



SMA Future of Global Competition and Conflict Panel Discussion (Part 3 of 3)

***How the US, Its Allies,
and Its Partner Nations
Should Manage the Global
Challenges Presented by China***

Booklet

20 February 2020

1330-1500 ET

**Dial (866) 712-4038;
Passcode 37250264#**

Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) provides planning support to Commands with complex operational imperatives requiring multi-agency, multi-disciplinary solutions that are NOT within core Service/Agency competency. Solutions and participants are sought across USG and beyond. SMA is accepted and synchronized by Joint Staff/J-39 DDGO and executed by ASD (EC&P).

Agenda

Panel Description: This panel discussion is part three of a three-part series, focused on the SMA white paper, entitled “Chinese Strategic Intentions: A Deep Dive into China’s Worldwide Activities.” This third part will focus on how the US, its allies, and its partner nations should manage the challenges presented by China globally.

Speakers: The speakers for this discussion will include:

- Dr. Joseph G. D. Babb (US Army Command and General Staff College)- participant and moderator
- Mr. Dean Cheng (Heritage Foundation)
- Mr. Michael Mazarr (RAND)
- Dr. Robert Spalding III, Brig Gen, USAF (Ret.)
- Lt. Col. Christopher D. Forrest (US Air Force HQ AF/A3K (CHECKMATE))

Agenda: The following are brief descriptions of what each panelist will discuss during their presentation:

- **Dr. Joseph G. D. Babb-** Opening Remarks
 - Dr. Babb will provide a series of opening remarks, based on his white paper preface. He will also serve as the moderator of this discussion.
- **Mr. Dean Cheng-** “Chinese Views of Information and Implications for the United States”
 - When it comes to Chinese activities in the information domain, much of the public’s attention has been focused on its information extraction activities. Hacking of US government databases, such as the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) as well as various corporations have tended to dominate the American public’s discourse on Chinese information activities. However, understanding the reasons and strategy underlying China’s actions is essential, for this context shapes the Chinese approach to information and information technologies, which includes artificial intelligence, quantum computing, and space operations.
- **Mr. Michael Mazarr-** “US/China Competition”
 - There is little question that China’s growing power, its military buildup, its regional and eventually global ambitions, and its outsized self-conception pose very real challenges to US interests and the post-war, rule-based order. Yet there remains a question of precisely what sort of challenge that is—and, by extension, the true essence of the emerging competition. My contribution argues for one answer to that question: At its core, the United States and China are competing to shape the foundational global paradigm—the essential ideas, habits, and expectations that govern international politics. It is ultimately a competition of norms, narratives, and legitimacy. My contribution argues that China is starkly ill-equipped to win such a competition. But the United States could, through self-imposed mistakes, lose it.
- **Dr. Robert Spalding III-** “How Does China View Strategic Competition?”
 - The Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) method of strategic competition is so intertwined with the development of the West’s digital economy that it is difficult to distinguish between the two models. They both rely on an increasingly connected world, fueled by data. The largest tech companies in the West are in the United States. Their business models rely on a treatment of data that closely mimics the CCP’s method of using data for social control. Strategically, the CCP seeks to embed its method of social control in the technological matrix developed by the West and powered by Silicon Valley’s business models. While the former relished a closed system, they both require openness for expansion. The best strategic path for the CCP may be to embrace openness domestically in order to guide the development of IT-based business and social models in the future. But the CCP’s totalitarian instincts may preclude the collaboration enabled by the CCP’s inclusion of the FANGs (Facebooks, Amazons, Netflixes, and Googles) in the PRC.
- **Lt. Col. Christopher D. Forrest (US Air Force HQ AF/A3K (CHECKMATE))-** “Refocusing US Capabilities to Compete in the Gray Zone”
 - Given the context of a renewed era of great power competition and the breadth of the global challenge that China’s rise presents to the US-led western democratic world order, it is incumbent on the US to focus time, energy, and resources to adequately compete in the gray zone as part of a long-term strategic competition against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). This competition will

likely require cultural and organizational changes, as well as a different lens through which to view US capability development and operations in order to successfully counter ongoing Chinese actions in the gray zone below traditional armed conflict. My contribution establishes the foundations for this new focus and points to some key areas for investment and capability development for the US military and other instruments of national power. Focusing today's capabilities and operations on countering CCP coercion while seeking new areas of enduring US competitive advantage is crucial in the long-term strategic competition with China.

Speaker Biographies

Dr. Joseph G. D. Babb (US Army Command and General Staff College)

Dr. Joseph G. D. (Geoff) Babb is a retired U.S. Army Special Forces Lieutenant Colonel currently serving as an Associate Professor of History at the U.S. Army's Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Dr. Babb holds a BA from Bowdoin College, a MPA from Clark University, a MA in East Asian Languages and Cultures and a Ph.D. in History from the University of Kansas. Dr. Babb, a China Foreign Area Officer, was educated at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, CA and conducted in-country training in Hong Kong and Beijing. He served in Washington D.C. at the Defense Intelligence Agency and on the Joint Staff. He also was a regional desk officer in Hawaii at US Pacific and Army Pacific Commands. He has written on the American military's role in China in Volumes I and II of Through the Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Lens: Perspectives on the Operational Environment. His most recent publication is a chapter on the Korea War published in Weaving the Tangled Web: Military Deception in Large-Scale Combat Operations issued by Army University Press.



Mr. Dean Cheng (Heritage Foundation)

Dean Cheng is currently the Research Fellow for Chinese Political and Military Affairs at the Heritage Foundation. He is fluent in Chinese, and uses Chinese language materials regularly in his work.

Prior to joining the Heritage Foundation, he was a senior analyst with the China Studies Division (previously, Project Asia) at CNA from 2001-2009. He specialized on Chinese military issues, and authored studies on Chinese military doctrine, Chinese mobilization concepts, and Chinese space capabilities.

Before joining CNA, he was a senior analyst with Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC) from 1996-2001. From 1993-1995, he was an analyst with the US Congress' Office of Technology Assessment in the International Security and Space Division, where he studied the Chinese defense industrial complex.

He is the author of the book **Cyber Dragon: Inside China's Information Warfare and Cyber Operations** (NY: Praeger Publishing, 2016), as well as a number of papers and book chapters examining various aspects of Chinese security affairs.

Recent publications include:

- "Space Deterrence, the US-Japan Alliance, and Asian Security: A US Perspective," in **The US-Japan Alliance and Deterring Gray Zone Coercion in the Maritime, Cyber, and Space Domains**, with Scott Harold, Yoshiaki Nakagawa, Junichi Fukuda (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017)
- "Space and the Evolving Chinese Military," in **Crisis Stability in Space**, with Bruce MacDonald, Admiral Dennis Blair, Karl Mueller, and Victoria Samson (Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Institute, 2016).
- "The PLA's Wartime Structure," in **The PLA as Organization v. 2.0**, ed. by Kevin Pollpeter and Kenneth Allen (Merrifield, VA: DGI, 2015).
- "Chinese Concepts of Space Security," in **Springer Handbook of Space Security**, ed. by K.U. Schrogl (NY: Springer Publishing, 2015).
- "Chinese Lessons from the Gulf Wars," in **Chinese Lessons from Other People's Wars**, ed. by Andrew Scobell, Roy Kamphausen, and David Lai (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2011).
- "Chinese Views on Deterrence," **Joint Force Quarterly** (#60, January 2011)

He has spoken at the USSTRATCOM Deterrence Symposium, the USSTRATCOM Space and Cyber Symposium, and the National Space Symposium. He has also lectured at the US National Defense University, George Washington University, and MIT. He has testified before Congress on various Chinese security issues. He has appeared frequently on CNN International, Voice of America, the BBC, and National Public Radio.



Lt. Col. Chistopher D. Forrest (US Air Force HQ AF/A3K (CHECKMATE))

Lt. Col. Christopher D. Forrest, Indo-Pacific Division Chief, Headquarters Air Force CHECKMATE, Pentagon. As Indo-Pacific Division Chief at Air Force CHECKMATE, Lt. Col. Forrest leads a team of air-power strategists to provide the Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Chief of Staff of the Air Force best military advice on current and near-term operations and strategy. His portfolio entails assessment, operational planning support, lethal and non-lethal effect integration, clean-sheet strategy and concept development for the China and North Korea problem sets. His recent work involves a deep-dive project on Great Power competition and competitive strategy.

Lt. Col. Forrest is a 1998 Distinguished Graduate of the US Air Force Academy. Prior to his assignment at CHECKMATE, Lt. Col. Forrest served as the Chief of Strategy and Plans and Chief of Targeting at the 613th Air Operations Center, HQ Pacific Air Forces, Joint Base Pearl Harbor Hickam, Hawaii. In his role as Chief of Strategy and Plans, Lt. Col. Forrest conducted operational planning, Concept of Operations development, and strategy for the Commander, Pacific Air Forces and Theater Joint Force Air Component Commander to CDRUSINDOPACOM. In his role as Chief of Targeting, Lt. Col. Forrest was responsible for targeting strategy, cyber/non-lethal effects integration, and operational-level planning for INDOPACOM operational and contingency plans.

Prior to his assignment in Hawaii, Lt. Col. Forrest served in various roles and locations as an A-10C Instructor/Evaluator Pilot, to include leadership positions as Director of Operations for the 455th Expeditionary Operations Support Squadron, Bagram Air Base Afghanistan and Chief A-10C Evaluator at the 23d Fighter Group, Moody Air Force Base, Georgia. He was awarded 52nd Wing Flight Lead of the Year in 2003 for his aerial combat actions in Operation Enduring Freedom providing Close Air Support to CJTF-180. Additionally, Lt. Col. Forrest completed multiple tours as an Instructor Pilot in the T-38C as a lead instructor and initial cadre for the Air Force Introduction to Fighter Fundamentals course at Randolph Air Force Base, Texas.

Lt. Col. Forrest is a Command Pilot, with over 3,000 hours, including over 380 combat hours. He has flown the T-37, T-6, T-38A, AT-38B, T-38C, T-1, OA-10A, A-10A, and A-10C.

EDUCATION

1998 Bachelor's Degree in Political Science, United States Air Force Academy (Distinguished Graduate) 2004 Squadron Officers School, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL

2008 Master's Degree in International Affairs, Fletcher School of Law Diplomacy, Tufts University

2008 Air Command and Staff College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL

2011 Advanced Certificate in Nuclear Policy and Surety, Defense Nuclear Weapons School, DTRA

2017 Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL

ASSIGNMENTS

January 1999 – May 2000, student pilot, Euro-NATO Joint Jet Pilot Training, Sheppard Air Force Base TX May 2000 – October 2000, A-10A student pilot, Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Arizona

November 2000 – November 2001, OA-10A Fighter Pilot and Battalion Air Liaison Officer, 25th Fighter Squadron, Osan Air Base, Korea

December 2001 – December 2004, A-10A Assistant Weapons Officer, 81st Fighter Squadron, Spangdahlem Air Base, Germany

December 2004 – November 2006, T-38C IFF Instructor Pilot, Flight Commander and Chief of Weapons, 49th Fighter Training Squadron, Moody Air Force Base, GA

November 2006 – October 2008, T-38C IFF Instructor Pilot and Chief of Scheduling, 435th Fighter Training Squadron, Randolph Air Force Base, Texas

November 2008 – November 2009, A-10C Instructor Pilot and Assistant Director of Operations, 25th Fighter Squadron, Osan Air Base, Korea

December 2009 – February 2012, Executive Officer to the Director Air Force Safety Center and Air Force Chief of Safety, Air Force Safety Center, Kirtland Air Force Base, NM

February 2012 – May 2013, A-10C Chief Evaluator Pilot and Chief of Standardizations and Evaluations, 23d Fighter Group, Moody Air Force Base, GA

May 2013 – Oct 2013, Director of Operations, 455th Expeditionary Operations Support Squadron, Bagram Air Base, Afghanistan

November 2013 – February 2015, A-10C Evaluator Pilot and Wing Chief of Inspections, 23d Wing, Moody Air Force Base, GA

February 2015 – February 2016, Chief of Targeting and Effects Team, 613th Air Operations Center, HQ PACAF, Joint Base Pearl Harbor Hickam, HI

February 2016 – February 2018, Chief of Strategy and Plans Team, 613th Air Operations Center, HQ PACAF, Joint Base Pearl Harbor Hickam, HI

March 2018 – Present, Chief Indo-Pacific Division and Air Power Strategist, HQ Air Force CHECKMATE, Pentagon, VA



MAJOR AWARDS AND DECORATIONS

Meritorious Service Medal with five oak leaf clusters

Air Medal with 2 oak leaf clusters

Aerial Achievement Medal

Air Force Commendation Medal with 1 oak leaf cluster

Air Force Achievement Medal with 3 oak leaf clusters

Air Force Outstanding Unit Award with Valor Device and three oak leaf clusters Combat Readiness Medal with 3 oak leaf clusters

Afghanistan Campaign Medal with one oak leaf cluster Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal

Korean Defense Service Medal

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND AFFILIATIONS

Fellow, Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction, National Defense University

Fellow, Service Chief's Fellowship Program, Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency

Fellow, China competitive studies program, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS

2014 White House Fellowship Regional Finalist

PUBLICATIONS

"Coercive Engagement: A security analysis of Iranian support to Iraqi Shia militias," Strategic Studies Quarterly, 2009

"Strategic Shaping: Expanding the Competitive Space," Joint Forces Quarterly, 2018

EFFECTIVE DATES OF PROMOTION (CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

Second Lieutenant 27 May 1998

First Lieutenant 27 May 2000

Captain 27 May 2002

Major 01 September 2007

Lieutenant Colonel 01 February 2013

Dr. Michael Mazarr (RAND)

Michael Mazarr is a Senior Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation, which he joined in October 2014. Prior to coming to RAND he served as Professor of National Security Strategy and Associate Dean at the U.S. National War College in Washington, D.C. He has served as special assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, president and CEO of the Henry L. Stimson Center, senior vice president for strategic planning at the Electronic Industries Alliance, legislative assistant in the U.S. House of Representatives, and senior fellow and editor of The Washington Quarterly at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He holds AB and MA degrees from Georgetown University and a Ph.D. from the University of Maryland School of Public Affairs.



Dr. Robert Spalding III

Rob Spalding is a national security policy strategist, and globally recognized for his knowledge of Chinese economic competition and influence, as well as for his ability to forecast global trends and develop innovative solutions. He has served in senior positions of strategy and diplomacy within the Defense and State Departments for more than 26 years, retiring as brigadier general.

He was the chief architect for the Trump Administration's widely praised National Security Strategy (NSS), and the Senior Director for Strategy to the President at the National Security Council.

Dr. Spalding has written extensively on national security matters. His book, STEALTH WAR : HOW CHINA TOOK OVER WHILE AMERICA'S ELITE SLEPT (Portfolio; 2019) is an executive summary of his almost decade-long work countering Chinese Communist Party influence. It is being translated into additional languages. His work



has been published in The Washington Post, The Washington Times, Foreign Affairs, The American Interest, War on the Rocks, FedTech Magazine, Defense One, The Diplomat, and other edited volumes. His Air Power Journal article on America's Two Air Forces is frequently used in the West Point curriculum. He has been interviewed on FOX News and CNBC, as well as numerous radio and YouTube channels, both nationally and internationally.

Dr. Spalding is a skilled combat leader, and a seasoned diplomat. Under Dr. Spalding's leadership, the 509th Operations Group—the nation's only B-2 Stealth Bomber unit—experienced unprecedented technological and operational advances. Dr. Spalding's demonstrated acumen for solving complex technological issues to achieve operational success, was demonstrated when he led a low-cost rapid-integration project for a secure global communications capability in the B-2, achieving tremendous results at almost no cost to the government. As commander, he led forces in the air and on the ground in Libya and Iraq. He is a former China strategist for the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Joint Staff at the Pentagon, as well as having served as the senior defense official and defense attaché in Beijing. During the UUV Incident of 2016, Dr. Spalding averted a diplomatic crisis by negotiating with the Chinese PLA for the return of the UUV, without the aid of a translator.

Dr. Spalding's relationship with business leaders, fostered during his time as a Military Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, allowed him to recommend pragmatic solutions to complex foreign policy and national security issues, now driving positive economic outcomes for the nation. Dr. Spalding's groundbreaking work on competition in Secure 5G has reset the global environment for the next phase of the information age.

Dr. Spalding is an Olmsted Scholar, a Life Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C. He has lectured globally, including engagements at European Cybersec 2019, KAS-ASPI, the Naval War College, National Defense University, Air War College, Columbia University, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore, Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory and other Professional Military Educational institutions. Dr. Spalding holds a doctorate in economics and mathematics from the University of Missouri, Kansas City. He was a distinguished graduate of the Defense Language Institute in Monterey and is fluent in Chinese Mandarin.