal and regulatory penalties, coordinated with Allies, ready to deploy when new Russian (or other state-sponsored) malign influence is exposed;
- our own suite of reciprocal, legal and, when necessary, deniable digital and cyber countermeasures which increase the cost to Putin vis-a-vis his own electorate on issues they care most about, including state-supported corruption;
- and, the carrot: a serious, sustained dialog with Moscow which offers an armistice on these issues, sanctions relief and the prospect of collaboration in setting global digital standards if and when the Kremlin verifiably renounces the weaponization of the internet.

Similarly, in the military sphere, where Russia's increasing reliance on nuclear weapons and investments in hypersonic, undersea and cyber weapons present new threats, we should:

- Respond to Russian violations of the INF treaty and weapons build-up with new advanced conventional deployments and missile defenses of our own in Europe, the Baltic and Black Seas, coordinated with our NATO Allies, to deter nuclear first use and conventional adventurism and to push Russia back to the negotiating table;
- Maintain and strengthen NATO and U.S. defenses and exercises along the Alliance's eastern edge and in the Baltic and Black seas;
- Appoint a Senior negotiator and interagency team for comprehensive talks with Moscow on strategic stability, and tie any future arms control agreements and the extension of New START, which expires in 2021, to a broader de-escalation of tensions and insecurity across all domains of military power, including conventional, nuclear, space and cyber;
- And speak directly to the Russian people about the costs of Putin's remilitarization so they better understand where the wealth of their nation has gone. Also, better expose the dangerous tactics of Russia's pilots and naval forces, who maneuver unsafely, often without identification, so any future accidents are appropriately attributed.

These are just two areas of challenge with Russia. A comprehensive policy will require rigorous stick and carrot approaches also on Ukraine, Syria, corruption and the other areas of destabilizing Russian activity that we have discussed today.

This level of effort would require principled, steady Presidential leadership to unite our government, coordinate closely with the Congress, and build the support of the American people and our Allies. For too many years, we have been too passive as Putin has played a relatively weak hand well. But Putin is neither popular enough at home nor rich enough to go head-to-

head with us if we use our national power properly to contain and blunt his ambitions, while holding out the prospect of better relations in the future and offering that directly to the Russian people.

As our intelligence community and now the Mueller report make crystal clear, Putin's Russia has moved beyond an aspiration to restore past Soviet glory and reestablish spheres of influence in its neighborhood. Today, it seeks to pit Americans against each other to destroy our democratic system, erode our trust in each other and damage our alliances. This is not about any one of us, or about the President's legitimacy. It is about the safety and security of all of us and the future of the liberal world order that has served the United States so well for more than 70 years. Preserving these must be the first responsibility of any American President and every Congress. We have the national strength and the Allies to meet the challenge of a more dangerous Russia. What we have lacked is the resolve.

Thank you.