



# Information Operations Countermeasures to Anti-Area/Access Denial (A2/AD)

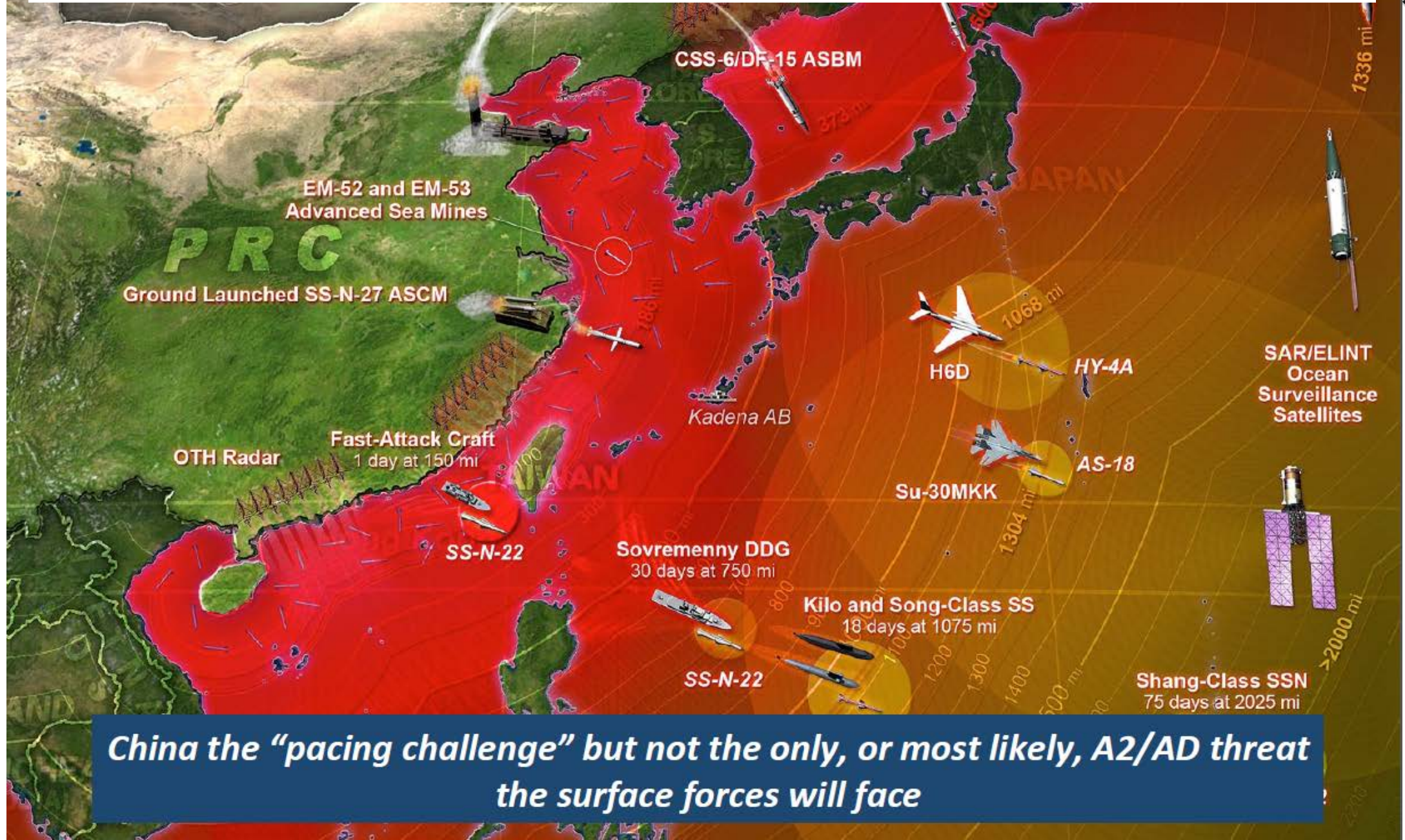
UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO

MAJ Brian Wieck, 37A (FA30)  
152d Theater Information Operations Group





# China is the A2/AD “Pacing Challenge”



**China the “pacing challenge” but not the only, or most likely, A2/AD threat the surface forces will face**

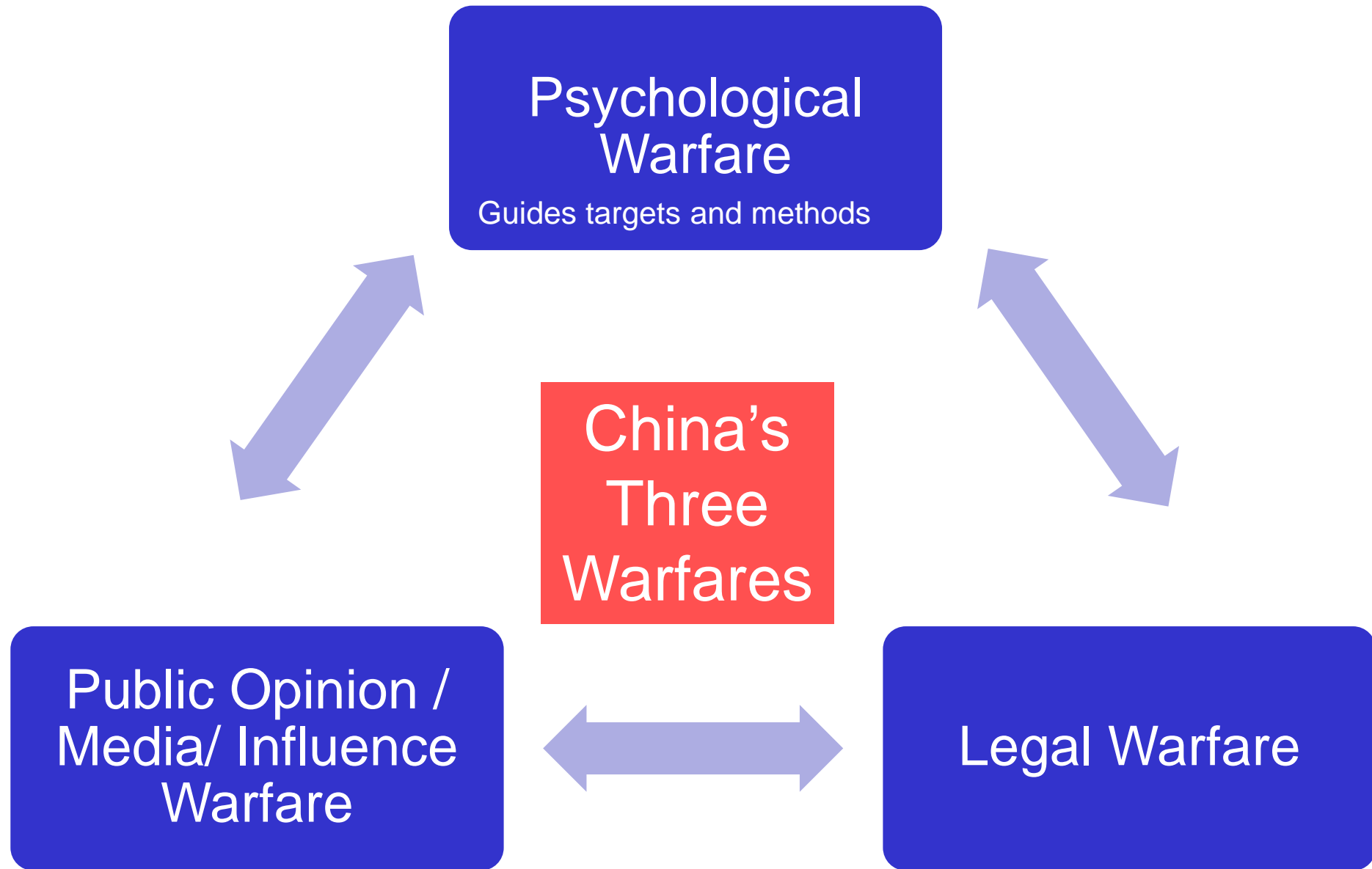




# China's Three Warfares



- US military response to China's A2/AD strategy in general requires:
  - US Objectives Deemed Legitimate
  - Support of Allies
- China's Three Warfares Seeks to degrade both these requirements





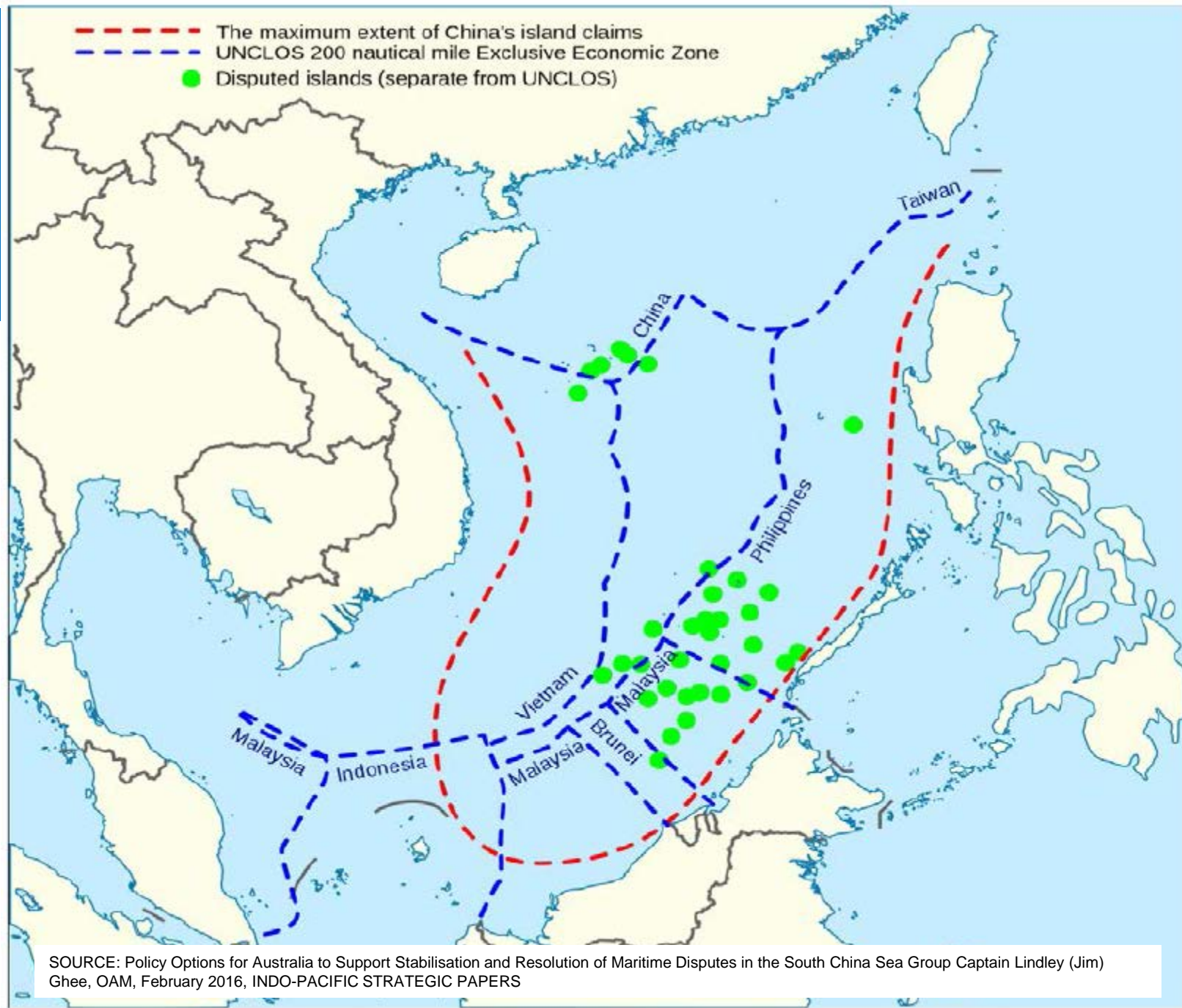
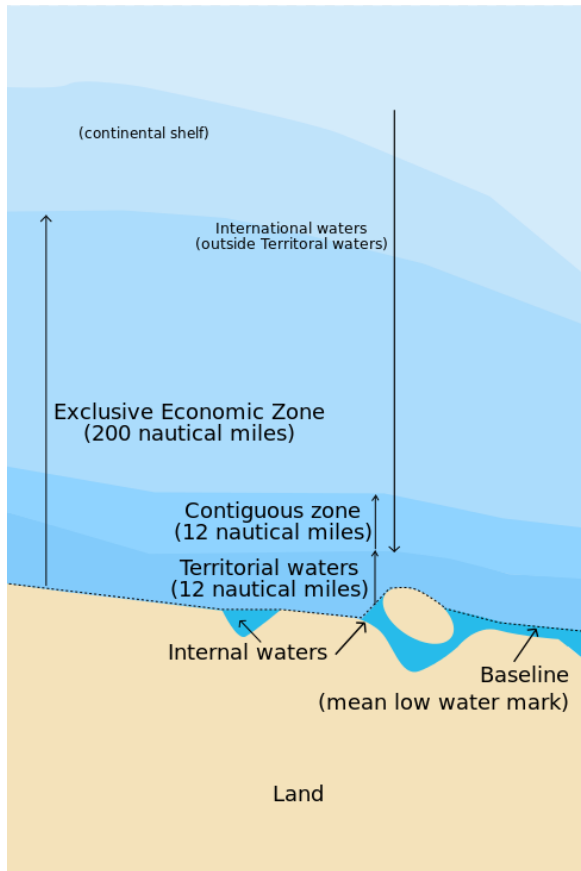
# Chinese Claimed First and Second Island Chains





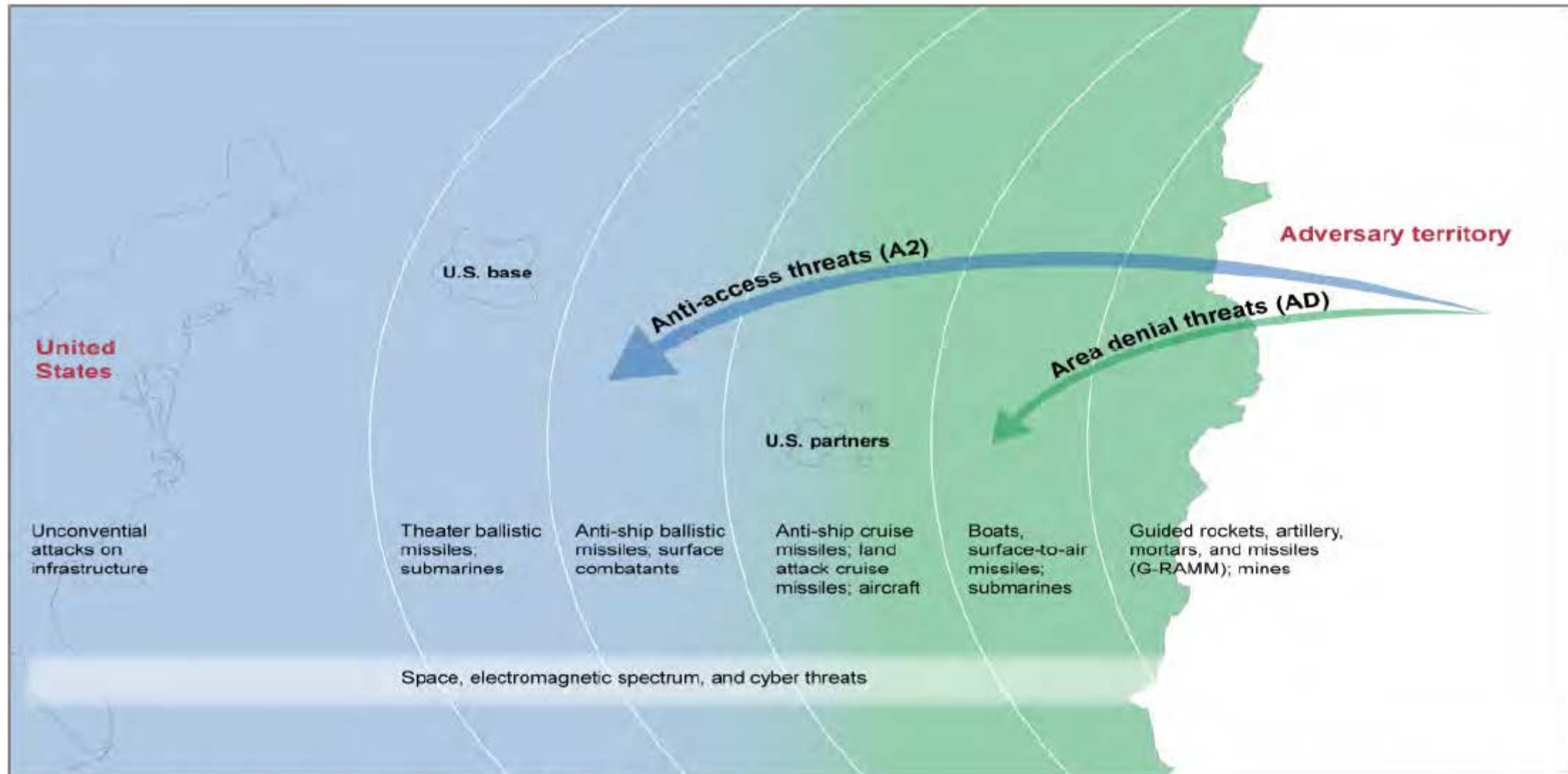


# Map of the South China Sea, showing the various exclusive economic zone boundaries and overlapping claims





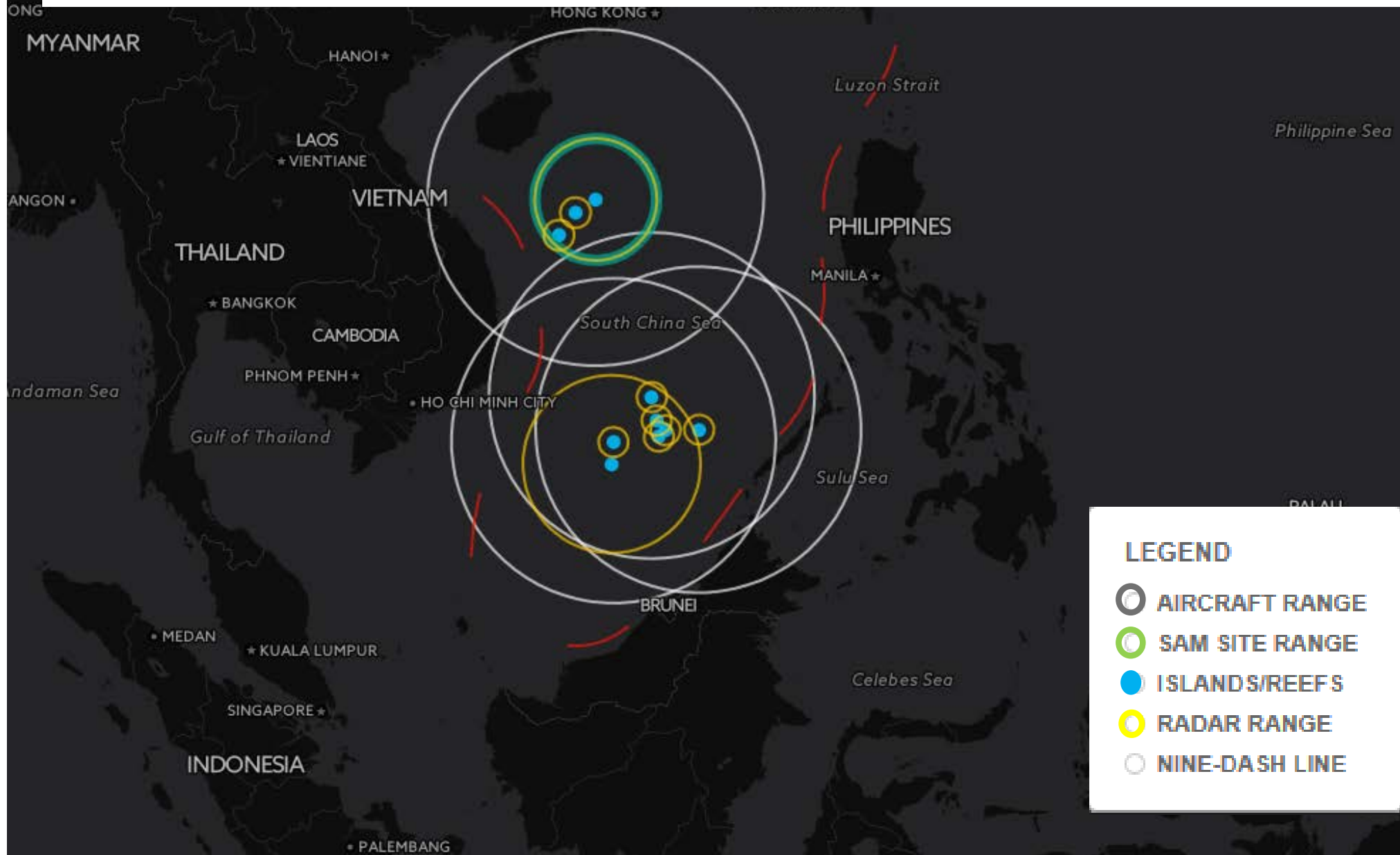
# Space, Electromagnetic Spectrum, and Cyber Threats



Source: GAO analysis of Department of Defense information. | GAO-14-801

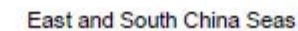
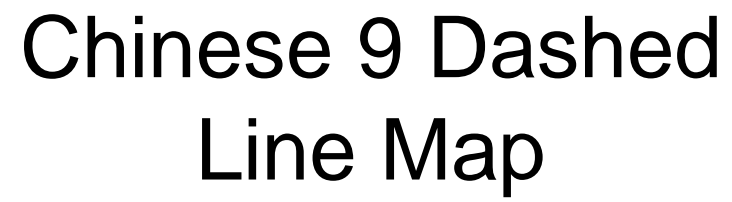


# Chinese Detection/Defense Capabilities in the South China Sea



UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO



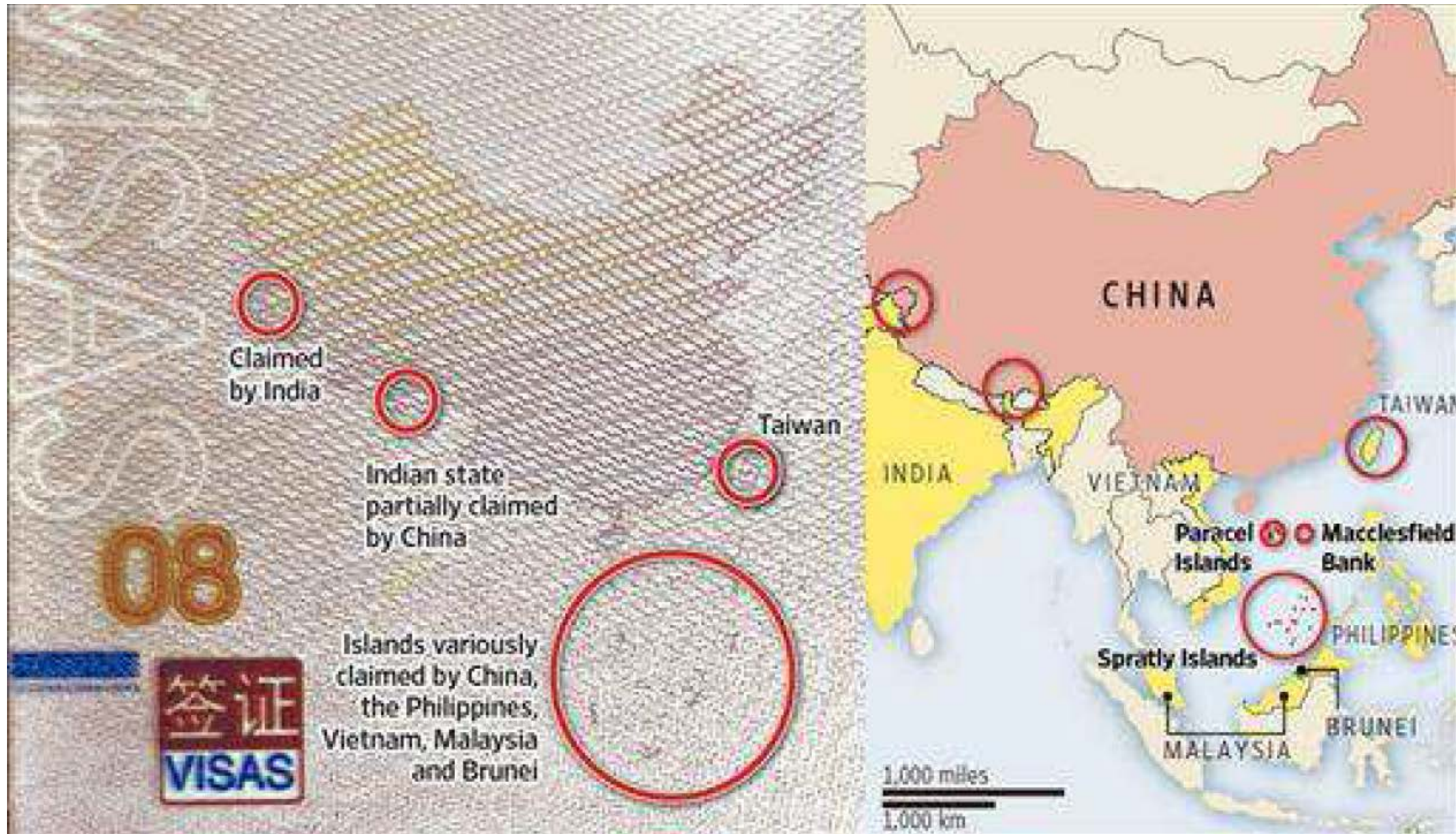


Policy Research Institution: <http://www.fpri.org/2016/04/chinese-accusations-o>



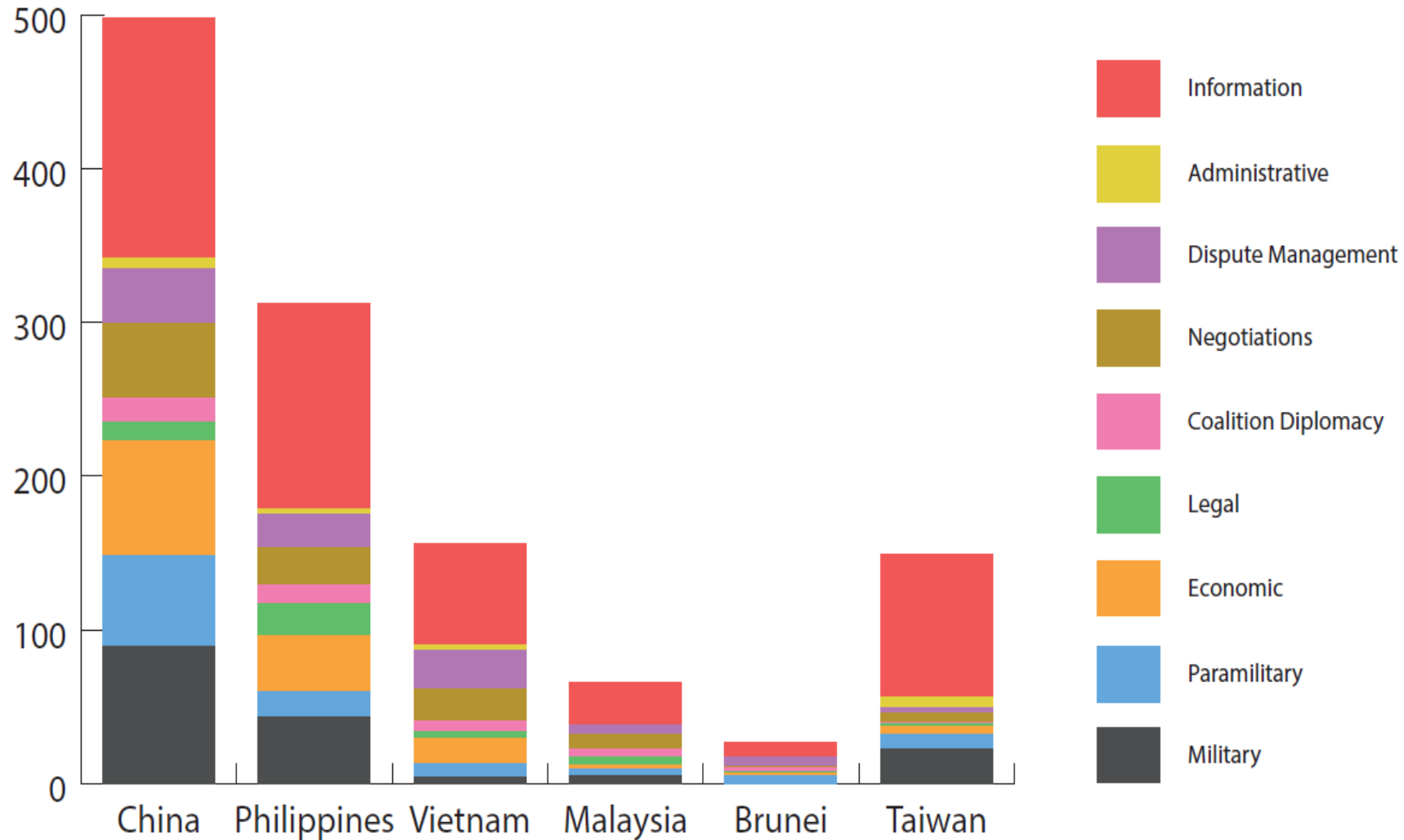


# The map printed in Chinese passports





## TOTAL ACTIONS BY STATE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA



### Information Operations Opportunities:

1. Support and Promote Legal Actions, especially by the most active user—the Philippines (PA, Public Diplomacy, MISO)

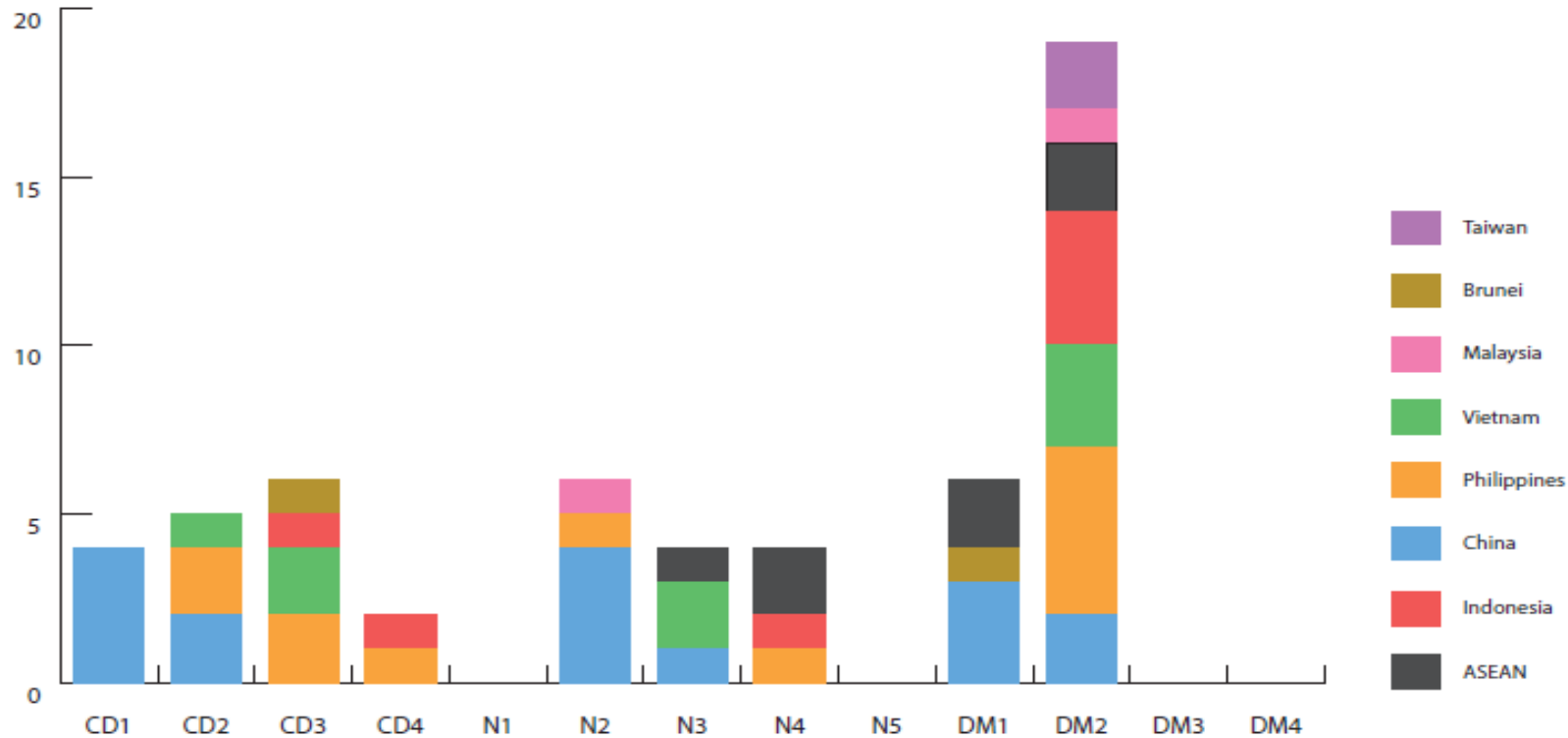
SOURCE: China's Tailored Coercion and Its Rivals Actions and Responses, Center for a New American Security, January 2015.

UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO





# Code of Conduct/Declaration of Consensus of the Parties Negotiations (2012)



## Coalition Diplomacy (CD)

CD1 = Preventing formation of coalitions against one's own position  
CD2 = Forming coalitions in support of one's position  
CD3 = Welcoming regional multilateral organizations to resolve dispute  
CD4 = Inviting outside powers to resolve dispute

## Negotiations (N)

N1 = Refusing to engage in negotiations  
N2 = Insisting on bilateral negotiations only  
N3 = Engaging in multi-party negotiations  
N4 = Participating in multilateral bodies to resolve disputes  
N5 = Inviting outside parties to arbitrate

## Dispute Management (DM)

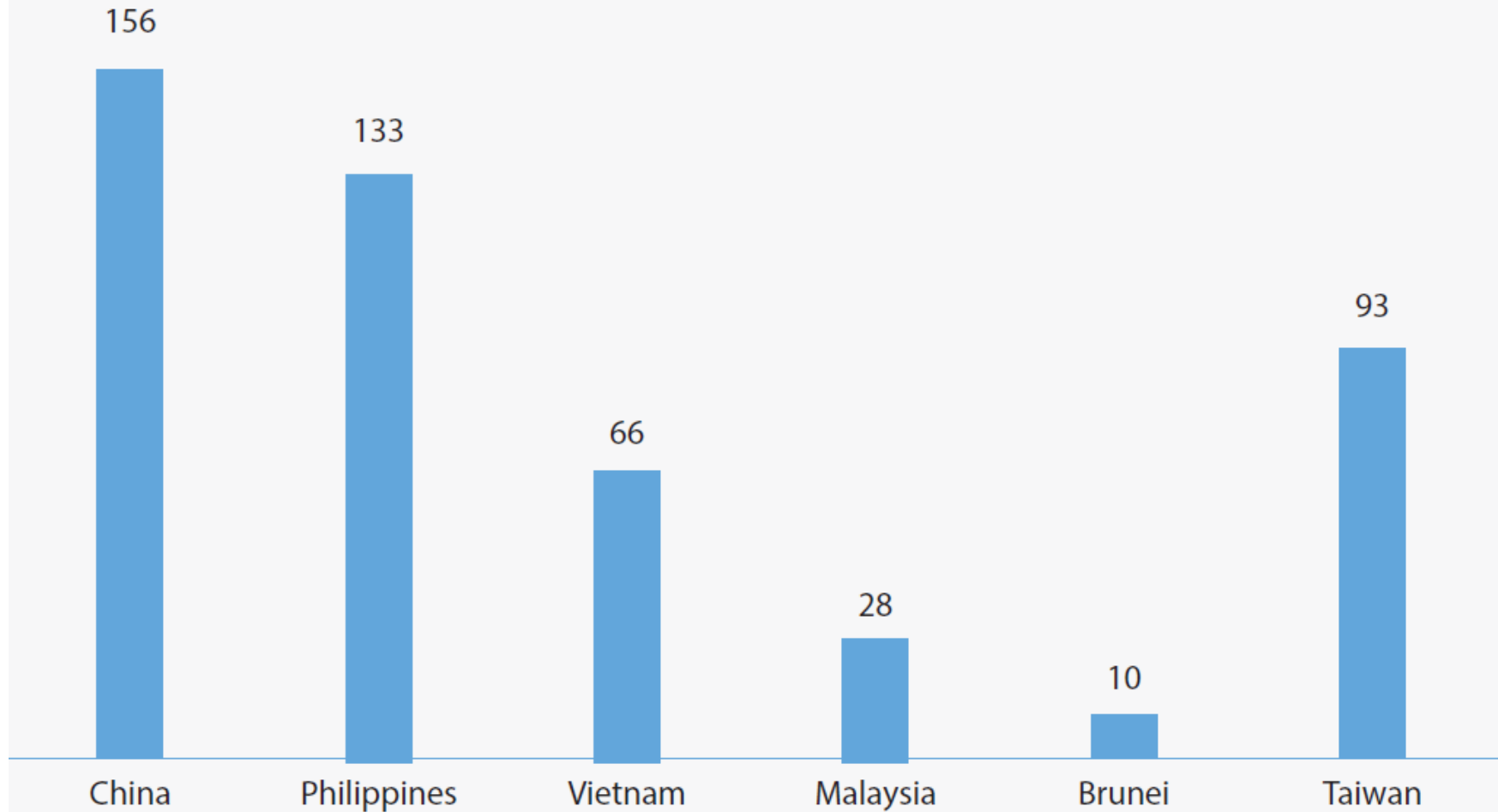
DM1 = Agreeing to declaration of principles to resolve dispute peacefully  
DM2 = Committing to work toward a Code of Conduct, which is also okay  
DM3 = Instituting binding confidence building measures  
DM4 = Inviting outside dispute management mechanisms

## Information Operations Opportunities:

1. Expose China's refusal to embrace joint multilateral codes of conduct and confidence building measures (PA, MISO)



## INFORMATION ACTIONS BY STATE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA



SOURCE: China's Tailored Coercion and Its Rivals Actions and Responses, Center for a New American Security, January 2015.

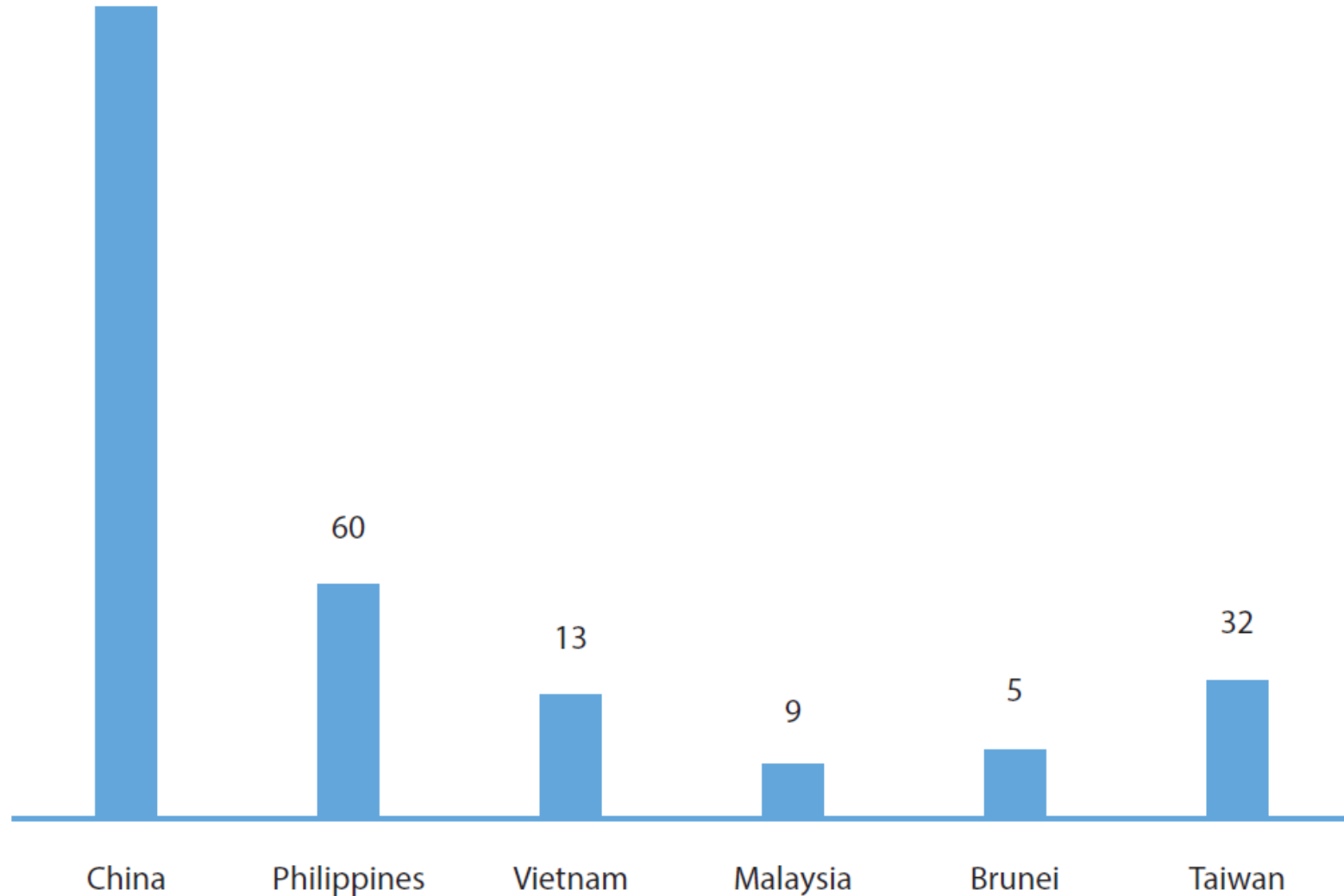
### Information Operations Opportunities:

1. Expose aggressive tactics and disseminate quickly and widely.
2. Publicize and amplify adversary major weapon acquisitions to Asian allies to inform their threat concept.
3. Publicize and amplify friendly major weapon systems acquisitions to reassure allies and deter adversaries.
4. Expose China's use of Three Warfares to mitigate its effects.

UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO



# TOTAL MILITARY AND PARAMILITARY ACTIONS BY STATE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA



UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO

## Information Operations Opportunities:

1. Shape conditions to increase allied ability to broadcast aggressive activity in (near) real time
2. Amplify these broadcasts (PA, Public Diplomacy, MISO)
3. Explain/expose China influence tactics (PA, MISO) and aggressive behavior
4. Shape conditions to facilitate de-escalation (PA, Public Diplomacy, MISO)





# China Leverages Social Media

“CCTV News. The Chinese military is calling on the US to stop sensationalizing China’s military moves in the south China Sea after US officials criticized China for building facilities and deploying missiles and fighters in the area. ...”

More Videos by CCTVNews



CCTVNews

The Chinese military is calling on the US to stop sensationalizing China's military moves in the South China Sea after US officials criticized China for building facilities and deploying missiles and fighters in the area. Spokesman of Defense Ministry Wu Qian has told the media that China has the legitimate right to deploy military facilities on its own islands in the South China Sea. CCTV's Han Bin reports that the latest confrontations reflect a change in strategic thinking and the state of bilateral military ties.

Shared with: Public

26,735 Views

Embed Video

Embed Post

February 25

Zayyar Rkyaw, Maung Soe, Mous Slim and 1,846 others like this. [Top Comments](#)

193 shares

69 comments



**Nguyễn Thế Hiển** China, so very grateful for your helps in Vietnam -Us war but there's 1 thing you must remember that South china sea is just a called name not your backyard or something like that ... Paracel islands and Spratly islands belonged to SR of VN about hundreds of years ago!!!

8 · February 25 at 11:44pm · Edited

26 Replies



**Danny Nguyen** All Zhongguo people around the world should organise a protest to tell America and its allies to stay out of Asia's affairs. All peace loving world citizens should protest and tell America that it is not the world police and we won't accept its rule.

16 · February 25 at 7:06pm

47 Replies



**Mark Cruz** China why so selfish? 😞 those islands belongs to us! We will stand and fight for our rights. #proudphilipino

5 · February 26 at 12:25am

3 Replies



**Dinesh Twanabasu** I think USA has thousands of military bases around the world, most of them are in other countries. How can US still advocate about other countries military bases in their own territories? Just absurd.

17 · February 25 at 6:13pm · Edited

3 Replies



**Charles Asiedu Poku** The question why must USA come to Asia to interfere with their affairs ? I trust great China will not bow to any pressure. I am for the rise of the red flag

12 · February 25 at 6:57pm

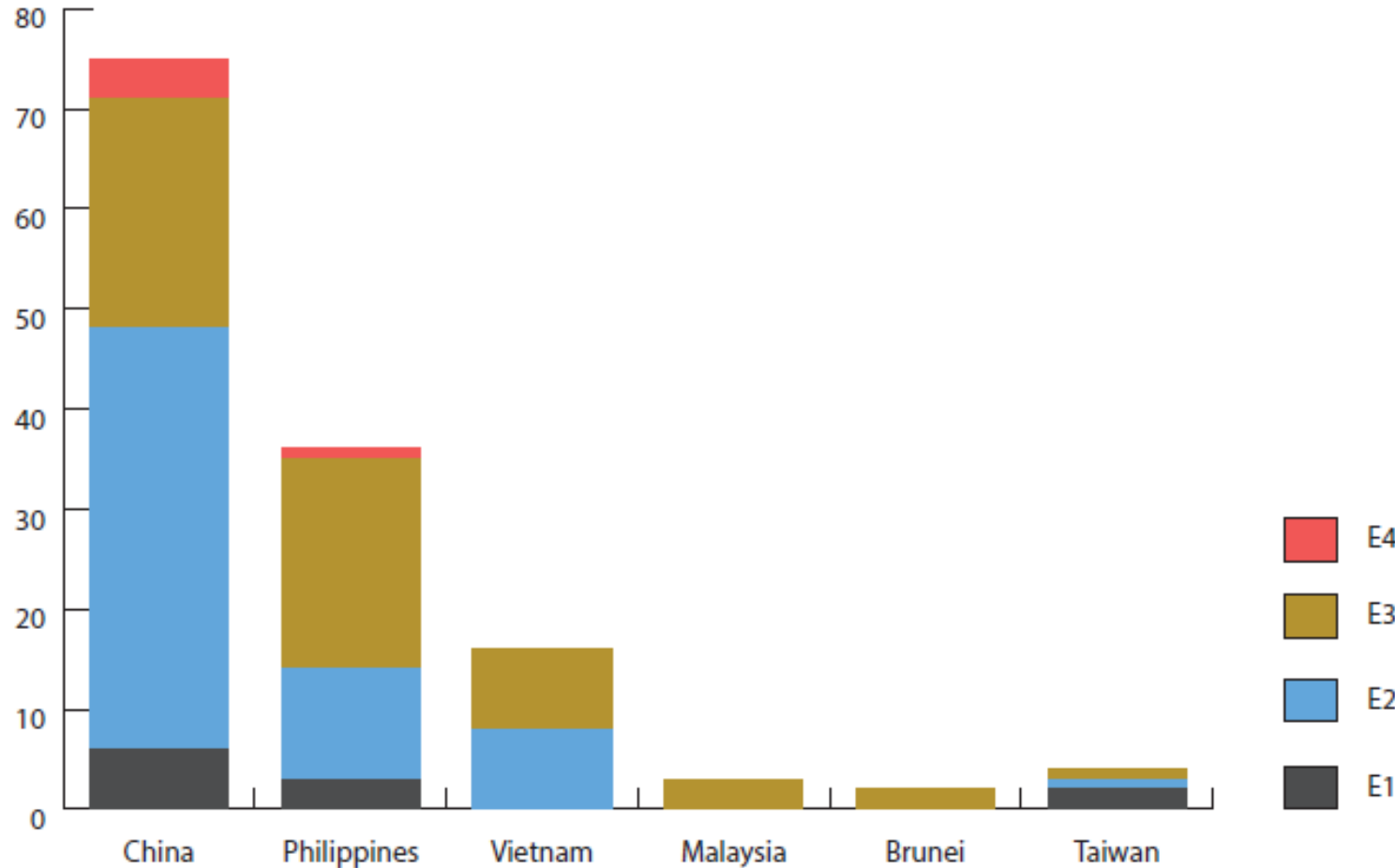
13 Replies



**Myeongseong Ko** The military problems between china and US are quite complicated and hard to deal with. As south korean if i advocate USA, lots of Chinese maybe blame me, and vice versa. I just hope you to keep peaceful each other. 😊



# ECONOMIC ACTIONS BY STATE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA



## LEGEND

E1 = Threatening economic sanctions against rivals

E2 = Signing access agreements with third parties (countries or corporations)

E3 = Arriving at joint development deals

E4 = Economic inducements (trade and investment deals)

## Information Operations Opportunities:

1. Expose China's use of economic influence and intimidation with its Asian counterparts to bargain for votes in organizations such as ASEAN

2. Amplify joint development deals relatively freely arrived at

3. Amplify coercive use of threatened sanctions to increase Asian allies' concept of China threat

4. Amplify Asian allies' use of economic sanctions to counter Chinese aggression

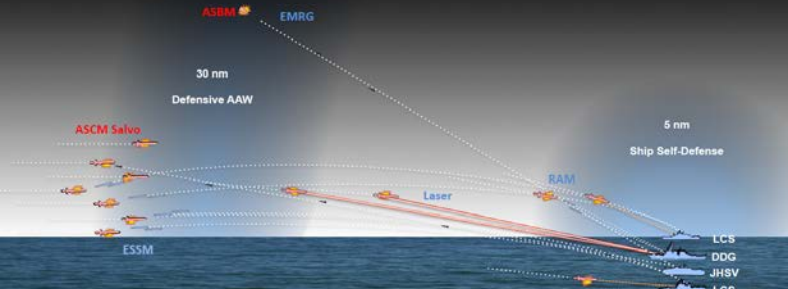
UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO



# Joint Operational Access Concept / Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons (JOAC/JAM-GC) (formerly Air-Sea Battle)

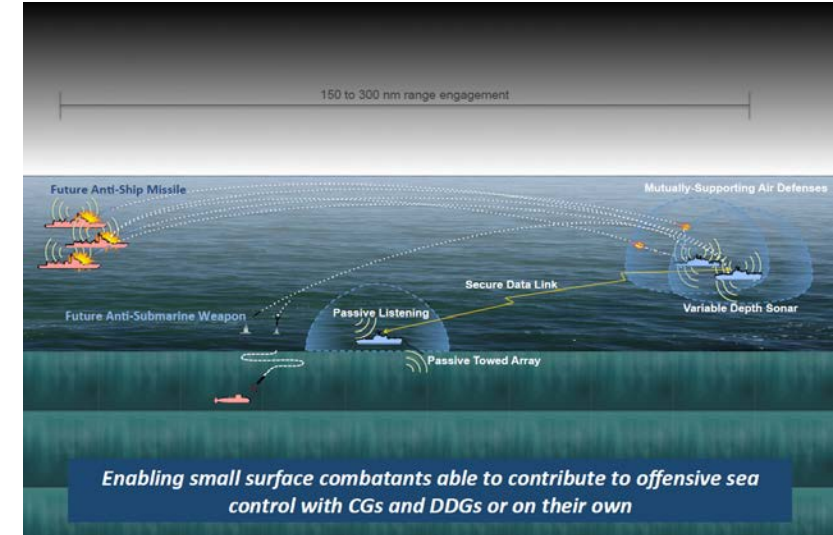
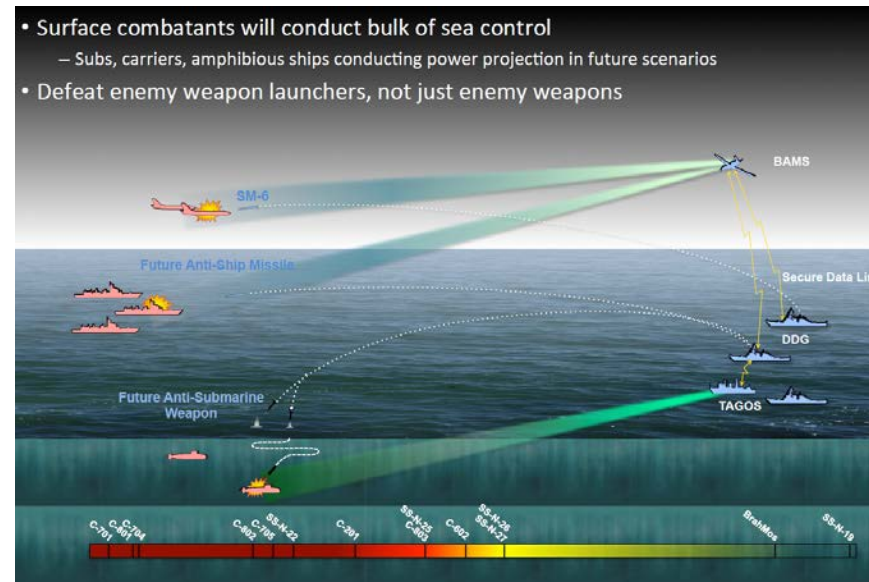


- Shift to a single, dense defensive AAW layer
  - Smaller interceptors; just as capable and more numerous as longer range
  - Acknowledges challenges against OTH targets
  - Enables integration of lasers, railgun and electronic warfare
- Long-range interceptors used for offensive AAW



*Images show future concepts*

- Surface combatants will conduct bulk of sea control
  - Subs, carriers, amphibious ships conducting power projection in future scenarios
- Defeat enemy weapon launchers, not just enemy weapons

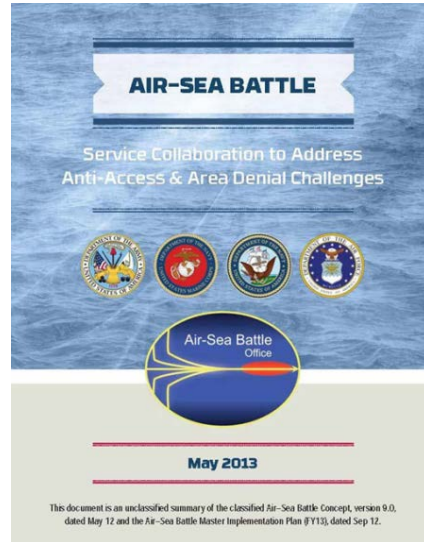


UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO





# All-Domain Access



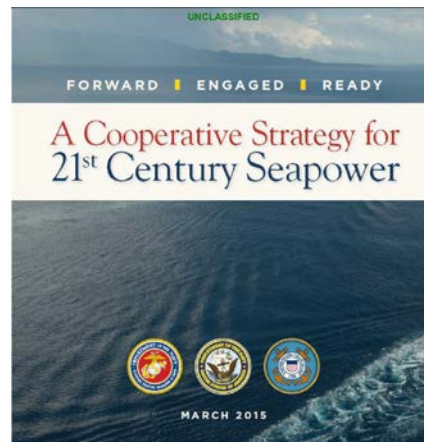
**Battlespace awareness**, which requires “persistent surveillance” of not only the physical environment but cyberspace and the electromagnetic spectrum as well.

**Assured command and control**, which requires US communications networks to operate reliably and securely in the face of enemy jamming and hacking. Gen. Dunford specifically said Navy-Marine networks aren’t up to coordinating the kind of dispersed operations that have become routine and will require new investment.

**Cyberspace operations**, “including both defensive and offensive measures.”

**Electromagnetic Maneuver Warfare**, a new Navy concept for masking friendly emissions — radar, radio, and so on — and deceiving or disrupting the enemy’s.

**Integrated fires**, which seeks to reduce reliance on a limited supply of expensive missiles by using jamming, hacking, lasers, and rail guns.



*Cross-domain synergy is achieved when these elements are synchronized*



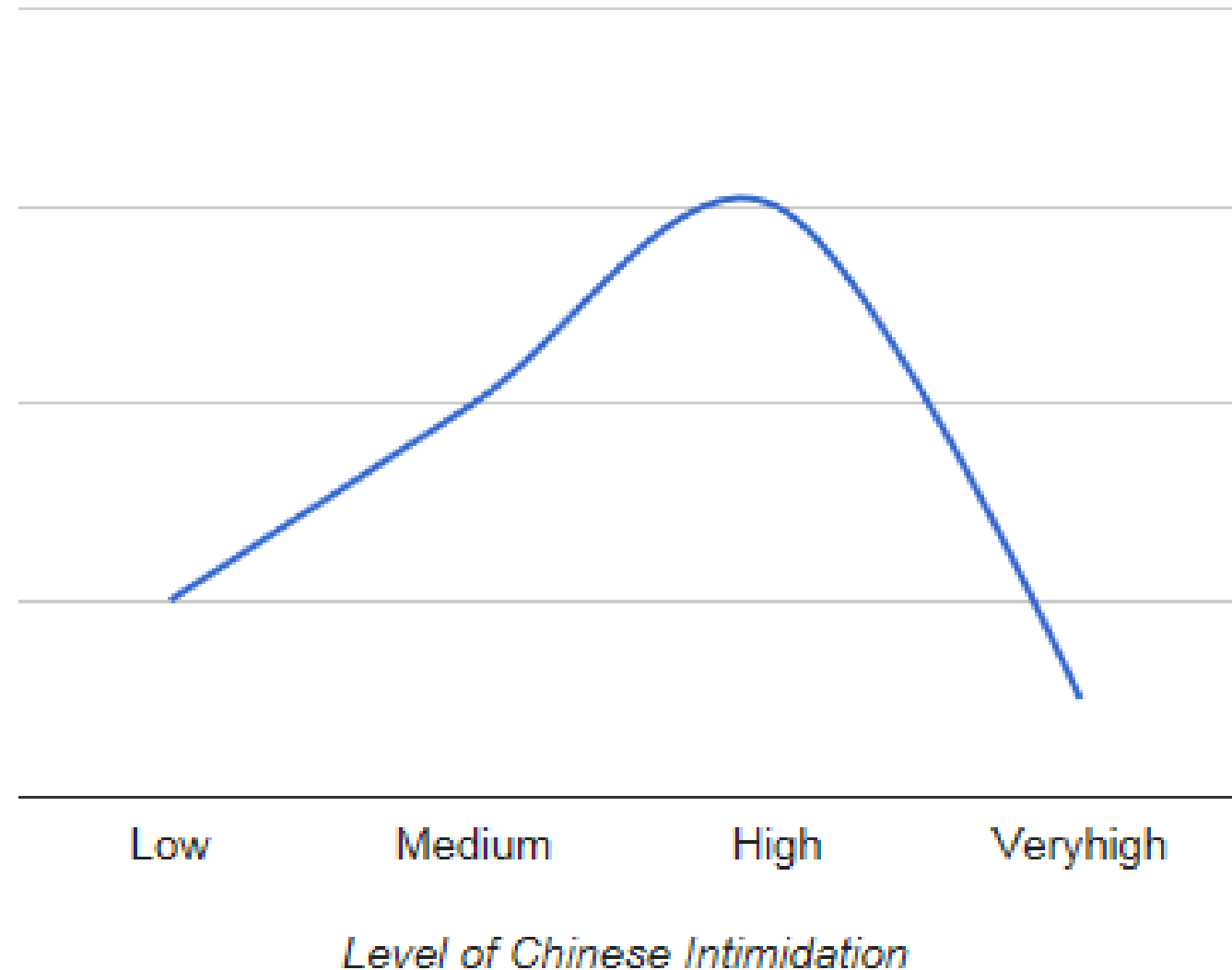
China can influence Asian nations to increasingly not interfere with Chinese claims and activities as China ratchets up pressure with a whole of government approach.

However, at some point very high Chinese pressure can result in Asian nations turning to each other and outside nations for security.

Asian nations most distance from China are less susceptible to intimidation, while those bordering China are most susceptible.

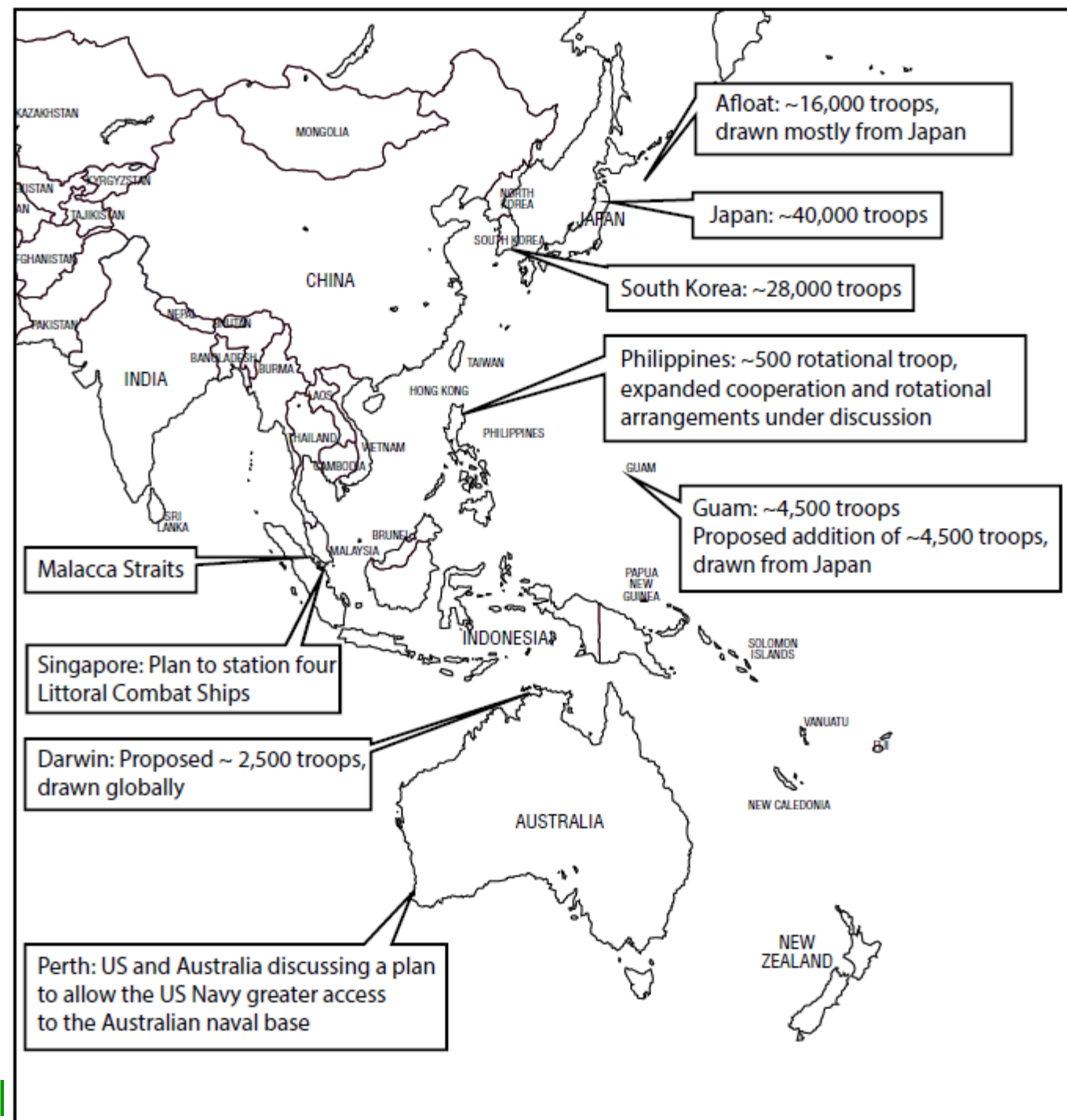
Level of Target Nation Compliance with China Demands

## Chinese Influence Model





# Projected Asia-Pacific force structure based on Asia rebalance



SOURCE: Aaron W. Staffens, LTC, USAF, "Scramble in the South China Sea: Regional Conflict and US Strategy," Strategic Studies Quarterly, Fall 2013, p.101, Reprinted from Mark E. Manyin et al., "Pivot to the Pacific? The Obama Administration's 'Rebalancing' Toward Asia," CRS Report for Congress R42448 (Washington: CRS, 28 March 2012), 3.





## Future Capabilities Roadmap

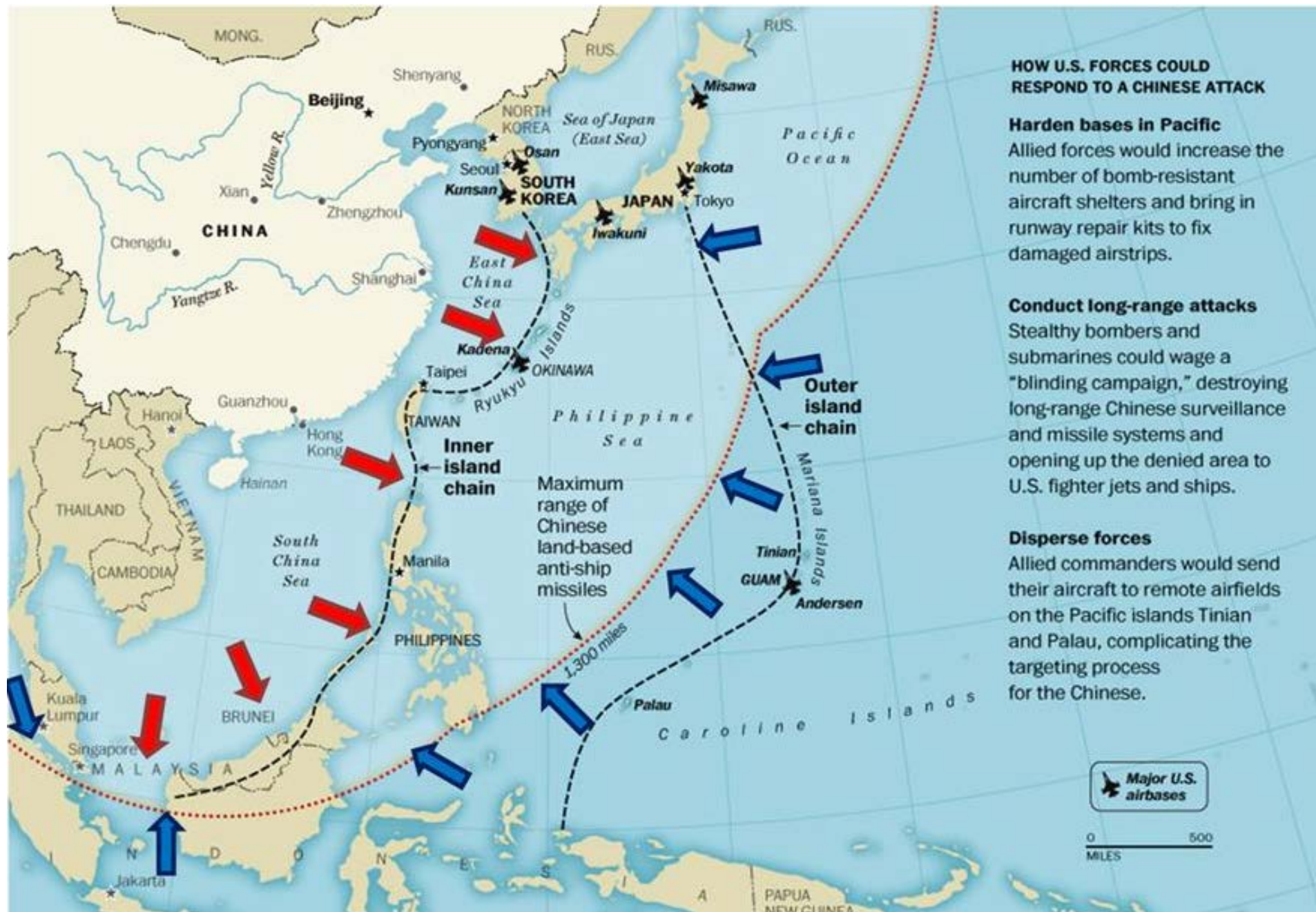
Allies and partners' future capabilities should build on existing strengths and comparative advantages. This is a recommended capabilities roadmap for the United States and its allies and partners.

ALLIES AND PARTNERS	AUSTRALIA	INDIA	JAPAN	MALAYSIA
TECHNOLOGIES	Unmanned ISR systems	Unmanned ISR systems	Amphibious assault ships and forces	Maritime patrol vessels and aircraft
	Amphibious lift	Surface and sub-surface deterrence systems	Anti-ship ballistic missiles	Anti-ship missiles
	Next-generation submarines	Cyber and electronic warfare	Smart sea mines	
	More capable frigates		Anti-submarine warfare	
	Long-range fighter aircraft		Hypersonic vehicles	
			Long-range strike	
			Missile defense	
			Mobile anti-aircraft defense	
			Dual-use space systems	

ALLIES AND PARTNERS	PHILIPPINES	TAIWAN	VIETNAM	UNITED STATES
TECHNOLOGIES	Surveillance aircraft	Hardening of critical infrastructure	Unmanned ISR systems	<i>Third offset technologies</i>
	Missile-capable frigates	Amphibious defense	Maritime patrol aircraft	Long-range unmanned strike
	Anti-submarine warfare capabilities	Anti-aircraft defense	Missile strike capabilities	Unmanned undersea vehicles
		Anti-ship small craft		Smart sea mines
		Smart sea mines		Untraditional munitions (directed energy, rail guns)

SOURCE: PatrickM. Cronin, "Dynamic Balance: An Alliance Requirements Roadmap for the Asia-Pacific Region," CNAS, p. 37.

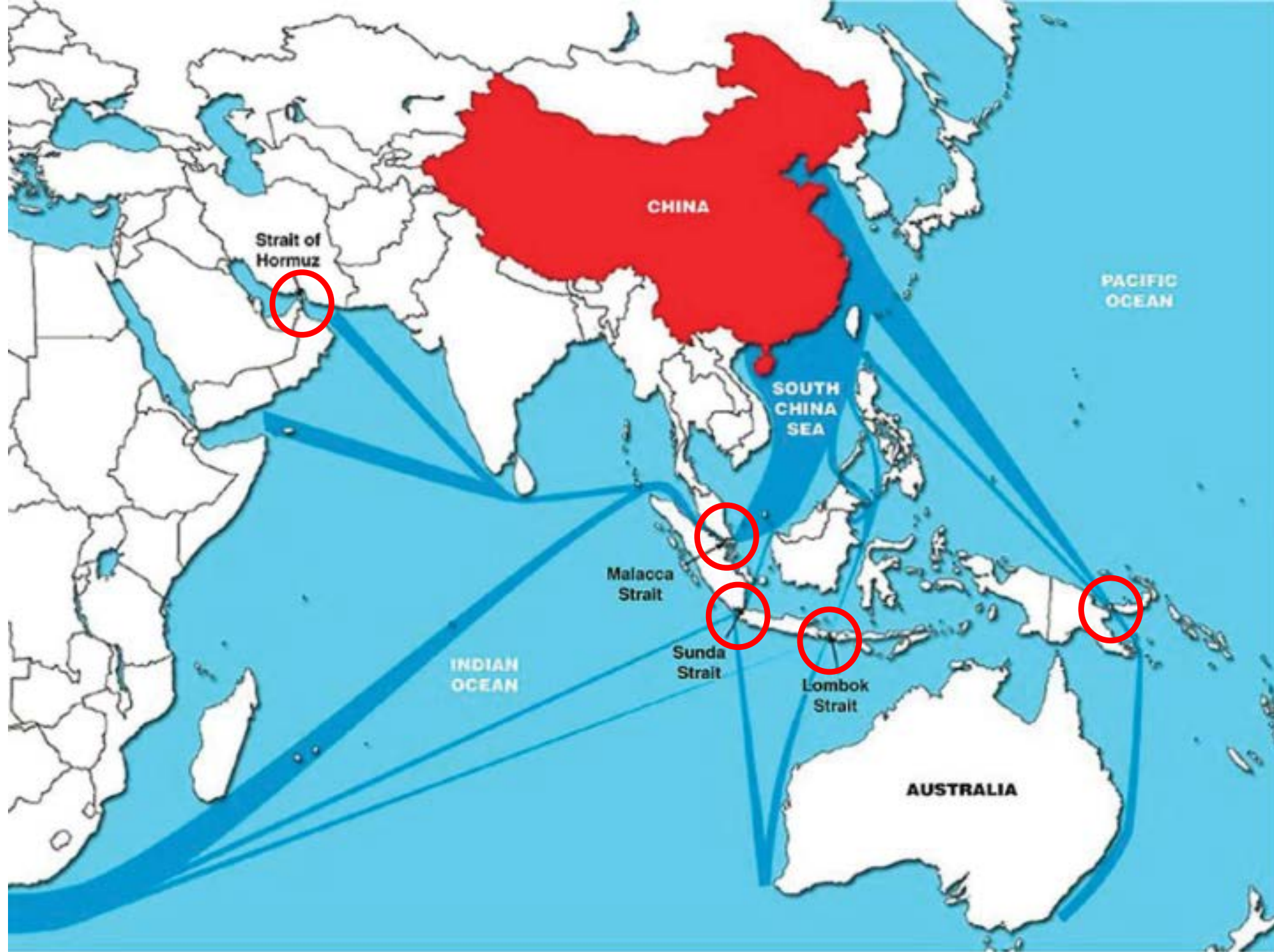
UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO







# Choke Points, and a “Distant” maritime strategy as part of a Tailored Offshore Defense







# IO Countermeasures to A2/AD Overview

1. Publicize and amplify Chinese tactical and operational activities in the South China Sea and Chinese operational and strategic weapon acquisitions to increase Asian allies' apprehension and willingness to engage with international organizations and the US and its allies to counter this threat.
2. Build Partner Capacity and increase rotational base access with Asian allies.
3. Publicize and amplify the broad concepts of the US Pivot to Asia and its supporting military strategy Joint Operational Access Concept / Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons (JOAC/JAM-GC) to reassure allies and deter China from excessive adventurism.
4. Use deception, decoys and dispersion.
5. Publicize and amplify Asian partner nation attempts to use international law to peacefully resolve disputes concerning the South China Sea.
6. Publicize US and allied nation activities to reinforce the international norm of freedom of navigation—worldwide.
7. Publicize and amplify both China and Asian nation's agreements to de-escalation measures such as hot lines, codes of conduct and confidence building measures, and refusal to make such agreements.
8. Document and expose China's use of its Three Warfares (Legal Warfare, Psychological Warfare, and Media Warfare) to degrade their effect.

**UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO**



A2/AD IO Countermeasure Action	Effects
<b>Economics.</b> Coordinate to reduce ally economic dependence on China, in part by expanding US economic ties with ASEAN nations, since China leverages this power to influence the information environment.	Increases ally capacity to counter China Three Warfares.
<b>Containment.</b> Use public diplomacy and other means to describe Asia rebalance in terms not involving China containment, but involving benefits to the region as a whole. Describe the US as a champion of a rules-based international order which can help avoid an order where bullies set and break the rules (as Senator McCain did in a June 3, 2016 speech to RSIS in Singapore before the start of the Shangri-la Dialogue).	Disrupts China narrative that US is trying to contain China; reassures allies.
<b>Amplify Threat.</b> Publicize and amplify Chinese tactical and operational activities in the South China Sea and Chinese operational and strategic weapon acquisitions to.	Increases Asian allies' apprehension and willingness to engage with international organizations and the US and its allies to counter this threat.
<b>Build Partner Capacity (BPC).</b> BPC with Asian allies (civilian, regulatory, militia, coast guard, and naval fleets; IO capabilities; hardening vs. A2/AD measures). Increase rotational base access with Asian allies. Increase security assistance and publicize these actions.	Disrupts narrative that US strength in Asia is in decline; increases ally capacity to counter China Three Warfares; can assist in both avoiding escalation and with de-escalation; reassures allies. Disperses possible targets.

<p><b>Amplify US Deterrence Actions.</b> Publicize and amplify the broad concepts of the US Pivot to Asia and its supporting military strategy Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC) / Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons (JAM-GC). When the US deploys or an US ally acquires weapon systems or improves existing facilities useful in guaranteeing freedom of navigation/detering preemptive strikes, publicize and amplify these. An example is Vietnam’s plan to acquire BrahMos supersonic anti-ship missiles from India.</p>	<p>Disrupts narrative that US strength in Asia is in decline; reassures allies and deters China from excessive adventurism.</p>
<p><b>Deception.</b> Use deception, decoys and dispersion.</p>	<p>Complicates China calculations in planning preemptive strikes.</p>
<p><b>International Law and Organizations.</b> Publicize and amplify Asian partner nation attempts to use international law to peacefully resolve disputes concerning the South China Sea. Expose Chinese reluctance to reduce ambiguity using such mechanisms. Support multilateral institutions. Challenge any use of the word “sovereignty” that tries to tie it the UNCLOS as that document only uses the term “sovereign rights” in some narrow contexts. If the US Congress approved UNCLOS it would add to US credibility.</p>	<p>Disrupts China narratives about Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which include mutual non-aggression and peaceful coexistence, and China’s Harmonious Ocean policy. Counters China Lawfare’s use of word “sovereignty.”</p>
<p><b>UNCLOS Arbitration.</b> Amplify activities of nations that take China to arbitration in UNCLOS (China signed this and by default agreed to arbitration). The Philippines did so in 2013, challenging China’s 9 dashed lines.</p>	<p>Disrupts Chinese Lawfare.</p>



<p><b>Freedom of Navigation/Overflight.</b> Publicize US and allied nation activities to reinforce the international norm of freedom of navigation—worldwide. Conduct freedom of navigation operations (sail/fly within 12 nm of artificial islands, and within 12-200 nm in EEZs) worldwide, without seeking consent.</p>	<p>Counters the Chinese propaganda that the US is trying to contain or even encircle them using freedom of navigation merely as a tool. China could be labelled hegemonist and/or called out for exceptionalism for not freely allowing these activities.</p>
<p><b>De-escalation Measures.</b> Publicize and amplify both China and Asian nation's agreements to de-escalation measures such as hot lines, codes of conduct and confidence building measures, and refusal to make such agreements or use existing measures during crises.</p>	<p>Disrupts China narratives about Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which include mutual non-aggression and peaceful coexistence, and China's Harmonious Ocean policy.</p>
<p><b>Expose Three Warfares.</b> Document and expose China's use of its Three Warfares (Legal Warfare, Psychological Warfare, and Media Warfare) to degrade their effect. Document and expose China's use of economic strength or coercion to shape its A2/AD environment such as by manipulating ASEAN. Leverage personal mobile technology and social media.</p>	<p>Disrupts China narratives about Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which include mutual non-aggression and peaceful coexistence, and China's Harmonious Ocean policy.</p>

<p><b>Flood the IO space with maps.</b> Encourage a coordinated effort where South China Sea claimants jointly issue a group of historical maps, and then note how UNCLOS and other international law gives these little weight. An example of this behavior is Dr. Tran Duc Anh Son, a Vietnamese historian and deputy director at the Da Nang Institute for Socio-Economic Development recently discovered and released historical maps challenging China's claims.</p>	<p>Counters China's use of historical maps to justify aggressive actions.</p>
<p><b>Planned exercises, transit and overflight.</b> Maintain timetable of planned exercises, transit and overflight even when senior US officials visit China.</p>	<p>Avoids IO fratricide with message of reassuring allies.</p>
<p><b>Journalist visa parity.</b> Consider coordinating to establish visa parity for American journalists vis a vis Chinese journalist in America.</p>	<p>Counters China Media Warfare.</p>
<p><b>Train US public affairs officers.</b> Train these officers to counter China Three Warfares.</p>	<p>Counters China Three Warfares.</p>

**EEZ Crisis/incident IO battle drill.** As early as possible, establish the US version of the incident, and publicize the US government principles for resolution of the particular incident. Push information through unofficial channels even as China tries to shut these down. Emphasize the US commitment to the US-China relationship, implying that China is putting this at risk. Consider exposing (through media watchdog organizations) China Media Warfare actions and effects related to the particular incident to degrade them (major US publication rates of news headlines that are pro-US, neutral, and pro-China; key words and terms that China is pushing and some US publications are adopting, such as “spy-plane” instead of “the plane.” Proactively counter expected China attempts to portray incidents as domestic instead of international. Finally, push out photos and videos as soon as possible to disrupt Chinese exploitation of world media and the tendency to give both sides of a story—at the risk of false equivalency. Can also expose Chinese manipulation of social media with paid writers, such as the “50 Centers” (those who allegedly get paid 50 cents per pro-Party post). Websites such as Weibo expose such activity. Finally, consider immediate increase of security to nations involved in incidents.

Potentially achieves IO initiative. Disrupts China attempts to dominate official and unofficial information environment. China is prepared to issue general assertions, but is much weaker in responding to details, facts, and imagery; in addition, this failure to respond to facts helps mitigate the false equivalency found in many world media outlets.