

Adversarial Competition in the 21st Century

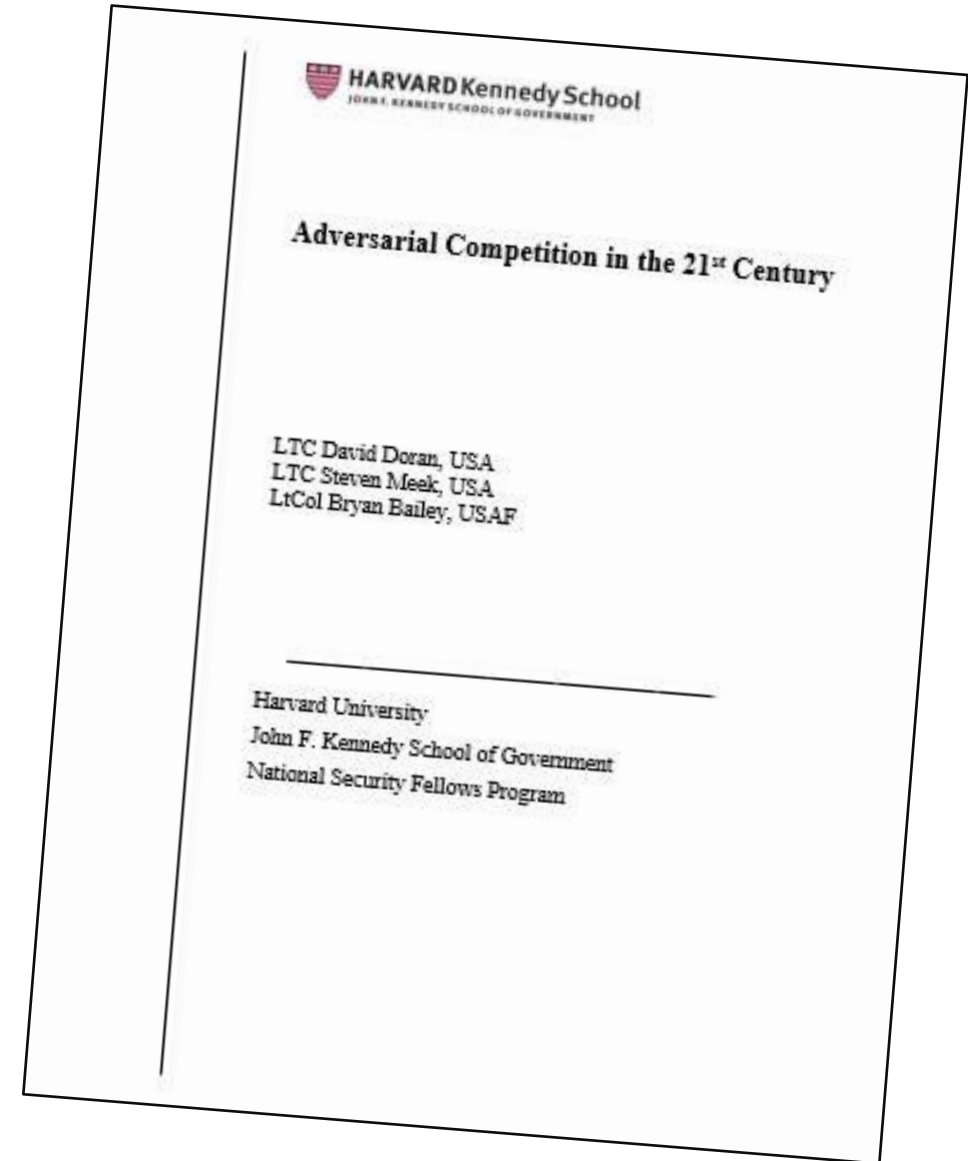
LTC David Doran, USA
LTC Steven Meek, USA
LtCol Bryan Bailey, USAF

Harvard University
John F. Kennedy School of Government
National Security Fellows Program



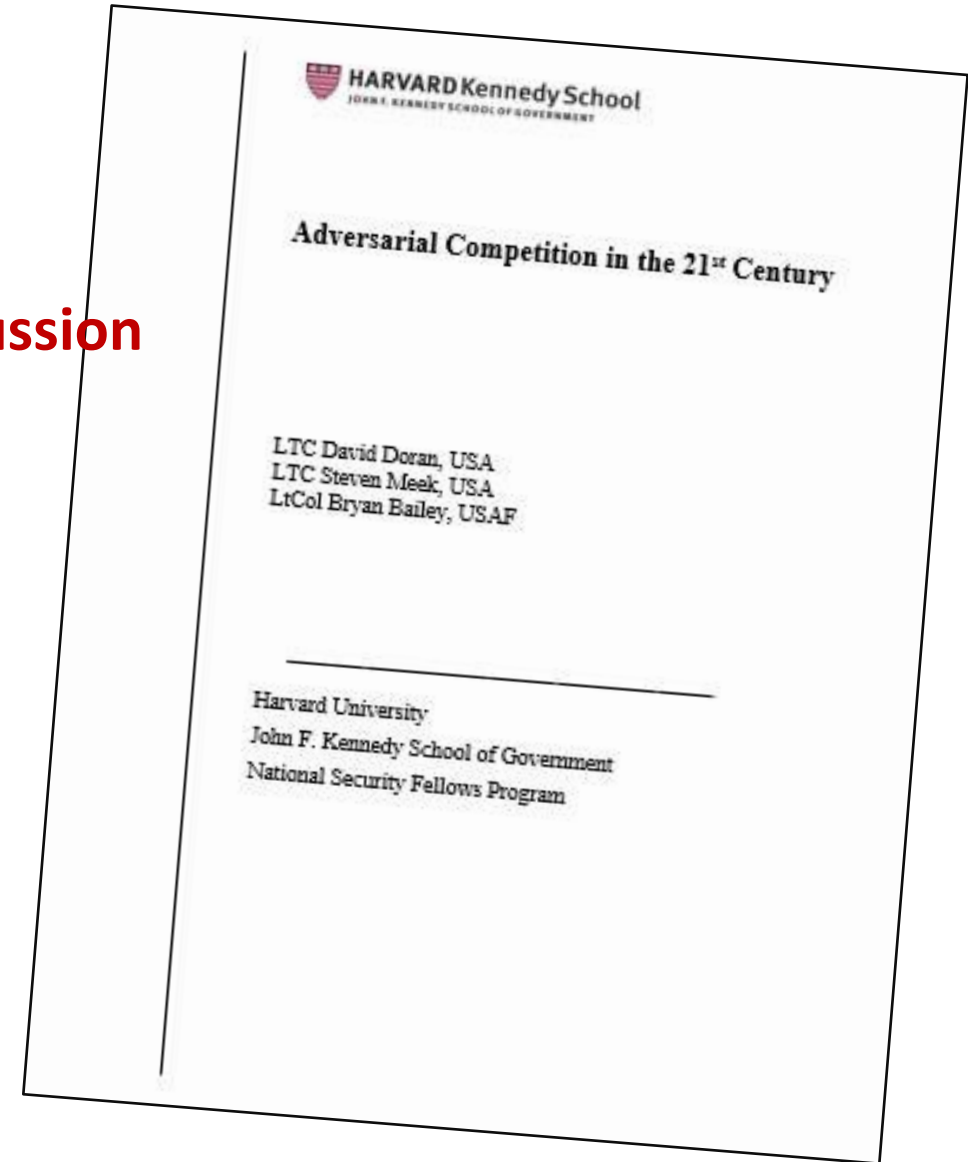
ADVERSARIAL COMPETITION in the 21st CENTURY

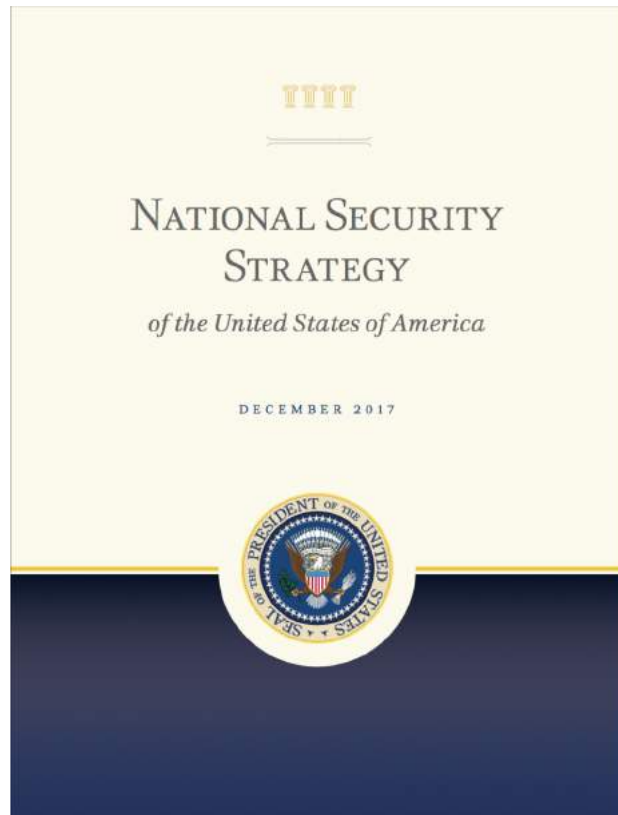
- **What we set out to achieve:**
 - **Better understand current state of great power competition**
 - **Develop models to account for and explain what occurs between rivals**
 - **Use the models to enhance strategy and policy making**
 - **Apply to most prominent great power competition: US and China**



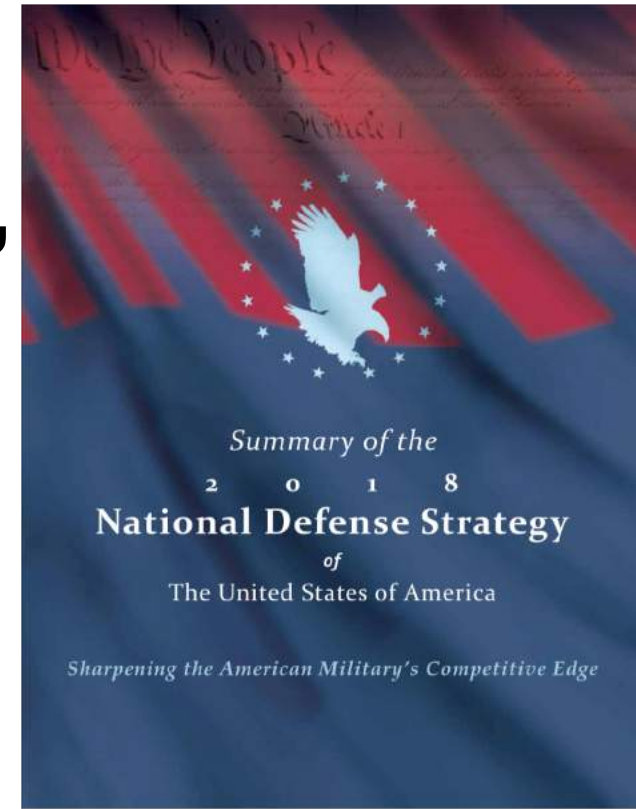
ADVERSARIAL COMPETITION in the 21st CENTURY

- Great Power Competition
 - Adversarial Competition
 - Activities in Adversarial Competition
 - China as Global Competitor
- Focus of Discussion**
- Case Study: China's Influence in Australia
 - Vignette: China's Influence in Western Hemisphere (Future Scenario)
 - Observations, Conclusions and Recommendations





“Competition” in our National Strategies



- *“Competition does not always mean hostility, nor does it inevitably lead to conflict.”*
- *“An America that successfully competes is the best way to prevent conflict.”*

- *“Inter-state strategic competition, not terrorism, is now the primary concern in U.S. national security.”*
- *“A long-term strategic competition requires the seamless integration of multiple elements of national power.”*

“The competitions facing the US are not passing trends or momentary problems. They are intertwined, long-term challenges that demand our sustained national attention and commitment.” – 2017 NSS

Competition Continuum



Adversarial Competition is the Enduring, Persistent Struggle for Positions of Relative Advantage.

Adversarial Competition Activities Variation Models

ADVERSARIAL COMPETITION ACTIVITIES (EXAMPLES) ON PERSUASION TO COERCION SPECTRUM

	PERSUASION	→	COERCION
D I M E F I L	Summit		Demarche / PNG
	Promote Narrative		Interference in Domestic Media
	Build Partner Capacity		Interdiction
	Free Trade Agreement		Embargo
	Investment		Sanctions
	Share		Action
	Law Enforcement Partnerships		Organized Crime Lawfare
	Condemnation		
	Shame		
	Freedom of Navigation ops		
	Tariffs		
	Exclusion Agreements		
	Exploit		
	Aggressive LE / Claims Enforcement		

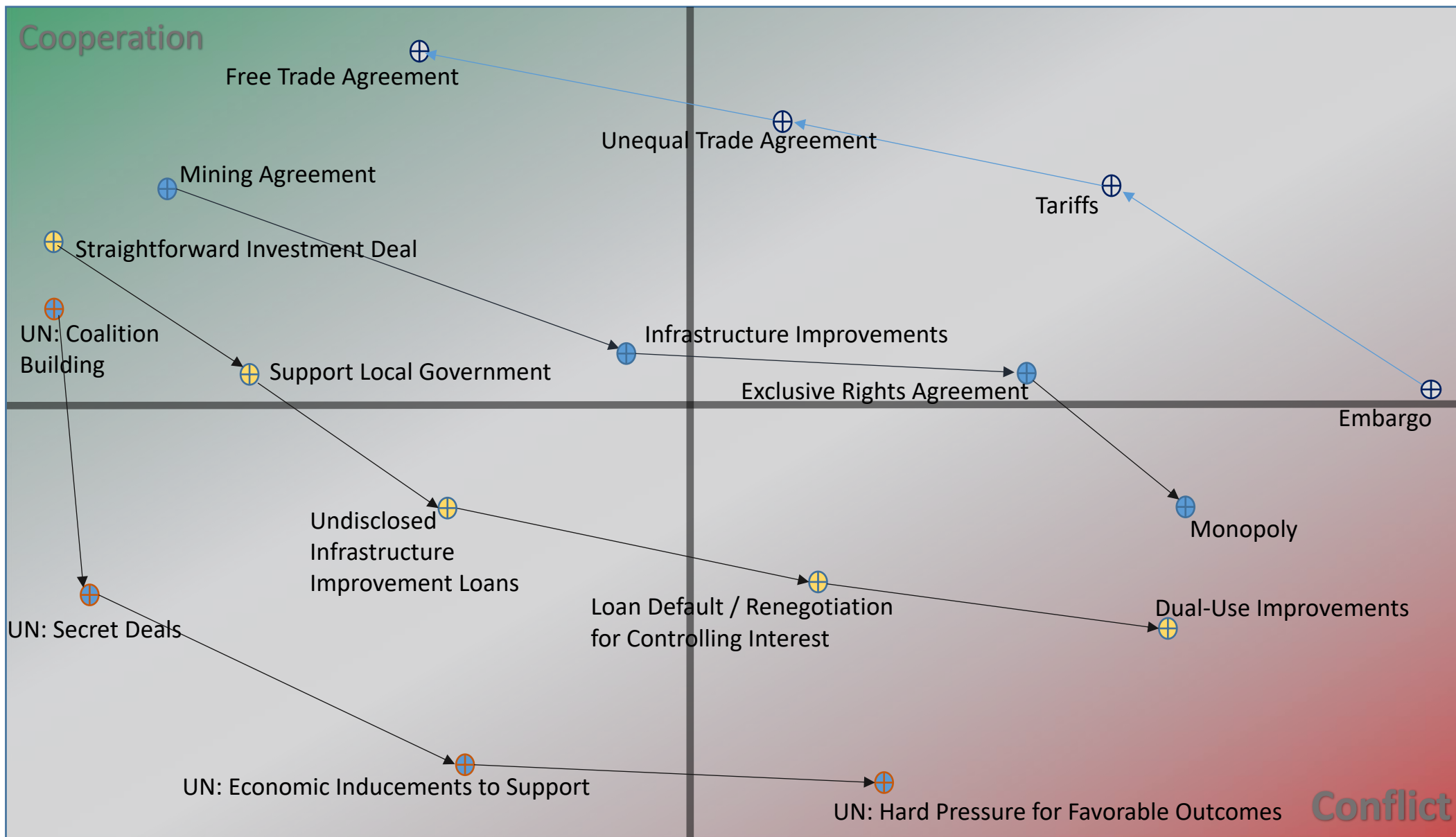
ADVERSARIAL COMPETITION ACTIVITIES (EXAMPLES) ON TRANSPARENT TO OPAQUE SPECTRUM

	TRANSPARENT	→	OPAQUE
D I M E F I L	Int'l Forum		Secret Negotiations
	Promote Narrative		Cyber Attack
	Freedom of Navigation OPs		Espionage
	Free Trade Agreement		Currency Manipulation
	Investment		Money Laundering
	Unclassified Intelligence Reports		Espionage
	Law Enforcement		Organized Crime
	Stonewalling /Obstructionism		
	IP Theft / Tech Transfer		
	Foreign Internal Defense		
	Market Fixing		
	Debt Trap		
	Collection		
	Corruption		

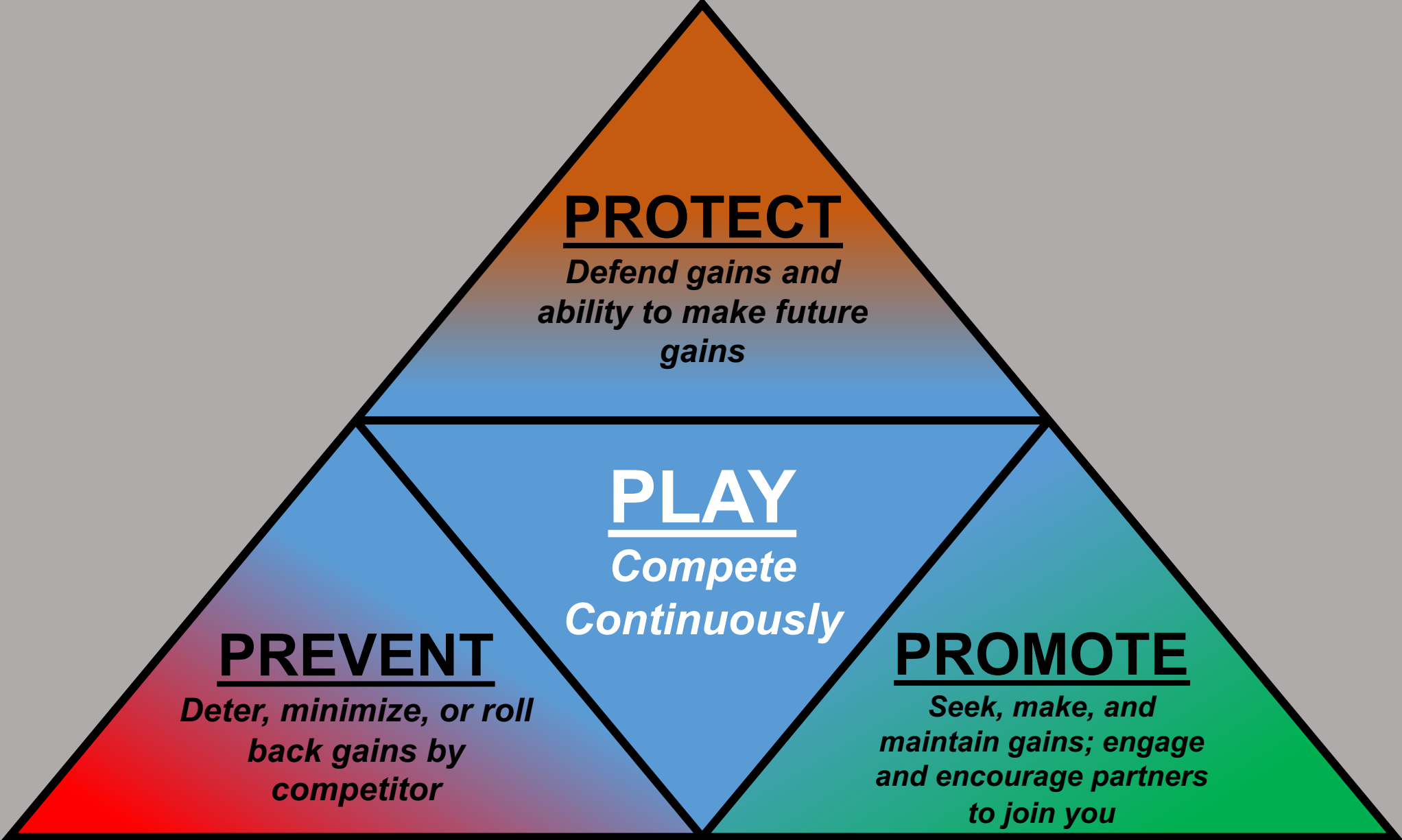
PERSUASION

COERCION

TRANSPARENT
OPAQUE



4P Adversarial Competition Model



Global Adversarial Competition (US View)

PLAY

Global Competition

Positions of Relative Advantage

Continuous

Long-Term

Protect

- *Innovation Base*
- *Indictments (Lawfare)*
- *Counter Influence*
- *Intelligence Sharing*
- *Counterintelligence*
- *Sanctions, Tariffs*
- *Strategic Communication*

Promote

- *Strategic Communication*
- *Alliances, Coalitions, Blocs*
- *Information Sharing*

Promote

- *Strategic Communication*
- *MIL-to-MIL exchanges*
- *Visits to Non-Ally Partners*
- *Diplomacy*
- *Military Assistance*
- *Alliances, Coalitions, Blocs*
- *Military Exercises*
- *Freedom of Navigation*
- *Information Sharing*

Prevent

- *Increased Diplomacy*
- *Economic Assistance*
- *Military Assistance*
- *Exercises*
- *Development*

Prevent

- *Increased Diplomacy*
- *Economic Assistance*
- *Military Assistance*
- *Exercises*
- *Development*

Global Adversarial Competition (China)

North America

- *Lawfare (Huawei)*
- *IP, Defense Tech Theft*
- *Economic and Industrial Espionage*
- *Information Warfare*
- *'Dumping'*

Europe

- *IP, Defense Tech Theft*
- *Economic and Industrial Espionage*
- *Debt-Trap Economics (Greece)*
- *Co-opt Institutions*
- *Unfair Trade Practices*
- *Investment*

Indo-Pacific

- *Militarization of SCS*
- *Information Warfare*
- *Lawfare*
- *Debt-Trap Economics (AUS, Sri Lanka, PAK)*
- *Political Interference*
- *IP, Defense Tech Theft*
- *Coercive Maritime Engagements*
- *Economic and Industrial Espionage*
- *Forced Tech Transfer*

Africa

- *Debt-Trap Economics (Kenya)*
- *Resource Extraction*
- *Investment*
- *Increased MIL aid, presence (Djibouti)*

Latin America

- *Debt-Trap Economics*
- *Illegal Fishing in EEZs (Maritime Militia)*
- *Diplomatic & Economic Isolation of Taiwan (Panama, D.R., El Salvador)*

One-Belt-One-Road and Maritime Silk Road Initiatives

Findings and Recommendations

Findings:

- A new paradigm is needed (play *Go* vice Chess).
- US policy makers must harness the full spectrum of activities in a holistic effort against competitors.
- China has a strategic plan, the US needs one too.
- Information could be a weak link in China's armor.

Recommendations (Two Tiers):

1. Develop a whole-of-government understanding of what competition is, its nature, and the activities involved.
2. NSC to develop a national strategy focused on competition.
3. Establish a national-level Office of Global Competition to execute NSC-produced strategy.
4. Develop DOD doctrine that addresses its role in adversarial competition.
5. Establish a Competition Cross Functional Team on the Joint Staff.
6. Develop, expand, and optimize Joint Force capabilities that support non-military activities in competition.
7. Train and educate the Joint Force on DOD's role in adversarial competition.

DoD / Joint Force

Questions/Discussion