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“The Military and Great Power Competition”

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All views expressed are those of the author



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Agenda

- US National Security Policy and Domestic Imperatives
- Russia: From Evil Empire to Regional Strategic Spoiler
- China: From Regional Land Power to Global Power Aspirant
- The Battleground – Contested Space
- Discussion



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US National Security Strategy

National Security Priorities:

Protect the security of the American people

Expand economic prosperity and opportunity

Committed to realizing and defending the democratic values and the American way of life

Reinvigorate and modernize our alliances and partnerships around the world



From a Transactional Westphalian (Nationalist) to a Values Based (Globalist) Security Policy



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US National Security Strategy

Principles of the Biden Foreign Policy:

- Renew Democracy at Home
- A Foreign Policy for the Middle Class to succeed in the global economy
- Back at the Head of the Table in terms of working with allies and partners to mobilize collective action on global threats via a balanced & coherent approach with diplomacy in the lead
- Prepared to Lead



The Primacy of Domestic Politics

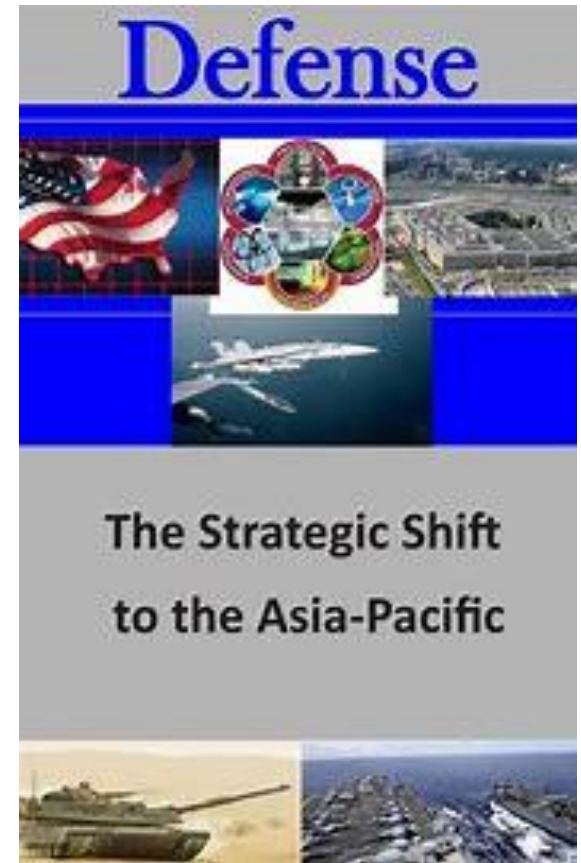


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US National Security Policy and Domestic Imperatives

The Strategy addresses key challenges and trends that affect our standing in the world, including:

- Revisionist powers, such as China and Russia, that use technology, propaganda, and coercion to shape a world antithetical to our interests and values;
- Regional dictators that spread terror, threaten their neighbors, and pursue weapons of mass destruction;
- Jihadist terrorists that foment hatred to incite violence against innocents in the name of a wicked ideology, and transnational criminal organizations that spill drugs and violence into our communities.



(NDS, 2018)

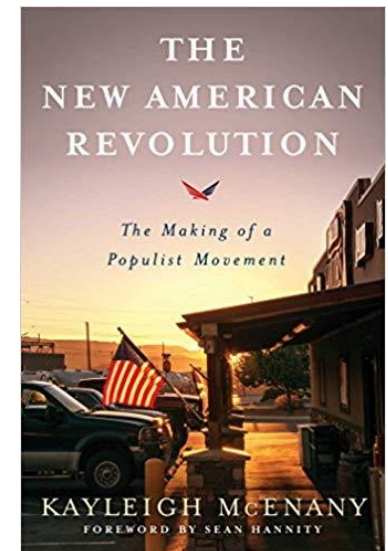


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US National Security Policy and Domestic Imperatives

DIVIDED Domestic Imperatives:

- \$6T “+” for medical “mission creep” and Congressional response **(1918)**
- Economics / Environment and Security – **DIME (1929)**
- Perceived Racism / Equity **(1968)**
- The “means” of strategy - \$
- Defense Spending \$670B to \$712B in 2020
- Sustainable?





US Military Strategy

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Defend the Nation:

- Defeat COVID-19
- Prioritize China as the Pacing Challenge
- Address Advanced & Persistent Threats
- Innovate & Modernize DoD
- Tackle the Climate Crisis



Take Care of Our People:

- Grow our Talent
- Build Resilience & Readiness
- Ensure Accountable Leadership

Internally Focused



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US Military Strategy

SUCCEED THROUGH TEAMWORK:

- Outreach towards Allies & Partners
- Work in Partnership with Our Nation
- Build Unity Within the DoD



Working:

- Integrated Deterrence Concept
- Global Force Posture Review
- China Task Force
- Climate Crisis Task Force
- Deputy's Workforce Council
- Sexual Assault Independent Review Commission
- Countering Extremism Working Group
- Afghanistan Drawdown



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Russia: From Evil Empire to Regional Strategic Spoiler



CONTAINMENT POLICY

- George Kennan, career Foreign Service Officer
- Formulated the policy of "containment":
 - US would not get rid of communism, but would not allow it to spread.
 - US would "contain" communism where is already existed.



(1947-1989)



(1964 – Cuban Missile Crisis 1962)



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Russia: From Evil Empire to Regional Strategic Spoiler



(1979-81)



DIA Annually



(1983)





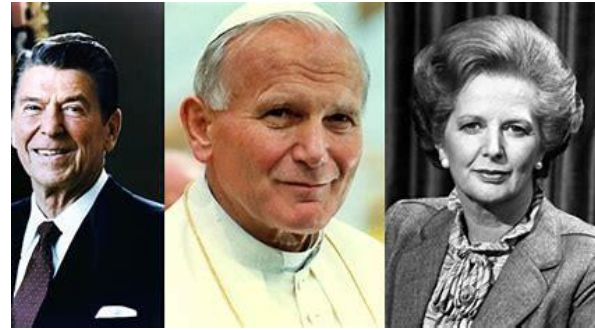
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Russia: From Evil Empire to Regional Strategic Spoiler



(1981)

(1981-89)



(1979-90)

(1978-2005)

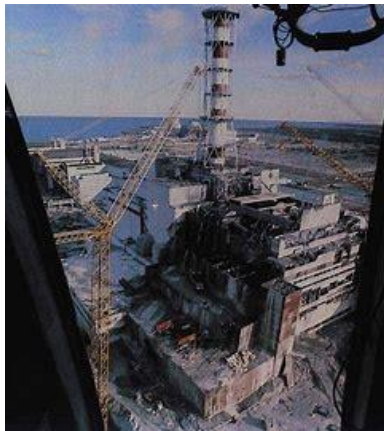


(1979-89)



(1986)

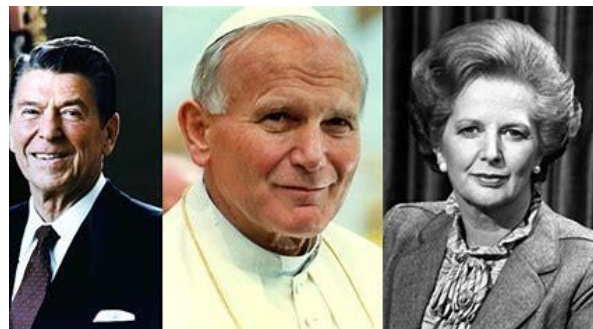
(June 12, 1987)





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Russia: From Evil Empire to Regional Strategic Spoiler



(1983, SDI "Star Wars")



(Reykjavik Summit 1986)

Timeline of Communism in the 20th Century





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Russia: From Evil Empire to Regional Strategic Spoiler



(2008)



(1999)



(2014)

(2015)



(Wagner Contractors, February 2018)



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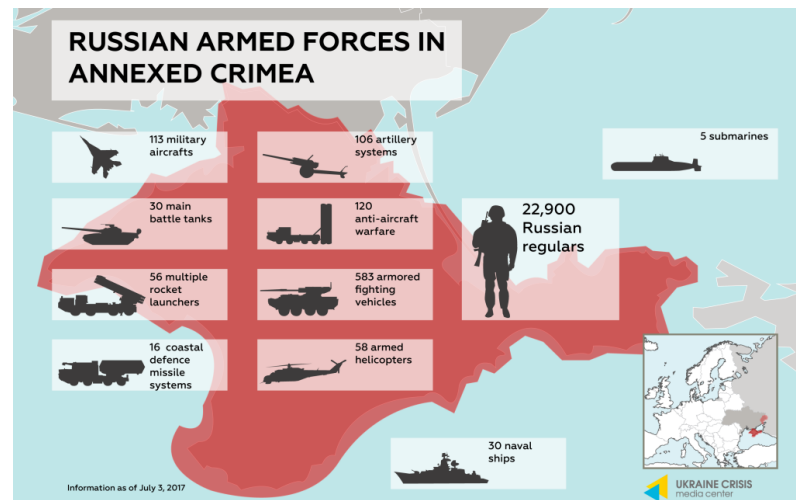
Strategic "Spoiler"

Ukraine: NATO problem is a US problem

Lack will

Lack military capability

Deir al-Zour



Syria: Russia, Turkey and Iran

- They deserve each other
- Reduction of Idlib



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China: From Regional Land Power to Global Power Aspirant

- Joins WTO 11 Dec 2001
 - Transparency
 - Intellectual Property
- Current GDP \$14T (15.5% of WE)
- US Policy 2001-2016 (Economic freedom would produce political freedom and transparency inside China)
- Does China's response to the Corona Virus change US policy
- South China Sea
- Hong Kong / Taiwan
- IO Campaign – Riots in US are "Beautiful"





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China: Regional Land Power to Global Power Aspirant

- Key challenge facing the US and democratic world
- China has a long-term whole of government strategy – global power
- US has no coherent national strategy for China
- US strategy goals:
 - China continues to operate in a US led international order
 - China does not expand geographically or export its political model





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China: From Regional Land Power to Global Power Aspirant

- Surpass the US technologically and economically (2040)
- Undermine the US dollar as the global reserve currency
- Achieve regional military dominance
- Diminish credibility of US power and influence
- Tighten ties with Russia
- Create a Sinocentric world order around the Belt and Road Initiative

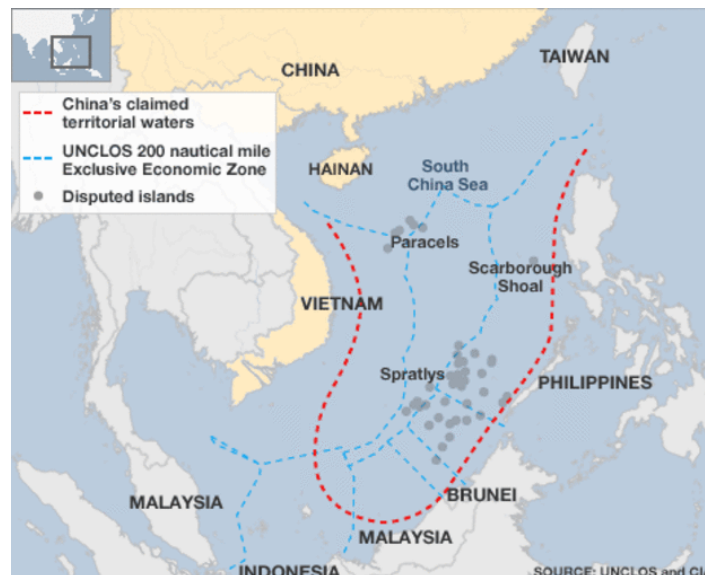




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US Response – Indo-Pacific:

- UK – US – Australia
- NK – Strategic Patience (again)





China: From Regional Land Power to Global Power Aspirant

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- US national will?

Force Comparison

	China	US
Ground Forces	1M	1M
Tanks	5,800	6,287
Carriers	1	11
Destroyers	33	68
Submarines	70	68
Fighters	1,500	2,362
ICBMs	90	652 (deployed)





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China: From Regional Land Power to Global Power Aspirant

HOW?

- Retain economic and technological superiority
- Protect the dollar
- Maintain overwhelming conventional deterrence
- Prevent Chinese territorial expansion
- Continue alliances and partnerships
- Defend liberal international order and democratic values
- Address shared global threats





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China: From Regional Land Power to Global Power Aspirant

US Responses?

- US autarky for strategic goods / fuel / food / medicines?
- Corona Virus reciprocity?
- End educational VISAS?
- Media and Entertainment Sanctions and /or Investment Disclosures?





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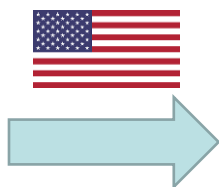


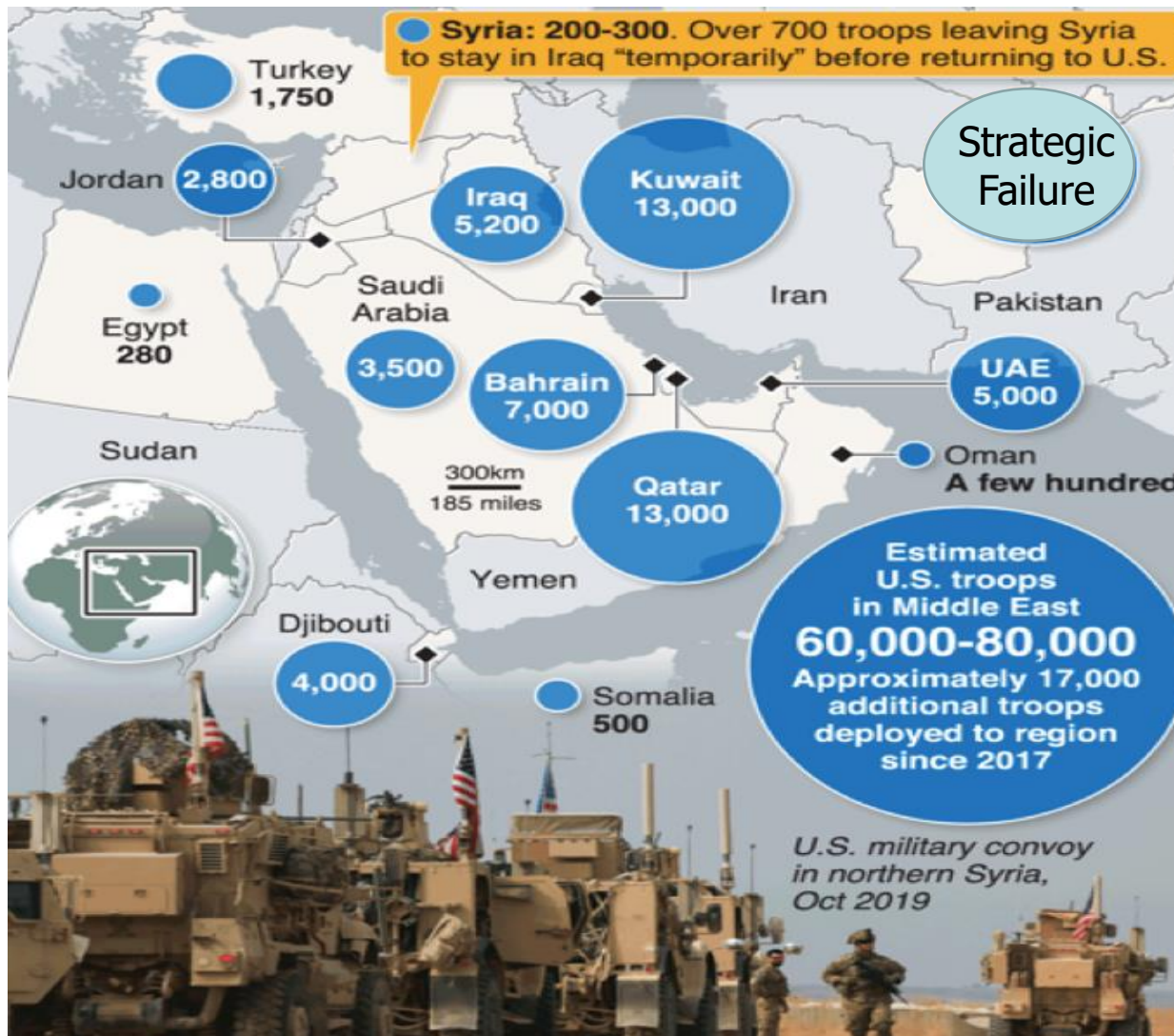
Table 3a.1. Basic Postures and Compatibility of Strategic Aims, 2020–2025				
	United States	China	Russia	Remarks
Political and Diplomatic	Liberal democratic governance	Authoritarian, one party state rule	Authoritarian rule with illiberal democratic facade	U.S.-China = incompatible; China-Russia = short-term compatible; U.S.-Russia = short-term incompatible
Ideological	"Free and open societies" with individual freedoms, universal human rights, and pluralism	"A community of common destiny" (ambiguous); state sovereignty and collective order, limited human rights	Loose "neo-Eurasianism" and multipolarity; state ascendance, Russian sovereignty and disruption of global norms	U.S.-China = incompatible; U.S.-Russia = short-term clash/long term? China-Russia = short-term compatible, long term?
Informational	Free and open exchange, only limited restrictions	State control and cyber sovereignty restrictions; increasing external propaganda	State overwatch with selective closure; complementary disinformation	U.S. incompatible with China and Russia
Military	High-tech, robust quantity mix of regular and irregular forces, great deployment reach	Improving tech, high-quantity, regular forces; gradually expanding regional deployability	Some critical high-tech, limited quantity regular with irregular forces; global deployability in selected areas/missions	(details provided in chapter 3b)
Economic (Trade and Finance)	Free and open trade; transparent, free-flowing finances	Open trade with strong state role; managed financial system; barriers to trade	State-monopolized trade; exploitation of international finances for oligarch gains	U.S.-China = compatible in near term if U.S. underpins; China-Russia = compatible and largely complementary; U.S.-Russia = compatible if U.S. accepts Russia free riding and stops use of trade sanctions and financial listing to achieve political aims



Can China become the next global power without firing a shot?



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The US is not leaving the Middle East

Instruments of Iran's National Security Strategy



- Diplomacy
 - Active Foreign Ministry
 - Presidency of Non-aligned Movement (NAM)
 - Party to all nonproliferation conventions - nuclear (NPT) and chemical (CWC) - US and JCPOA / Conventional Sanctions
 - Iran seeks to expand participation in multilateral organizations
 - Participates in multilateral negotiations (Syria)

As of 15 April 2019

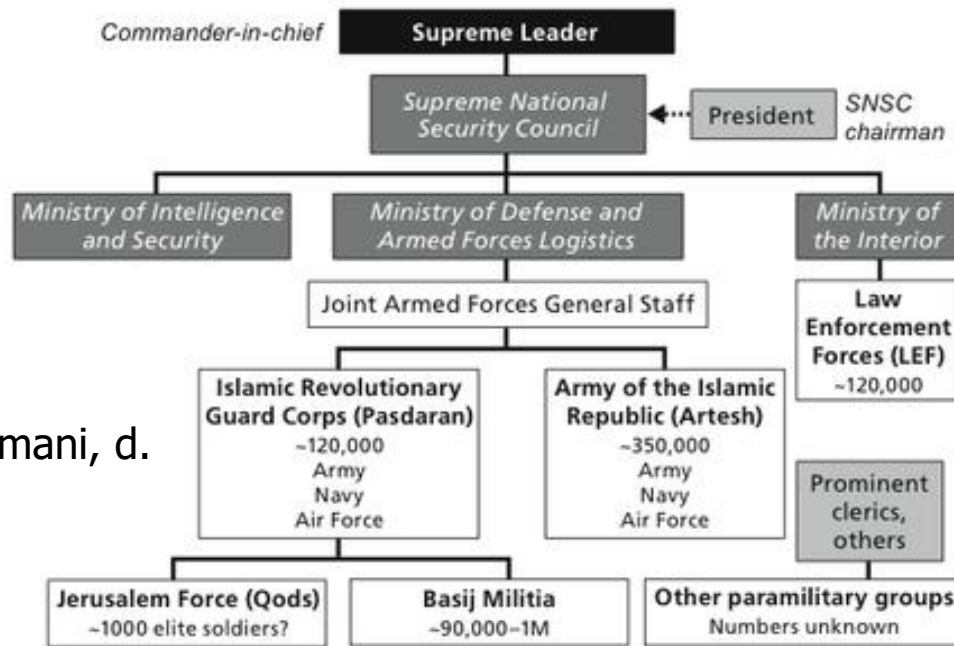
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A Security Partner of Choice Focused on Engagement, Education & Outreach

Iran's Conventional Capabilities



Figure 2.1
Iran's National Security Establishment



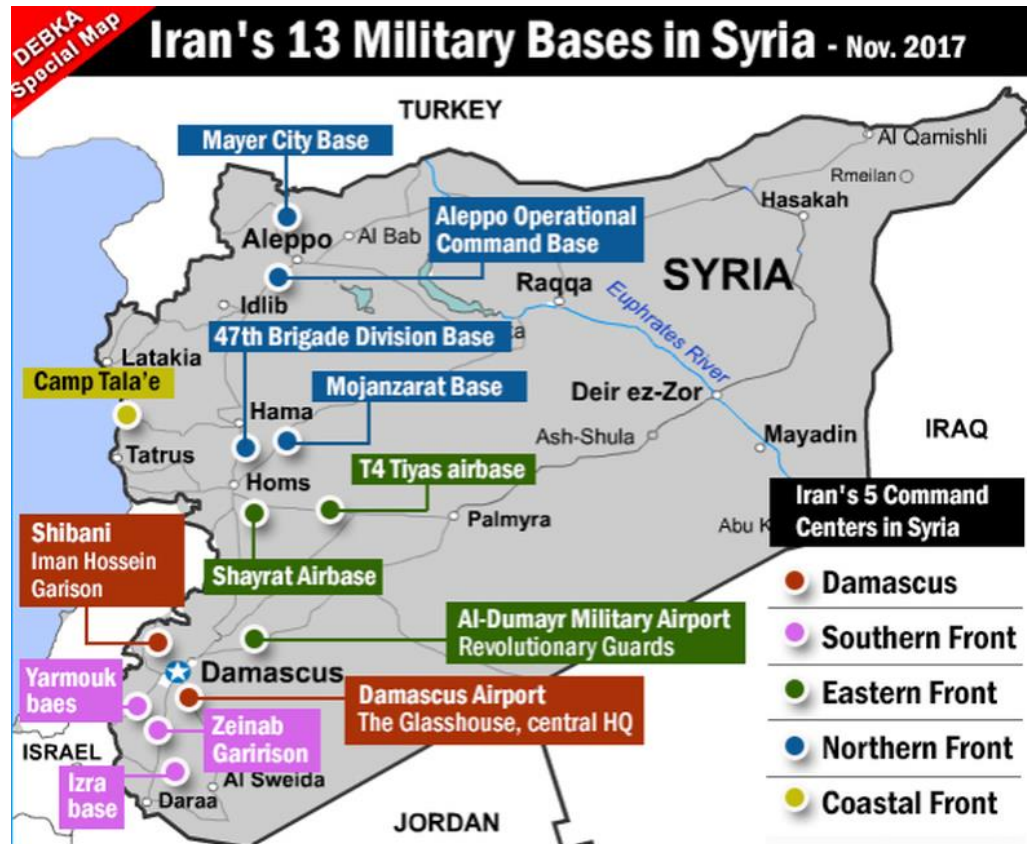
RAND MG821-2.1

MG Qasem Soleimani, d.
3 Jan 2020

A Security Partner of Choice Focused on Engagement, Education & Outreach

As of 15 April 2019

Iran's Conventional Capabilities



A Security Partner of Choice Focused on Engagement, Education & Outreach

Building Coalition Partners










Military might



Iran



Saudi Arabia

	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Armed forces 	563,000	251,500
Battle tanks 	1,513	900
Artillery 	6,798	761
Combat air 	336 (Ageing fleet in need of repairs)	338 (Modern fleet inc 64 Typhoon jets)
Patrol boats 	194	11
Submarines 	21	-
Destroyers/ frigates 	-	7

Source: IISS Military Balance 2017



As of 15 April 2019



2019: U.S. Footprint & Activity in Africa

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Military/Defense

1
Permanent Military Base
(Djibouti)

0 by 2025
New Military Bases Anticipated

~6,750 Troops
Total Deployed in Africa

28 Troops
In 5 UN Peacekeeping Operations

\$97 Million
Military Equipment Sales

11
Major Military Port Visits

Diplomatic/Development/Economic

49 (of 53)
Diplomatic Missions

~\$9.6 Billion
Foreign Aid (USAID)

~\$48 Billion
15% *decrease* in FDI Stock

0 and 0
Visits to/from Africa & U.S.
Cabinet-level or above

~171,000
U.S. citizens living in Africa

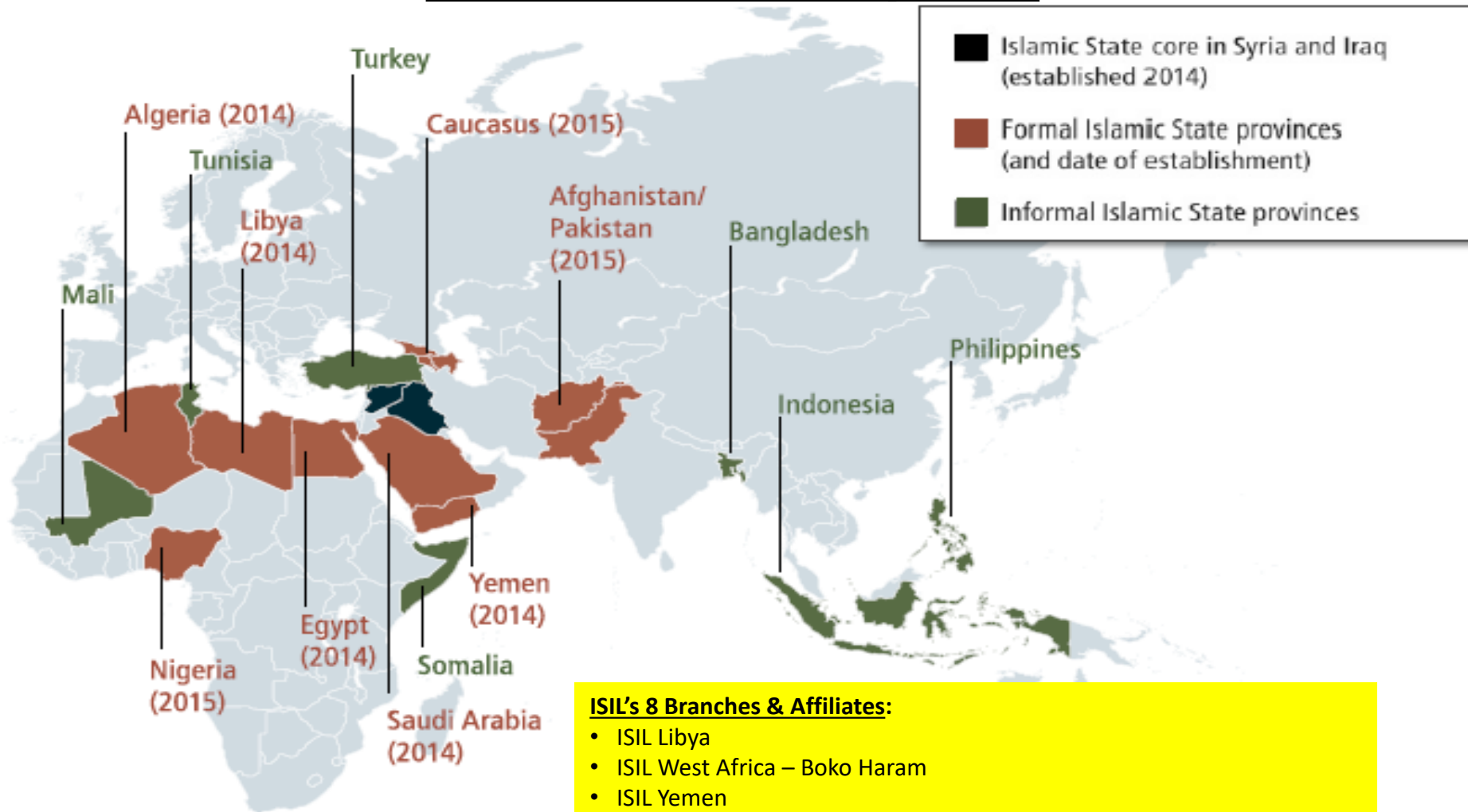
COVID-Related (2020-2021)

0
COVID Vaccinations Directly Provided
(Leading Donor to global COVAX initiative)



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ISIS Global Footprint*



ISIS's 8 Branches & Affiliates:

- ISIL Libya
- ISIL West Africa – Boko Haram
- ISIL Yemen
- ISIL Sinai
- ISIL Khorasam (Afghanistan – Pakistan)
- ISIL Saudi Arabia
- ISIL Algeria
- ISIL Caucasus
- Affiliates -> Tunisia; Turkey; Sub-Sahara Africa; Sudan; Bangladesh; Indonesia; Malaysia; Philippines
- Europe Linkages

Taken from: "Rolling Back the Islamic State",
Seth C. Jones & James Dobbins, May 2017



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US Military Funding

Comparative Funding:

Current and projected military spending

(USD billions/ % of GDP, 2015 and 2030)

	2015	2021	2030 (estimated)
U.S.	597 (3.3%)	740	967 (3.8%)
China	145 (1.8%)		627 (2%)
India	48 (2.3%)		306 (2.5%)
Russia	65 (5.4%)		163 (4%)
Germany	36.7 (1.2%)		60.3 (1%)
Japan	41 (1%)		60 (1%)

Source: 2030 estimates based on SIPRI 2016 data

Policy is where you spend your money – real increase of 16% in social spending beginning 2022



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Questions