

CSF

Current Strategy Forum

Net Assessment – Great Power Competition

June 7–8, 2022



U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
— *Est. 1884* —
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

PROGRAM OF EVENTS

DAY ONE - TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 2022

Attire: Military - Khakis or equivalent / Civilian – Business Casual

- 0825 Administrative Announcements – Spruance Auditorium**
- 0830 Welcome and Introduction**
Rear Admiral Shoshana S. Chatfield, U.S. Navy, President, U.S. Naval War College
- 0835 Keynote Address**
Mary Elise Sarotte, Johns Hopkins University (virtual)
A conversation with Nikolas K. Gvosdev, U.S. Naval War College
- 0915 Keynote Address**
Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., Solarium LLC
- 1000 Break**
- 1015 Keynote Address**
Admiral Michael M. Gilday, Chief of Naval Operations (virtual)
- 1100 Panel 1: Relative Power – China/Russia Perspective**
Moderator: John H. Maurer, U.S. Naval War College
Aaron L. Friedberg, Princeton University
Emily O. Goldman, U.S. Cyber Command
Toshi Yoshihara, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment
- 1230 Adjourn Day One**

DAY TWO - WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 2022

Attire: Military - Khakis or equivalent / Civilian – Business Casual

- 0830 Administrative announcements – Spruance Auditorium**
- 0835 Keynote Address**
Lieutenant General Charles W. Hooper, U.S. Army (ret), The Cohen Group
- 0915 Keynote Address**
Paul M. Kennedy, Yale University
- 1000 Break**
- 1015 Panel 2: Relative Power: United States Perspective**
Moderator: Kathleen Walsh, U.S. Naval War College
Andrew May, Office of Net Assessment (virtual)
Michael C. Beckley, Tufts University
Oriana Skylar Mastro, Stanford University (virtual)
- 1200 Break**
- 1230 Keynote Address**
General David H. Berger, Commandant of the Marine Corps (virtual)
- 1315 Current Strategy Forum Adjourns**



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Current Strategy Forum

This year marks the 71st Current Strategy Forum (CSF) at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. The first CSF was held on 9 May 1949 under the title “Round Table Talks.” This event offered an opportunity for the Nation’s public servants, scholars, and senior military officers to join the College faculty and students to discuss the future strategy of the United States. Over the years, the CSF has expanded to include a cross section of America’s civilian and military leadership to encourage a wide-ranging debate on national and international security.

This year’s theme is:

Net Assessment – Great Power Competition

In February 1946, George Kennan, then the chargé d’affaires in Moscow, wrote what is famously known as the “Long Telegram” that provided his assessment of the political, economic, ideological and cultural drivers that he believed would influence the post-war great power competition between the Soviet Union and the United States and its western allies. This analysis is credited with creating the basis for a serious policy and strategy debate on the relative balance of power between the two superpowers, the application of the net assessment methodology and the development of a successful containment strategy. This year’s forum will explore a better understanding of what history tells us about the practical value of a net assessment approach and how it applies to the strategic challenge posed by China’s ambition and Russia aggression to replace the current American-led rules-based, liberal international order. Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin III states that the Department of Defense “will prioritize China as our number one pacing challenge and develop the right operational concepts, capabilities, and plans to bolster deterrence and maintain our competitive advantage.” Our forum will likewise prioritize understanding the competition with China by conducting a net assessment of each side’s strengths and weaknesses.

Know the enemy and know yourself: in a hundred battles, you will never be in peril.

Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

SPEAKERS & PANELISTS – DAY 1

(In Order of Appearance)



Rear Admiral Shoshana S. Chatfield is the fifty-seventh President of the U.S. Naval War College and a career naval helicopter pilot. A native of Garden Grove, California, she graduated from Boston University in 1987 with a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations and French Language and Literature. She received her commission through the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps in 1988 and earned her wings of gold in 1989. Chatfield was awarded the Navy's Political/Military Scholarship and attended the Kennedy School of Government, receiving a Master of Public Administration from Harvard University in 1997. In 2009, the University of San Diego conferred upon her a doctorate of education in leadership studies. Operationally, she flew the SH-3, CH-46D and MH-60S and deployed in helicopter detachments to the Western Pacific and Arabian Gulf supporting carrier strike group and amphibious ready group operations. Ashore, she participated in the Joint Staff/OSD Internship Program, augmenting the Joint Staff, Plans and Policy (J-5) Directorate, Central & Eastern European Branch and served as assistant professor of political science at the United States Air Force Academy from 2001–2004. Chatfield commanded at the squadron and type wing level and additionally commanded a joint provincial reconstruction team in Farah Province, Afghanistan. Most recently, Chatfield commanded Joint Region Marianas from January 2017 to August 2019.



Mary Elise Sarotte is the Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis Distinguished Professorship of Historical Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington DC. Her six books include *Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of Post-Cold War Stalemate* (2021), *The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall* (2014), and *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (2009), which were named *Financial Times* Books of the Year (2009 and 2014), *Economist* Book of the Year (2014), and *Foreign Affairs* Book of the Year (2021), among receiving other prizes and awards. Sarotte earned her AB in History and Science at Harvard University and her PhD in History at Yale University. After graduate school, she served as a White House Fellow and subsequently joined the faculty of the University of Cambridge. Sarotte received tenure at Cambridge in 2004 and returned to the United States to teach at University of Southern California as the Dean's Professor of History before moving to Hopkins. Sarotte is a former Humboldt Scholar, a former member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Nikolas K. Gvosdev is a professor of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College. He holds non-residential fellowships with Foreign Policy Research Institute (editor of *Orbis*) and Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (co-host of the *Doorstep* podcast). He is a member of Loisch Group, a collaboration between the Munich Security Conference and the Marshall Center to enhance U.S. and Germany's security partnership. He is a contributing editor for *The National Interest*. He has taught at Baylor, Georgetown, George Washington, Harvard Extension and Brown universities. From 2016-20, he held the Captain Jerome E. Levy Chair in economic geography and national security.



Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., is a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, and an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.

He served in the Department of Defense's Office of Net Assessment, and on the personal staff of three secretaries of defense. He also served as a member of the Defense Policy Board and as chairman of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel.

His most recent book is *The Last Warrior*. He also authored *7 Deadly Scenarios: A Military Futurist Explores War in the 21st. Century*, and *The Army and Vietnam*. His next book, *A War Like No Other*, is scheduled for publication by Yale University Press.

A graduate of West Point and the College of Naval Command and Staff, Dr. Krepinevich holds a Ph.D. from Harvard University. In 2020 he received West

Point's Distinguished Graduate Award.



Admiral Mike Gilday is the son of a Navy Sailor. A surface warfare officer, he is a native of Lowell, Massachusetts and a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. He holds master's degrees from the Harvard Kennedy School and the National War College.

At sea, he deployed with USS Chandler (DDG 996), USS Princeton (CG 59), and USS Gettysburg (CG 64). He commanded destroyers USS Higgins (DDG 76) and USS Benfold (DDG 65) and subsequently, commanded Destroyer Squadron 7, serving as sea combat commander for the Ronald Reagan Carrier Strike Group.

As a flag officer, he served as commander Carrier Strike Group 8 embarked aboard USS Dwight D. Eisenhower (CVN 69), and as commander, U.S. Fleet Cyber Command and U.S. 10th Fleet.

His staff assignments include the Bureau of Naval Personnel; staff of the Chief of Naval Operations, and staff of the Vice Chief of Naval Operations. Joint assignments include executive assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and naval aide to the President.

As a flag officer, he served in joint positions as director of operations for NATO's Joint Force Command Lisbon; as chief of staff for Naval Striking and Support Forces NATO; director of operations, J3, for U.S. Cyber Command; and as director of operations, J3, for the Joint Staff. He recently served as director, Joint Staff.

He has served on teams that have been recognized with numerous awards and is the recipient of the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal (four awards), Legion of Merit (three awards), Bronze Star, Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal with Combat "V," and the Combat Action Ribbon.

Gilday began serving as the 32nd Chief of Naval Operations August 22, 2019.



John H. Maurer serves as the Alfred Thayer Mahan Distinguished University Professor of Sea Power and Grand Strategy. He is a graduate of Yale College and holds a MALD and PhD in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He is the author or editor of books examining the outbreak of the First World War, military interventions in the developing world, naval competitions and arms control between the two world wars, Winston Churchill and British grand strategy, and a forthcoming study on the great-power contest in Asia and the Pacific that led to Pearl Harbor. He served as Chairman of the Strategy and Policy Department. He teaches in the advanced strategy program and an elective course on Winston Churchill and the history of the two world wars. Before coming to the College, he held the positions of research fellow and executive editor of *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs* at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He served on the Secretary of the Navy John Lehman's special advisory committee on naval history. In

recognition of his contribution to professional military education, he has received the U.S. Navy's Meritorious Civilian Service Award and Superior Civilian Service Award.



Aaron L. Friedberg is Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1987, and co-director of Princeton's Center for International Security Studies. He is also a counselor to the National Bureau of Asian Research. In January 2022 he was appointed to a two-year term on the Congressional US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. From 2003 to 2005 he served as a Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs in the office of the Vice President. Friedberg is the author of several books and monographs, including *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (2011), *Beyond Air-Sea Battle: The Debate Over U.S. Military Strategy in Asia* (2014), *The Authoritarian Challenge: China, Russia and the Threat to the International Order* (2017) and *Getting China Wrong* (2022). He received his A.B., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University.



Emily O. Goldman is currently a strategist at U.S. Cyber Command and a thought leader on cyber policy. She was cyber advisor to the Director of Policy Planning at the Department of State, 2018 – 2019. From 2014 to 2018, she directed the U.S. Cyber Command / National Security Agency Combined Action Group, leading a team that wrote the 2018 U.S. Cyber Command vision, *Achieve and Maintain Cyberspace Superiority*. She was a Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Davis, for two decades. Her co-authored book, *Cyber Persistence: Redefining National Security in Cyberspace*, will be published by Oxford University Press in May.



Toshi Yoshihara is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA). He was previously the inaugural John A. van Beuren Chair of Asia-Pacific Studies and a Professor of Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. Dr. Yoshihara's latest CSBA publications include *Seizing on Weakness: Allied Strategy for Competing with China's Globalizing Military* (2021) and *Dragon Against the Sun: Chinese Views of Japanese Seapower* (2020). *Dragon Against the Sun* was translated by Admiral Tomohisa Takei, JMSDF (ret.), the former Chief of the Maritime Staff, and published by a major Japanese press in September 2020. The study subsequently won the 8th annual Kokkiken Japan Study Award by the Japan Institute for National Fundamentals in July 2021. He also co-authored, with James R. Holmes, the second edition of *Red Star over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy* (Naval Institute Press, 2018).

SPEAKERS & PANELISTS – DAY 2

(In Order of Appearance)



Lieutenant General Charles W. Hooper (U.S. Army-Retired) is one of the Nation's foremost experts on China's military, U.S. -China military relations, and U.S. foreign military sales. He served with the 25th Infantry and 82nd Airborne Division, taught at the Naval Postgraduate School, and managed China and Taiwan policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. He was also the senior DOD strategist for Africa and the senior U.S. military officer in Egypt. He is a fluent Chinese linguist who served seven years in Beijing, including assignment as the U.S. Defense Attaché to China. In his final military assignment, he was Director of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, responsible for the overseas sale of all weapons, military equipment, and logistics support for the U.S. Government. He has a BS from United States Military Academy, an MPA from the Harvard University Kennedy School and a

MSS from the U.S. Army War College.



Paul M. Kennedy is the Dilworth Professor of History, founding director of Yale International Security Studies, distinguished fellow of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, fellow of the Royal Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was made Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 2000 for services to History. He teaches Yale's course "Military History of the West since 1500," as well as numerous seminars on Great Power politics. He has published or edited 19 books on the history of British foreign policy and Great Power struggles. His best-known work, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, has been translated into over twenty languages. Prof. Kennedy's most recent book *Engineers of Victory, history through the eyes of problem-solvers during the Second World War*, was published in 2013. He is currently writing a book about seapower and global transformations during World War II.



Kathleen (Kate) Walsh is Associate Professor of National Security Affairs. Prof. Walsh has taught at the Naval War College (NWC) since 2006, is Director of NWC's Oceanography and Maritime Security Group (OMSG), an affiliate with the China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI), Founder/Director of the National Security Affairs Department annual trip to Washington, DC (est. 2016), and one of two NSA Department Representatives elected to the Naval War College's Faculty Advisory Council (FAC). Prior to joining NWC, Walsh was a Senior Consultant to Washington, DC-area think tanks, Senior Associate at the Stimson Center, and Senior Associate at a DC-area defense consulting firm, among other positions in Washington, DC. Her research focuses on modern China, US-China relations, and security in the Asia-Pacific region, particularly issues of technology transfer, defense innovation, confidence- and security-building measures, as well as China's ocean- or "blue" economy strategies and policies. She has an MA in International Affairs from Columbia University (SIPA) and a BA from the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University.

Andrew May (biography not available)



Michael C. Beckley is a leading expert on the balance of power between the United States and China.

The author of two books and multiple award-winning articles, Michael is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University and a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Previously, Michael was an International Security Fellow at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and worked for the U.S. Department of Defense, the RAND Corporation, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He continues to advise offices within the U.S. Intelligence Community and U.S. Department of Defense.



Oriana Skylar Mastro is a Center Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University where her research focuses on Chinese military and security policy, Asia-Pacific security issues, war termination, and coercive diplomacy. She is also a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a former Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, and continues to serve in the United States Air Force Reserve for which she works as a strategic planner at INDOPACOM. For her contributions to U.S. strategy in Asia, she won the Individual Reservist of the Year Award in 2016. She has published widely, including in *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, *International Studies Review*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *The National Interest*, *Survival*, and *Asian Security*. Her book, *The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime*, (Cornell University Press, 2019), won the 2020 American Political Science Association International Security Section Best Book by an Untenured Faculty Member. She holds a B.A. in East Asian Studies from Stanford University and an M.A.

and Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University. Her publications and other commentary can be found at www.orianaskylarmastro.com and on twitter @osmastro. Photo credit to Ryan Osland and the Australian.



General David H. Berger assumed the duties of Commandant of the Marine Corps on July 11, 2019.

A native of Woodbine, Maryland, General Berger graduated from Tulane University and was commissioned in 1981. He commanded at every level – including a Reconnaissance Company; 3d Battalion, 8th Marines in Haiti during Operation SECURE TOMORROW; Regimental Combat Team 8 in Fallujah, Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

As a General Officer, he commanded 1st Marine Division (Forward) in Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; I Marine Expeditionary Force; U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific/Fleet Marine Forces Pacific; and Marine Corps Combat Development Command.

General Berger's staff and joint assignments include serving as Assistant Division Commander of 2d Marine Division; policy planner in the Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate, J-5; Chief of Staff for Kosovo Force (KFOR) Headquarters in Pristina, Kosovo; and Director of Operations in Plans, Policies, and Operations, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps; Deputy Commandant for Combat Development and Integration.

General Berger's formal military education includes the U.S. Army Infantry Officer Advanced Course, U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College, and U.S. Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting. He holds multiple advanced degrees including a Master of International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

