

2020

ANNUAL REPORT



CSBA

Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments



MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR OF THE BOARD



I am delighted to have this opportunity to communicate directly with stakeholders of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. I've long been a fan of CSBA's world-class intellectual talent and its prodigious output. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, CSBA has been the go-to source of independent, well-researched analysis on the future of global competition and conflict. Its team of experts is a bipartisan national resource, informing defense debates, leading strategy and force structure planning exercises, and framing the real resource choices facing defense policymakers.

During a year of pandemic, presidential politics, and polarizing arguments about America's place in the world, CSBA in 2020 remained focused on core research interests while honing new ways to deliver its work and support its people. From the future of the nation's Combat Air Forces and Surface Naval Fleet, to the manifest new ways in which the electromagnetic spectrum is being used for military purposes, to innovative approaches to understanding

the emerging realities in the Indo-Pacific region, CSBA continued to have a major impact, both in Washington, DC and (virtually) around the world.

Its ability to gather the nation's policy leaders for both candid brainstorming as well as public announcements continues with appearances and roundtables with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, the Maritime Administrator of the Department of Transportation, and the Acting Secretary of the Navy, among other uniformed and civilian leaders. CSBA further strengthened its outreach and education efforts across the defense community by inaugurating the Congressional Defense Seminar Series in October 2019. In 2020, it built upon that success by hosting the second class of congressional defense fellows and launching the Defense Journalism Seminar Series in November 2020. And, it continued its quadrennial tradition of examining defense choices for an incoming administration, holding a series of Strategic Choices Exercises that are framing the defense debates in the new Biden national security team.

In 2021, CSBA will build on the topics and delivery methods it pursued in 2020, but we will not be satisfied to rest on any laurels. We are particularly honored to welcome Gen. Paul Selva, USAF (Ret.) to our Board of Directors. His accomplishments as a warrior-scholar will help the Board with our oversight responsibilities. Of course, we will continue to support Tom Mahnken and his team as they work across party lines to deliver enlightened analysis, be that through Congressional hearings, briefings and studies for the government, and engagement with scholars and policymakers around the world.

CSBA's role in the national security arena would not be possible without the support of our donors, sponsors, and the broader community of concerned and engaged citizens. Please stay engaged with us on our social media sites, through our frequent virtual events, and by consuming our research on our website and through our team's published works. If you like what you see, please consider making a financial contribution to support CSBA's research and public education and outreach through the convenient "support" link on our web page. And, as ever, thanks so much for your support and feedback. Thanks to your support, I am convinced that CSBA will continue to be the gold standard for fresh thinking on national security for many years to come.

Sincerely,

BARBARA HUMPTON
Chair

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT AND CEO

Although 2020 was a tumultuous and challenging time for many, it was nonetheless an auspicious year for CSBA, one marked not only by challenge, but also great opportunity. First and foremost, our team was able to navigate the health-related protocols of COVID-19 without incident to our staff or our families. We continued to carry out our research agenda without missing a deadline or a deliverable throughout the year. Our public outreach and policy events took on new, innovative virtual forms that saw us attract a truly global audience to our work. Despite the pressures of the pandemic, we expanded our base of government and private-sector sponsorship. We also attracted a new crop of highly talented and committed national security specialists, refreshing and enhancing our talent base. Members of the new Administration, the new Congress, and allied and partner leaders have continued to reach out to us in the new year, ensuring our continuing ability to help shape the global security conversation.

As you shall see in the pages that follow, our focus in 2020 remained on the intersection of policy and strategy, emerging operational concepts and capabilities, and sound choices regarding defense resources and investments. Our team continued to distinguish itself with groundbreaking work on Chinese political influence, new approaches to deterrence, and solid reviews of America's joint forces. We brought in new expertise in cybersecurity, space architectures, digital capabilities technologies, and autonomous systems. CSBA analysts were also among the first to offer a robust analytical framework for understanding the security implications of the COVID-19 pandemic.

During the year we adopted innovative virtual and hybrid approaches to traditional educational endeavors such as our management of the DoD's annual Secretary of Defense Fellows Program, our annual seminar with the graduating class of the Army War College, and our Congressional Defense Seminar Series for Hill staff. These efforts were hugely successful, and we intend to build upon best practices from them in our future programs.

2020 was a year of great opportunity on the personnel front as well. We welcomed General Paul Selva, USAF (Ret.) to the CSBA Board, and the Honorable Tina Jonas to the CSBA Council. We bolstered our aerospace and naval expertise with the arrival of Senior Fellow Dr. Christopher Bassler. We were pleased to have with us two outstanding officers – Commander Kevin Chlan and Captain Bryan Durkee – as Navy Federal Executive Fellows. We inaugurated a new Visiting Fellow Program with the Japanese Ministry of Defense, welcoming Lieutenant Colonel Yohei Yoshimizu, Japan Ground Self-Defense Force, to that role. We also hosted our first Public Interest Fellow, Ben Noon, who played a key role in CSBA's educational programs. We enhanced our research team through the addition of Josh Chang, Regan Copple, and Madison Creery, and our editorial team through the addition of Publications Manager James Mersol. We were delighted to welcome Dr. Travis Sharp back to CSBA after his mobilization with the U.S. Navy Reserve. Finally, we benefited from the many talents of Dave Zikusoka as a Research Fellow throughout 2020, before he accepted a position in the Department of Defense under the new Administration – the latest in a long line of CSBAers who have gone on to excel in senior government positions.



As proud as we are of our accomplishments over the past year, CSBA has always looked forward with expectation to the future. In the coming year we will continue to set the terms of debate for the future of national defense and drive change in concept development, force structure, and resources in Washington and throughout the nation; work with our close allies to help them prepare for a challenging security environment; and prepare the next generation of national security professionals, in the public and private sectors, to defend American interests today and in the future.

As always, we thank you for your interest and support for our efforts. We deeply appreciate the confidence you have shown in our enterprise, and we hope you will find this report illuminating.

Sincerely,

THOMAS G. MAHNKEN, Ph.D
President and Chief Executive Officer



THE FUTURE OF NATIONAL SECURITY

The Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA) is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit public policy research institute established to promote innovative thinking and debate about national security strategy, defense planning, and military investment options for the 21st century.

For more than a quarter-century, the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments has provided consistent, high-quality, and innovative research on defense strategy, budgets, and the security environment. With notable alumni, CSBA experts have worked to analyze U.S. defense strategy, force structure, and planning, and defense budgets in the effort to reconcile these interrelated subjects, contributing extensively to the Revolution in Military Affairs debate, the development of an AirSea battle concept, discussions on the strategic choices necessary for the transformation and modernization of the U.S. military in the face of limited resources, and the defense strategy and operational concepts needed for an era marked by great-power competition and the possibility of great-power war.

Under the leadership of Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken since 2016, CSBA remains instrumental in guiding the nation's most critical defense policy debates as a small but powerful group comprising experts with extensive experience in the field of national security—many of them military veterans and former senior-level policymakers from the Department of Defense, State Department, and the National Security Council—supported by a dedicated staff of accomplished executives and scholars.

CSBA's mission is to develop innovative, resource-informed defense concepts, promote public debate, and spur action to advance U.S. and allied interests. Our vision is to set the terms of debate for the future of national defense and drive change in concept development, force structure, and resources to prepare the US and its allies to compete and win in an era characterized by great power competition and conflict.

CSBA enjoys a highly-regarded reputation cemented in its values that ensures the entire team achieves its mission and lives its vision of Independence, Objectivity, Integrity, Innovation, Expertise, and Quality.

Research Methodology

ANALYTIC STUDIES

CSBA’s analytic studies look 20–30 years into the future and are informed by history. They frame security developments in a broader context of strategic competition and identify critical areas of competition, particularly with regards to technological development, as well as the competitive advantages and disadvantages of the United States and potential adversaries. They take into account bureaucratic considerations and their influence on policy.

OPERATIONAL CONCEPT DEVELOPMENT

CSBA’s operational concepts link strategies and capabilities to achieve strategic objectives and inform requisite future capability investments. They consider future technological and political developments and explore the utility of elements of the program of record, including potential additions, enhancements, or necessary alterations. Promising operational concepts may be validated by wargaming.

WARGAMING & SCENARIO DEVELOPMENT

CSBA employs an “alternate futures” scenario development methodology. We believe that the future cannot be predicted, but also that scenarios can be used to think through various potential challenges. Our scenario development has been successfully employed by a variety of U.S. and allied government sponsors. CSBA’s wargaming methodology is designed to elicit the insights of a well-informed community of subject-matter experts on important, evolving



issues, not to generate predetermined outcomes. CSBA wargames are intended to question prevailing assumptions underlying current and potential U.S. military concepts of operations, discover essential U.S. and adversary capabilities, identify capability and capacity shortfalls, and highlight potential areas of strategic advantage or disadvantage.

WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS

CSBA workshops and seminars expose participants to new issues and concepts. They explore different approaches to thinking about strategic challenges designed to elicit non-obvious ideas and insights and provide a forum for discussion. They are also a way to critically review ideas and concepts in development.

BUDGETARY ANALYSIS

CSBA provides trusted insight on current defense spending and resource allocation, acquisition issues and reform, extraordinary funding for ongoing military operations, Department of Defense efficiency initiatives, historical spending trends, and future defense spending levels.

STRATEGIC CHOICES EXERCISES

CSBA examines the defense capability tradespace within multiple possible budget scenarios to identify the relationship between strategy and investments, including areas of over- and under-investment. The Strategic Choices Exercise is used for both futures games and to educate the public as to the contents of the Defense Program of Record.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

CSBA is a flexible organization with a broad base of expertise, well suited to conduct or participate in a variety of additional work that may not fall into any specific category. Special projects in the past have included QDR “Red Team” efforts such as the 2005 “Downing Report” on SOF, congressional studies, and consulting for allied governments.



LTG Charles D. Luckey, Chief of Army Reserve and Commanding General, U.S. Army Reserve Command, speaks at a seminar covering talent development and the role of the U.S. Army Reserve.



An Army Reserve Command Seminar with CSBA Staff.



DEFENSE INNOVATION AND STRATEGIC SUCCESS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In 2020, CSBA's research focused on the following areas:

UNDERSTANDING THE EVOLVING STRATEGIC LANDSCAPE

Assessed how emerging opportunities and challenges in both traditional and emerging warfighting domains, as well as shifts in influence operations and alliance networks, provide the United States with strategic advantages and potential risks in the near future and in the long term.

LINKING INNOVATION WITH FUTURE WARFARE CONCEPTS

Explored cutting-edge capabilities and new modes of operational thinking, including how the service branches can best integrate new and legacy systems into strategic planning and organization.

STRATEGIC CHOICES

Identified key operating concepts, capabilities, and capacity choices for the U.S. military and its key allies amid an era of uncertainty marked by near-term challenges with short- and long-term effects.

PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Included outreach campaigns on emerging strategies, new concepts and military technologies, and budget analyses to educate, train, and inform national security decision-makers, including rising leaders in policymaking and journalism.



Report: December 2019

Taking Back the Seas: Transforming the U.S. Surface Fleet for Decision-Centric Warfare

Bryan Clark, Timothy A. Walton

The U.S. Navy's surface fleet is at a crossroads. Today's force lacks the size, resilience, and offensive capacity to contribute effectively to degrading, delaying, or denying aggression. These shortfalls are especially problematic in light of the fact that the surface fleet will play an increasingly important role in the U.S. Navy's ability to counter enemy attacks. The current fleet is also fiscally unsustainable due to growing operations and support costs for today's highly integrated and manpower-intensive surface combatants. New technologies for unmanned systems, sensors, weapons, C3, and countermeasures could allow significant improvements in the surface fleet's ability to create complexity for an adversary and harden surface forces from attack while improving surface force's capacity for maritime or land strike.

CSBA's proposed architecture of operational concepts, force packages, posture, readiness cycles, and platforms would improve the surface fleet's ability to support U.S. defense strategy as well as make it more sustainable. With U.S. carrier aviation constrained in range and capacity and challenged by rising sustainment costs, and with the submarine force shrinking, the surface fleet will have increased importance in deterrence, reassurance, and warfare. U.S. Navy leaders should make the hard choices needed to ensure the surface force can meet that challenge.



Report: January 2020

Five Priorities for the Air Force's Future Combat Air Force

Mark Gunzinger, Carl Rehberg, Lukas Autenried

The 2018 National Defense Strategy (NDS) calls for increasing the capacity, lethality, and survivability of the joint force in future contested threat environments. CSBA's report recommends five priorities for the USAF's combat air force (CAF) that support these objectives. In addition to growing the size of the CAF to support future combatant commander requirements, the report recommends the Air Force accelerate its acquisition of stealth F-35As, procure a larger overall inventory of next-generation B-21 bombers, and field unmanned aircraft and weapons that would increase the CAF's survivability and ability to operate over long ranges. The report also recommends the Air Force maintain its ability to generate combat sorties from increasingly resilient basing postures in the Indo-Pacific and Europe. Doing so will require the Air Force to rapidly disperse its forward combat air forces, counter missile attacks on its theater operating locations, and reduce its reliance on vulnerable theater runways and base infrastructure. The report concludes additional resources, including a significant increase in acquisition funding over the next decade, are needed to address the growing gap between the Air Force's combat capabilities and requirements of the 2018 NDS.

Report: February 2020

Mosaic Warfare: Exploiting Artificial Intelligence and Autonomous Systems to Implement Decision-Centric Operations

Bryan Clark, Dan Patt, Harrison Schramm

The United States is increasingly engaged in a long-term competition with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Russian Federation—a competition in which U.S. defense leaders and experts argue the U.S. military is falling behind technologically and operationally. U.S. forces, however, may be unable to gain and maintain superiority over their great power competitors by simply using improved versions of today's forces to conduct modest variations on existing tactics. The capabilities DoD developed to help win the Cold War—including stealth aircraft, precision weapons, and communication networks—have proliferated to other militaries, and potential adversaries had ample opportunity to observe U.S. operations during post-Cold War conflicts.

Instead of competing with other great powers using capabilities and operational concepts that have already proliferated to adversaries, the U.S. military should consider new approaches to warfare that offer the potential of gaining a prolonged advantage. During the Cold War, for example, the United States was able to combine prominent emerging technologies with new operational concepts to overcome the numerical superiority of Soviet forces; first with nuclear weapons and later with precision weapons and stealth.

Emerging operational concepts such as Multi-Domain Operations and Distributed Maritime Operations are designed to improve the ability of U.S. forces to survive and destroy enemy units. To better address the operational challenges presented by great power competitors, this DARPA-sponsored study proposes that DoD should instead embrace operational concepts that succeed by making faster and better decisions than adversaries, rather than through attrition. Instead of attempting to destroy an adversary's forces until it can no longer fight or succeed, a decision-centric approach to warfare would impose multiple dilemmas on an enemy to prevent it from achieving its objectives. The report describes one example of decision-centric operations, called Mosaic Warfare, its implications for DoD operations and force development, and its potential effectiveness based on a series of wargames.





Report: February 2020

Strengthening the U.S. Defense Maritime Industrial Base: A Plan to Improve Maritime Industry's Contribution to National Security

Bryan Clark, Timothy A. Walton, Adam Lemon

CSBA's report finds that a robust maritime industry, and the policies that support it, are increasingly important in an era of great power competition. However, the maritime industry and the broader national security innovation base face a range of pressures ranging from high regulatory compliance costs to predatory subsidized foreign competition that undermine their long-term viability, ability to innovate, and capacity to support future military operations. To effectively compete, the United States will need to break with an approach that assumes the commercial and national security requirements of the maritime industry are largely distinct. Instead, the United States should adopt a new approach that recognizes the inherent linkage between the two and fosters a healthier commercial industry that can support U.S. national security. CSBA's report identifies viable, cost-effective initiatives the nation can adopt to address challenges, including the strategic sealift gap, and cultivate a vibrant maritime industrial base that spurs innovation and enhances American prosperity and security.



Secretary of the Army Ryan D. McCarthy speaks at a CSBA Roundtable on January 23, 2020.

Testimony: February 2020

Statement before the House Armed Services Committee: The Department of Defense's Role in Long-Term Major State Competition

Thomas G. Mahnken

On February 11, 2020, CSBA President and CEO Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken testified before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services (HASC). Dr. Mahnken was invited to appear before the HASC to deliver his observations on current Defense Department (DoD) priorities, the National Defense Strategy Commission, and the investments and other requirements to enable the United States to succeed in the current era of Great Power competition.

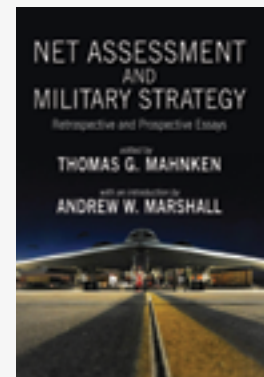
Book: March 2020

Net Assessment and Military Strategy: Retrospective and Prospective Essays

Thomas G. Mahnken, ed.

The Office of Net Assessment (ONA) was responsible for carrying out three programs in the Department of Defense from November 1973 until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Net assessments utilize a multidisciplinary approach to defense analysis to capture the dynamics of national or coalition military strengths and weaknesses for comparison with the capabilities of competitors and adversaries.

In this book, essays by experts including several individuals who have served in or worked for the ONA in the past, such as Andrew Marshall (Director of the United States Department of Defense's Office of Net Assessment, 1973-2015) and Andrew May (Associate Director of the United States Department of Defense's Office of Net Assessment) offer critical insights on the relative military power of the United States vis-à-vis potential adversaries over time. This book is an invaluable resource for scholars and students in international relations, political science, and conflict and security.





Report: March 2020

Forging the Tools of 21st Century Great Power Competition

Thomas G. Mahnken

The U.S. national security community has, in recent years, begun to focus its attention on the need to compete with China and Russia. The move to embrace the reality of great power competition, and with it the prospect of great power war, comes after a three-decade respite from serious thinking about what it means to face an economically powerful and technologically sophisticated adversary in peace and in war. How can our governmental organizations, our defense planning premises and priorities, and the linkages among diverse elements of national power be revamped to focus our collective energies on a more demanding set of security challenges than has been the case since the end of the Cold War? Are there lessons that can be applied from the past 30 years — the era of “unipolarity,” the first Gulf War, and the post-9/11 conflicts? Or should we cast our mental template further back to identify useful policy antecedents, such as the period in which the United States organized for and adapted to long-term competition with the Soviet Union?

Forging the Tools of 21st Century Great Power Competition reviews our current national tools to compete and, if necessary, wage war in the future, looking back on decades of U.S.-Soviet rivalry to determine whether that very different experience can still shed light on current conditions. Chapters include assessments of alliance management, defense policy, arms control and competition, economic relations, political warfare, and internal security. Also included is an appendix surveying past “whole-of-government” efforts to compete with the Soviet Union and resulting insights on the effectiveness of various instruments of power during the Cold War.



Report: April 2020

COVID-19: Analysis and Policy Implications

Harrison Schramm, Kevin Chlan, Peter Kouretsos

The novel Coronavirus-19 has affected all facets of American life. In this report, CSBA Senior Fellow Harrison Schramm, Federal Executive Fellow Kevin Chlan, and Research Analyst Peter Kouretsos characterize both the immediate and long-term policy implications of this pandemic, with a focus on how it will impact today's U.S. Department of Defense as well as future American military capabilities.

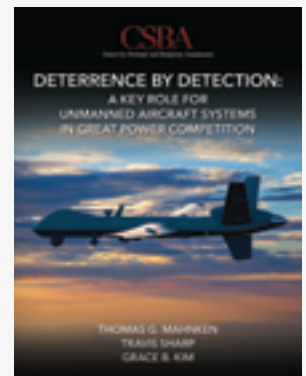


Report: April 2020

Deterrence by Detection: A Key Role for Unmanned Aircraft Systems in Great Power Competition

Thomas G. Mahnken, Travis Sharp, Grace B. Kim

In an era of renewed great power competition, one of the most significant challenges the United States and its allies face is the need to deny China or Russia the ability to launch opportunistic acts of aggression against an ally or partner in the Western Pacific or Eastern Europe. There is increasing concern among defense policymakers in the United States and its allies and partners that China and Russia are developing the ability to launch aggression rapidly against states on their periphery under the cover of increasingly capable reconnaissance-strike networks. With limited warning, Beijing or Moscow could exploit their time-distance advantage to seize allied territory before the United States and its allies could respond, thereby creating a *fait accompli* that would be difficult to reverse after the fact.



In this study, CSBA President and CEO Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken, Research Fellow Travis Sharp, and Senior Analyst Grace Kim propose a new operational concept to deter Chinese and Russian aggression, one that uses a network of existing non-stealthy long-endurance unmanned aircraft systems (UAS) to maintain real-time, persistent situational awareness in key geographic areas in the Western Pacific and Eastern Europe. The authors argue that real-time situational awareness is critical to countering the twin challenges of sub-conventional gray zone aggression and a conventional *fait accompli* gambit promptly and effectively.



Book Talk: April 2020

The Kill Chain: Defending America in the Future of High-Tech Warfare

Christian Brose

For generations of Americans, our country has been the world's dominant military power. How the US military fights, and the systems and weapons that it fights with, have been uncontested. That old reality, however, is rapidly deteriorating. America's traditional sources of power are eroding amid the emergence of new technologies and the growing military threat posed by rivals such as China. America is at grave risk of losing a future war.

As Christian Brose reveals in this urgent wake-up call, the future will be defined by artificial intelligence, autonomous systems, and other emerging technologies that are revolutionizing global industries and are now poised to overturn the model of American defense. This fascinating, if disturbing, book confronts the existential risks on the horizon, charting a way for America's military to adapt and succeed with new thinking as well as new technology. America must build a battle network of systems that enables people to rapidly understand threats, make decisions, and take military actions, the process known as "the kill chain." Examining threats from China, Russia, and elsewhere, *The Kill Chain* offers hope and, ultimately, insights on how America can apply advanced technologies to prevent war, deter aggression, and maintain peace.



Report: May 2020

Dragon Against the Sun: Chinese Views of Japanese Seapower

Toshi Yoshihara

Over the past decade, the Chinese navy overtook Japan's maritime service in critical measures of power, including fleet size, aggregate tonnage, and firepower. China eclipsing Japan in naval power could introduce unwelcome strategic trends. It may well fuel an even more intense competition between Tokyo and Beijing, two seafaring rivals that already regard each other with deep suspicion. Japan's displacement at sea could increase the probability of deterrence failure in the next crisis. It threatens to undercut U.S. confidence in Japan's capacity to fulfill its allied responsibilities, sowing acrimony within the security partnership.

In *Dragon Against the Sun: Chinese Views of Japanese Seapower*, Senior Fellow Toshi Yoshihara assesses how Chinese strategists perceive the shift in the Sino-Japanese naval balance. The study finds that Beijing anticipates an intensifying naval rivalry with Tokyo in the coming years. The report further finds that the prospects of naval superiority will persuade Chinese statesmen and commanders to adopt an offensive strategy in a local maritime conflict against Japan. Yoshihara shows that the local naval imbalance, if left unaddressed, will strain the U.S.-Japan alliance and destabilize Asia. The study urges Washington and Tokyo to recognize the Chinese challenge, act swiftly, and restore the naval balance.

Book Talk: June 2020

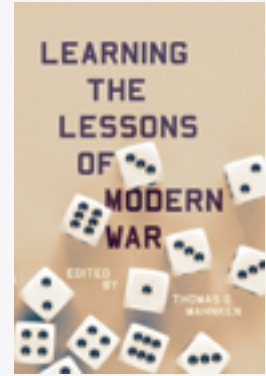
Learning the Lessons of Modern War

Thomas G. Mahnken, ed.

Learning the Lessons of Modern War uses the study of the recent past to illuminate the future. More specifically, it examines the lessons of recent wars as a way of understanding continuity and change in the character and conduct of war.

The volume brings together contributions from a group of well-known scholars and practitioners from across the world to examine the conduct of recent wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Middle East, South America, and Asia. The book's first section consists of chapters that explore the value of a contemporary approach to history and reflect on the value of learning lessons from the past. Its second section focuses on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Chapters on Iraq discuss the lessons of the Iraq War, the British perspective on the conflict, and the war as seen through the lens of Saddam Hussein's military. Chapters on Afghanistan discuss counterinsurgency operations during the war, Britain's experience in Afghanistan, raising and training Afghan forces, and U.S. inter-agency performance. The book's third section examines the lessons of wars involving Russia, Israel, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Georgia, and Colombia. It concludes by exploring overarching themes associated with the conduct of recent wars.

Containing a foreword by former National Security Advisor Lieutenant General H.R. McMaster, *Learning the Lessons of Modern War* is an indispensable resource for international relations and security studies scholars, policymakers, and military professionals.



Report: July 2020

Uncovering China's Influence in Europe: How Friendship Groups Coopt European Elites

Toshi Yoshihara, Jack Bianchi

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seeks to shape the external environment to its liking through several means, ranging from coercive uses of military power to economic statecraft to influence operations. Beijing's global campaign to influence perceptions and policies abroad, in particular, has drawn media attention and, increasingly, government scrutiny. In Europe, the CCP has opened a broad political front that could have implications for the region's long-term policies toward China and for transatlantic relations. There is thus a growing need for policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic to better understand the goals, strategies, and methods of the actors that promote CCP influence in Europe.

In this study, Senior Fellow Toshi Yoshihara and Research Fellow Jack Bianchi examine how some European civic organizations, established ostensibly to foster ties with China, have helped to enhance the CCP's power. Drawing from Chinese-language sources, the report assesses how "friendship groups" in Europe—and the coopted European political and business elites that lead them—serve as mouthpieces and intermediaries for advancing Beijing's domestic priorities and foreign policy goals. Yoshihara and Bianchi conclude that European authorities and civil society are in a good position to implement measured approaches and policies to better understand, monitor, and push back against unwelcome aspects of Beijing's influence campaign.





CSBA Staff with LTG Charles D. Luckey, Chief of Army Reserve and Commanding General, U.S. Army Reserve Command, November 4, 2019.



Report: August 2020

Which Way the Dragon? Sharpening Allied Perceptions of China's Strategic Trajectory

Ross Babbage, Jack Bianchi, Julian Snelder, Toshi Yoshihara, Aaron Friedberg and Nadège Rolland

Given the rapid pace of change throughout Asia in recent decades, assessing China's longer-term trajectory – and that of the Indo-Pacific region as a whole – represents a huge challenge for defense and security planners. Attempts to predict China's strategic posture 15 to 30 years from now are hampered by a far more volatile security environment than that which governed the Cold War era. Yet despite the many strategic dislocations of the 21st century, most Western policymakers continue to rely upon the periodic strategic assessment principles regarding China that were practiced during the relatively stable late 20th century. The resulting policies are frequently and necessarily revised in the face of contemporary economic, political, and even epidemiological disruptions.

In *Which Way the Dragon?*, CSBA Non-resident Senior Fellow Ross Babbage and colleagues argue for a new, scenario-based approach to defense and security planning in the Indo-Pacific. Drawing upon expert analysis of current conditions, three to four overarching scenarios for China should be considered as potential guideposts over the next 15 years. Each outcome would include a series of lead indicators, allowing analysts to determine which future scenario China is headed towards, prepare for potential alternatives in advance, and make adjustments to strategies, operational concepts, and military and security systems when necessary. The result should markedly reduce the uncertainties about the strategic environment in the 2035 timeframe and provide greatly improved foundations for confident decisions on security policy and capability development. In short, this approach offers a superior way of addressing the security challenges faced by the Western allies and their security partners in the Indo-Pacific.

Report: November 2020

Selective Disclosure: A Strategic Approach to Long-Term Competition

Thomas G. Mahnken

Although the Department of Defense has embraced the concept of “great power competition” as a planning and investment guide, it has yet to fully adapt its processes and priorities to maximize U.S. advantages in this environment. As the United States develops new defense technologies and concepts, policy planners should consider which ones to reveal, as well as the timing and extent to which they are revealed. As evidenced by Chinese and Russian disclosures, these considerations include not only concealing systems to delay an adversary’s response, but also disclosing information for strategic effect, such as provoking competitors to expend resources on defensive countermeasures based upon an incomplete grasp of a perceived capability.

In *Selective Disclosure: A Strategic Approach to Long-Term Competition*, CSBA President and CEO Thomas G. Mahnken outlines a framework for revealing or concealing information for strategic effect in an era of great power competition. Dr. Mahnken explores three separate models for developing defense capabilities and details how each model impacts a competitor’s response. Drawing upon historical case studies, he illustrates past applications of the approach as well as the benefits and drawbacks of each approach. Finally, Dr. Mahnken proposes a series of criteria for applying selective disclosure under current strategic conditions.





Report: January 2021

Seizing on Weakness: Allied Strategy for Competing With China's Globalizing Military

Toshi Yoshihara, Jack Bianchi

China's military is going global. In the coming decade, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) could be well-positioned to influence events and conduct a wide range of missions, including limited warfighting, beyond the Western Pacific. The United States and its close allies, who have enjoyed largely unobstructed access to the world's oceans for the last three decades, will need to adjust to new military realities as the PLA makes its presence felt in faraway theaters.

In this study, Senior Fellow Toshi Yoshihara and Research Fellow Jack Bianchi argue that a deep study of China's weaknesses as they relate to its worldwide ambitions is required to formulate an effective allied response. These weaknesses offer insights into the costs that Beijing will have to pay to go global. Importantly, the United States and its close allies enjoy agency over certain Chinese weaknesses, furnishing them leverage that, if exercised, could yield strategic dividends. The report concludes with a range of allied options that exploit China's weaknesses to constrain and complicate the PLA's global expansion.





Report: January 2021

America's Strategic Choices: Defense Spending in a Post-COVID-19 World

This report summarizes the findings of two Strategic Choices Exercises hosted by The Ronald Reagan Institute and CSBA in October 2020, convening a bipartisan group of senior defense and budget experts, current and former policymakers, and industry leaders. The initiative was supported by the National Defense Industrial Association.

Using CSBA's Strategic Choices Tool, an interactive decision-making model that enables users to make changes to the defense budget, participants proposed fiscally-constrained adjustments to U.S. defense strategy and military forces over a 10-year window. They assessed two budgetary scenarios: an annual real 3% increase in defense spending and an immediate 10% cut.

The exercises found that the 10% cut scenario would have devastating consequences for defense strategy and capabilities. Teams had to make large-scale cuts to personnel, force structure, and modernization that have heretofore proven to be politically unpalatable.





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STRATEGIC CHOICES

CSBA plays an essential role in sparking a more informed debate on defense budgeting and resourcing. CSBA's Budgetary Studies and Strategic Choices program provides an independent source of budgetary analysis to help those both in and out of government understand budgetary trends; the near-and long-term implications of prospective trade-offs; the second-order consequences of changes to the defense program; and how they fit within the overall context of U.S. defense policy and strategy.

Strategic Choices Exercises

CSBA's Strategic Choices Tool (SCT) has been enhanced and expanded to become one of the most powerful tools for defense strategy and budget planning and is the only tool of its kind. The SCT is designed to illuminate challenges and foster better linkages between the U.S. Defense budget and force structure. It accomplishes this by asking users to conduct long-term defense planning, develop new operational concepts, assess alternative force structures and postures, identify areas for greater investment or divestment, and evaluate the division of labor between the United States and its allies.

The Strategic Choices Tool allows users to explore alternatives defense investment priorities and develop strategies for future plans and programs, highlighting how future plans should differ from current plans. Driven by a user's view of threats to national security and the best strategy for addressing them, users rebalance defense force structure and investments over two five-year moves that correspond to consecutive Future Year Defense Programs. The U.S. tool includes over 1,200 force structure and capability options across twelve areas, including air, sea, ground, manpower, readiness, and R&D.

In 2020, CSBA built upon the success of the Strategic Choices Tool by designing a prototype for a similar tool tracking China's military efforts and plans to develop a Korean Strategic Choices tool in 2021. These tools will serve as a critical method of analysis for the Indo-Pacific region.



In late 2020 and in the period leading up to the new U.S. administration in January 2021, CSBA partnered with the Ronald Reagan Institute for two high-level workshops on defense budget challenges after COVID-19. The exercises resulted in a published report, a major op-ed piece by CSBA's Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken and Ronald Reagan Institute Director Roger I. Zakheim, and extensive coverage on Capitol Hill and in the media.



PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

CSBA seeks to educate the leaders of today and tomorrow on strategy, concepts, capabilities, and resources through a variety of public and professional education opportunities sponsored exclusively by CSBA or in conjunction with our academic and corporate sponsors.

Events with Department of Defense Leadership

Despite the limitations imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, CSBA was proud to host leaders from the Department of Defense and its leadership to discuss the future of defense strategy for the United States.

In October 2019, we held a roundtable with U.S. Marine Corps Commandant David Berger to discuss the Commandant's Planning Guidance, recent CSBA work on the maritime domain and the Western Pacific, operational concepts, emerging technologies, and other critical issues facing the Marine Corps and the Department of Defense.

In November 2019, we hosted LTG Charles D. Luckey, USAR, Chief of the Army Reserve and Commanding General of the U.S. Army Reserve Command, along with members of the OCAR staff and the Strategic Outreach Chief of the Army Futures Command, John T. Bolger III. The wide-ranging and interactive session featured General Luckey's views on the current outlook for the Army Reserve, talent development for the Total Force in the 21st Century, and the Reserve footprint in Europe.

In January 2020, we held a private roundtable with Secretary of the Army Ryan D. McCarthy and his senior team. Themes included the Army's modernization priorities, its organizational adaptations of recent years, and its people initiatives. We also hosted Acting Secretary of the Navy Thomas B. Modly, who discussed his views on the future of the U.S. Navy's surface fleet as part of the release event for *Taking Back the Seas: Transforming the U.S. Surface Fleet for Decision-Centric Warfare*.

In October 2020, at the request of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, CSBA hosted a fireside chat with Secretary of Defense Mark A. Esper, including a limited-in person and wider virtual audience, where he discussed plans for the next 25 years of U.S. defense strategy. Secretary Esper publicly unveiled the new blueprint for U.S. naval power in the 21st Century, "Battle Force 2045," and took questions from CSBA staff and guests.

CSBA was also able to host a variety of virtual and limited in-person educational events throughout 2020, including sessions with the Army War College, the Secretary of Defense Executive Fellows Program (SDEFP), and the Georgia Institute of Technology.



Inaugural Fellows, Congressional Defense Seminar Series, with Former CSBA Board Chair Nelson Ford, CSBA Board Member Randy Forbes, and CSBA President and CEO Thomas G. Mahnken.



Secretary of Defense Mark A. Esper answers a question following a policy address at CSBA, October 6, 2020.

Congressional Defense Seminar Series

In October 2019, CSBA inaugurated the Congressional Defense Seminar Series (CDSS), an in-depth bipartisan program for Congressional staff members designed to provide staffers with the tools to master the conceptual foundations of defense policy as well as the intricacies of contemporary national security processes. The initial program featured an opening session for the 16 incoming CDSS Fellows hosted by former Congressman Randy Forbes (R-VA), a member of CSBA's Board of Directors, and attended by members of the CSBA team and outside guests. Following the reception, the fellows engaged in a discussion on defense strategy and force planning. Other topics the first cohort covered included operational concepts, emerging technologies, and coalition strategies.

Following the success of the 2019 program, CSBA welcomed its second cohort of CDSS fellows in October 2020, hosting the seminars virtually. Featuring senior CSBA scholars and outside national security experts, the 2020 CDSS included such topics as:

- Defense Strategy, Long Term Competition, and Force Planning;
- Defining the Threat and the Future Operating Environment;
- Technology and Innovation;
- Nuclear Deterrence in the 21st Century;
- Organizing for and Operating in Space; and
- The Defense Budget: Policy, Process, and Stakeholders.



CSBA Staff participate in a seminar with General David H. Berger, 38th Commandant of the Marine Corps, on October 16, 2019.

Defense Journalism Seminar Series

Building on the success of the Congressional Defense Seminar Series, in November 2020, CSBA launched the Defense Journalism Seminar Series (DJSS), a new national security seminar aimed at journalists working the defense beat for both trade and general-interest media outlets. This program aims to bring together reporters and writers for a series of interactive seminars that illuminate the conceptual foundations of defense policy as well as the intricacies of contemporary national security processes. The series features senior CSBA leaders and advisors, independent national security experts, and veterans of defense journalism.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the initial ten-person cohort met virtually for four two-hour webinars from January-February 2021. The initial curriculum included the following topics:

- Assessing Military Service Modernization and Innovation Efforts;
- Understanding Nuclear Weapons Technologies and Deterrence Concepts;
- Demystifying the Defense Budget: Policy, Process, and Politicians; and
- Diagnosing the State of Civil-Military Relations.

In addition to offering deeply researched assessments of this subject matter, the CSBA Defense Journalism Seminar Series featured insights on the changing nature of defense news coverage and how to cover complex technological and geopolitical issues with credibility. CSBA provides an independent outlet for reporters to build relationships among sources and engage with subject matter experts on emerging trends.



Senior Fellow Toshi Yoshihara discusses the findings of *Seizing on Weakness: Allied Strategy for Competing With China's Globalizing Military* during a virtual launch event on January 21, 2021.



Participants at the CSBA-Ronald Reagan Institute Strategic Choices Exercise, October 13, 2020.



LOOKING FORWARD: COMPETITION AND CONFLICT IN A NEW ERA

In 2021, CSBA's research will focus on the following issue sets:

SHAPING FUTURE DEFENSE STRATEGY

Seeks to understand the contours of the strategic environment and their impact on strategy, defense priorities, and force planning.

DIAGNOSING AND PROMOTING INNOVATION

Assesses contemporary efforts to develop new concepts and capabilities with an eye toward improving U.S. strategies and operational effectiveness.

MAKING STRATEGIC CHOICES

Explores key choices related to force structure, procurement, innovation, modernization, and maintenance against both current and future budgetary outlays in order to improve dialogue with decision-makers on how to best manage the United States' resources.

ASSESSING A CHANGING NUCLEAR BALANCE

Examines the enduring value of nuclear weapons amid a changing political, strategic, and technological landscape.

ENHANCING ALLIES AND PARTNERS

Identifies sovereign and combined operating concepts, capabilities, and capacity strategies and approaches for key allies and partners and stresses opportunities for improving and strengthening effectiveness and resilience.





Thomas Mahnken

PRESIDENT AND CEO

Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken is the President and Chief Executive Officer of CSBA. He is also a Senior Research Professor at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and served for over 20 years as an officer in the U.S. Navy Reserve, to include tours in Iraq and Kosovo.

He recently served as a member of the Congressionally-mandated National Defense Strategy Commission and as a member of the Board of Visitors of Marine Corps University. His previous government career includes service as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning from 2006–2009, where he helped craft the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review and 2008 National Defense Strategy. He served on the staff of the 2014 National Defense Panel, 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review Independent Panel, and the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction. He served in the Defense Department's Office of Net Assessment and as a member of the Gulf War Air Power Survey. In 2009 he was awarded the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service and in 2016 the Department of the Navy Superior Civilian Service Medal.

Dr. Mahnken is the author of *Net Assessment and Military Strategy: Retrospective and Prospective Essays* (Cambria Press, 2020), *Learning the Lessons of Modern War* (Stanford University Press, 2020) *Strategy in Asia: The Past, Present, and Future of Regional Security* (Stanford University Press, 2014), *Competitive Strategies for the 21st Century: Theory, History, and Practice* (Stanford University Press, 2012), *Technology and the American Way of War Since 1945* (Columbia University Press, 2008), and *Uncovering Ways of War: U.S. Intelligence and Foreign Military Innovation, 1918–1941* (Cornell University Press, 2002), among other works.



Eric Edelman

COUNSELOR

Ambassador Eric S. Edelman retired as a career minister from the U.S. Foreign Service on May 1, 2009. He has served in senior positions at the Departments of State and Defense as well as the White House, where he led organizations providing analysis, strategy, policy development, security services, trade advocacy, public outreach, citizen services, and congressional relations. As undersecretary of defense for policy (August 2005-January 2009), he was DoD's senior policy official, overseeing strategy development with global responsibility for bilateral defense relations, war plans, special operations forces, homeland defense, missile defense, nuclear weapons, and arms control policies, counterproliferation, counternarcotics, counterterrorism, arms sales, and defense trade controls.

He served as U.S. ambassador to Finland in the Clinton administration and Turkey in the Bush administration and was Vice President Cheney's principal deputy assistant for national security affairs. He was chief of staff to Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, special assistant to Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt, and special assistant to Secretary of State George Shultz.

His other assignments included the State Department Operations Center, Prague, Moscow, and Tel Aviv, where he was a member of the U.S. Middle East delegation to the West Bank/Gaza autonomy talks.

Ambassador Edelman has been awarded the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award, the Presidential Distinguished Service Award, and several Department of State Superior Honor Awards. In 2010, he was named a knight of the French National Order of the Legion of Honor.

Ambassador Edelman serves as the Chair of the National Defense Strategy Commission and on the bipartisan board of directors of the United States Institute of Peace.

CSBA STAFF



Roger M. Poor

CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER

Roger brings to CSBA decades of senior-level expertise in accounting, financial processes, internal controls, and compliance. His work in both the non-profit world as well as with growth-oriented services enterprises greatly enhances CSBA's financial operations in support of its stakeholders.

Prior to joining CSBA, Mr. Poor served in a global strategy consulting firm involved in international development, an aerospace engineering firm, a leading national security IT provider, and a Big Four public accounting firm, among other financial management roles. He has an MBA from the Wharton Business School and a BA from Princeton University.



William C. Bodie

DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT

Bill Bodie is a highly experienced business executive, government official, foundation professional, and international communications and marketing strategist. In a career spanning more than three decades, he has overseen and managed business portfolios for leading U.S. defense and civil engineering firms such as Northrop Grumman, KBR, Fluor, and Parsons. He most recently served as Group Executive Vice President for Parsons' Middle East Africa business unit. Prior to joining CSBA, Bill was Visiting Fellow at the Lexington Institute, focusing on economic and security currents in the Middle East.

In the U.S. government, Bill served as Special Assistant to the Secretary and Director of Air Force Communications from 2001-2004, and as a Senior Fellow for the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University, 1992-1993. Bill has published numerous articles and reviews, has designed and executed strategic communications campaigns for domestic and international business clients, and is active in national security and philanthropic organizations, including the Board of Trustees of the Shakespeare Theatre Company and the Advisory Board of the Salvation Army's National Capitol Area Command.



Evan B. Montgomery

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AND STUDIES, AND SENIOR FELLOW

Evan Montgomery is a Senior Fellow and the Director of Research and Studies at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.

During more than a decade at CSBA, Dr. Montgomery has written dozens of monographs, reports, journal articles, and book chapters on a wide range of topics, including great power competition, alliance management, East Asia security challenges, and nuclear issues. In 2016-2017 he served as Special Advisor to the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, where he worked primarily on defense innovation and nuclear modernization.

Dr. Montgomery is the author of numerous CSBA reports, most recently *Reinforcing the Front Line: U.S. Defense Strategy and the Rise of China and Extended Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age: Geopolitics, Proliferation, and the Future of U.S. Security Commitments*. His commentary and analysis have also appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, among other outlets. His book, *In the Hegemon's Shadow: Leading States and the Rise of Regional Powers*, was published by Cornell University Press.

Dr. Montgomery graduated summa cum laude from Villanova University and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Virginia. He is a past recipient of the Smith Richardson Foundation Strategy and Policy Fellowship, the Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship, and the Department of Defense Joint Civilian Service Commendation Award.

Dr. Montgomery graduated summa cum laude from Villanova University and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Virginia. He is a past recipient of the Smith Richardson Foundation Strategy and Policy Fellowship, the Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship, and the Department of Defense Joint Civilian Service Commendation Award.



Ross Babbage

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Dr. Ross Babbage served for 16 years in the Australian Public Service holding several senior positions, including Head of Strategic Analysis in the Office of National Assessments, and leading the branches in the Department of Defence responsible for ANZUS Policy and Force Development. He also worked as a special advisor to the Minister for Defence during the preparation of the 2009 Australian defence white paper.

Through the 1990s, Ross Babbage was a member of the team that reformed the Office of Defence Production with its loss-making, government-owned defence factories. What emerged was a modern, profitable corporation known as ADI Limited that grew to become Australia's largest defence company.

Dr Babbage has served on the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London and during 2003-2004 was Head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University.

His publications include *A Coast Too Long: Defending Australia Beyond the 1990s* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990), *Australia's Strategic Edge in 2030* (Kokoda Foundation, Canberra, February 2011), *Game Plan: The Case for a New Australian Grand Strategy* (Menzies Research Centre, Canberra, 2015) and *Countering China's Adventurism in the South China Sea: Strategy Options for the Trump Administration* (CSBA, 2016).

Dr. Babbage was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia in 2011.



Chris Bassler

SENIOR FELLOW

Dr. Chris Bassler is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. He previously served as the Chief Strategy Officer (CSO) for the F-35 Lightning II Joint Program Office (JPO), the Department of Defense's largest acquisition enterprise, responsible for developing and acquiring the most advanced next-generation strike aircraft weapon system for the U.S. Air Force, Marines, Navy, and many allied nations. As the CSO, he directly supported the Program Executive Officer (PEO) and JPO senior leadership on the development and implementation of comprehensive efforts across the entire JPO enterprise, and lead the F-35 JPO's teams for requirements analysis & integration; new capability assessments; technology strategy, planning, & integration; intelligence planning & analysis; and strategic planning & communications.

He also previously served as Deputy Director of the Office of the Senior National Representative (SNR), in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Directorate for Innovation, Technology Requirements, Test & Evaluation (OPNAV N94). In this role, he led the development of strategies and programs to enhance capabilities, capacities, integration, and interoperability with coalition allies and partners across the full spectrum of naval missions and all warfighting domains, for both bi-lateral and multi-lateral efforts. Prior to that assignment, Dr. Bassler served as the Director of the Naval Science & Technology Cooperation Program, at the Office of Naval Research (ONR). He led the development and strengthening of a portfolio of science, research, and technology development relationships with allies and foreign partners, in order to enhance future naval capabilities and missions. He oversaw the development and coordination of all international science and technology engagement by the Chief of Naval Research, the Executive Director of ONR, and the broader ONR leadership.

Earlier in his career, Dr. Bassler held several positions at the U.S. Navy's Naval Surface Warfare Center, Carderock Division (NSWCCD), leading research projects, design studies, and teams. His last assignment at NSWCCD was Team Leader for Future Surface Combatants in the Future Ship & Submarine Concepts Branch. He led studies related to ship concept design & development, technology development, and platform integration for sponsors including the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (OPNAV), Naval Sea Systems Command (NAVSEA), and ONR, receiving several awards for these efforts. In 2014, Dr. Bassler worked as a member of the technical staff on the U.S. Navy's Small Surface Combatant Task Force. In his previous assignments, Dr. Bassler also led several collaborative S&T and R&D projects with allies and partners and served as a U.S. representative on several forums in NATO, in both the Science & Technology Organisation and the Naval Armaments Group. He has also served as a technical advisor to the U.S. delegation to the International Maritime Organization.

Dr. Bassler has received two Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Awards, from the U.S. Secretary of the Navy in 2014 and from the U.S. Chief of Naval Research in 2016. He received the 2014 American Society of Naval Engineers (ASNE) Solberg Award for Research, and the 2009 ASNE Rosenblatt Young Naval Engineer Award. He has published over 60 scientific papers and technical reports and was awarded two U.S. Patents.

Dr. Bassler holds a Ph.D. in Aerospace Engineering, and an M.S. and B.S. in Ocean and Aerospace Engineering from Virginia Tech; an M.A. in Security Policy Studies and a Graduate Certificate in Asian Studies from the George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs; a Graduate Certificate in Systems Analysis from the Naval Postgraduate School; and a Postgraduate Diploma in Strategy and Innovation from the University of Oxford Saïd Business School. He was a member of the Department of Defense Acquisition Professional Community. He is a 2017 graduate of the Navy Senior Leader Seminar (NSLS). Dr. Bassler was a 2017 Fellow of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) Next Generation National Security Leaders Program, is a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and an Eagle Scout.



David R. Berke

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Mr. Berke is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. He has over 23 years of experience as an active-duty U.S. Marine specializing in 5th generation aviation, personnel and manpower, international affairs, and innovation as a tool to respond to new and emerging international security threats and challenges. His experience lies at the intersection of operational expertise and strategy development.

Berke is the founder of BVR Consulting, specializing in 5th generation air warfare and the integration of modern air assets into highly contested three-dimensional battlespace.

His professional highlights include two combat carrier deployments in the F/A-18 to Iraq and Afghanistan, a tour as a TOPGUN Instructor and F-16 pilot, experience as a combat Forward Air Controller, the only Marine to fly the F-22 Raptor while serving as the Division Commander in a USAF operational test squadron, the first operational pilot to fly the F-35B serving as the squadron commander, an academic fellowship at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and a tour as a division chief in the Joint Staff J-8 directorate and member of the Vice-Chairman's Joint Staff Innovation Group.

Mr. Berke received a master's degree in International Public Policy from SAIS and a B.A. in Political Science from California State University at Fullerton.



Jack Bianchi

RESEARCH FELLOW

Jack Bianchi focuses on Asia strategy and U.S.-China long-term competition, including the U.S.-China military balance, the defense of regional allies, nuclear strategy, technology issues, and political warfare. Mr. Bianchi was previously a Research Analyst at Defense Group Inc. where he performed bilingual (Chinese and English) open-source research and analysis for U.S. government clients on Chinese cybersecurity issues and China's defense-related science and technology development.

Bianchi has working proficiency in Mandarin Chinese and has studied the language at academic programs in both Beijing and Taipei. His writing has appeared in *War on the Rocks*, *China Brief*, and *ORMS Today*, and he co-authored "Warfare Drivers: Mission

Needs and the Impact on Ship Design," a chapter in *Chinese Naval Shipbuilding: An Ambitious and Uncertain Course*. His prior experience also includes work at the Department of Justice and in the Office of Investment Security at the Department of the Treasury.

Bianchi has an M.A. in China Studies and International Economics from SAIS and a B.A. in International Studies from Boston College. He also completed the International Chinese Language Program at National Taiwan University as well as language courses at the Beijing Center for Chinese Studies at the University of International Business and Economics.

CSBA STAFF



Ryan Boone

ANALYST – ON ASSIGNMENT

Ryan Boone is an Analyst at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. In addition to research, he assists in the design and analysis of CSBA's operational-level wargames and concept development workshops. His work examines competitive strategies, operational planning, trends in U.S. and foreign military force structure and capabilities, and operations research. Prior to joining CSBA, Boone interned in the office of the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee's Subcommittee on Seapower and Projection Forces.

Boone was a Robertson Scholar at Duke University and graduated with a B.A. in International Relations and Middle Eastern and East Asian history. He also earned an M.A. in Strategic Studies & Economics.



Josh Chang

RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Josh Chang is a research assistant at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, where he focuses on U.S. defense strategy, great power competition, and foreign military capabilities and doctrines. He previously interned with research organizations such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Long Term Strategy Group, Hudson Institute, and the Council on Foreign Relations. Josh regularly writes about Latin American and East Asian security issues for the Georgetown Security Studies Review, where his work won GSSR's Best in Class Award for the 2019-2020 term.



Regan Copple

RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Regan Copple is a research assistant at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. Her work focuses on East Asian security, future warfare, and great power competition. Prior to CSBA, Regan has completed internships at Long Term Strategy Group and The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Some of her research work will also be featured in Michael Gordon's forthcoming book *Degrade and Destroy: The Inside Story of the War Against the Islamic State*.



Madison Creery

ANALYST

Madison Creery is an analyst at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. Her work focuses on the defense budget, future warfare, and great power competition. Prior to CSBA, Madison was a Cyber Strategy and Policy Analyst with the U.S. Cyberspace Solarium Commission, where she developed approaches and recommendations for the Department of Defense in the cyber domain. Her prior experience also includes work at the American Enterprise Institute and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, focusing on U.S. military strategy and the defense budget.



Bryan W. Durkee

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE FELLOW, 2020-2021

Bryan Durkee is the 2020/2021 Navy Fellow assigned to CSBA as a part of the Federal Executive Fellowship program.

He is a current, active-duty Navy Captain with over 27 years of service. As an EP-3 pilot, Bryan commanded Task Force SIX SEVEN (CTF-67) where he led the Maritime Patrol and Reconnaissance Forces for U.S. Naval Forces Europe-Africa / U.S. 6th Fleet from 2014 to 2016. He commanded the “Rangers” of Fleet Air Reconnaissance Squadron TWO (VQ-2) from 2010 to 2011 where he led deployed detachments in the 4th and 6th Fleet areas of operations. Throughout his career, he has led and flown reconnaissance missions in support of every geographic combatant commander to include participa-

tion in Operations Allied Force, Northern Watch, Enduring Freedom, Iraqi Freedom, New Dawn, Nomad Shadow, Inca Gold, Odyssey Dawn/Unified Protector, Atlantic Endeavor, Joint Forge, and Inherent Resolve. Other assignments include a tour on the USS Constellation (CV-64) as the Assistant Navigation Officer, a joint tour at United States Northern Command as a maritime theater security cooperation planner, and Naval Air Systems Command where he served as the Assistant Program Manager for Logistics in the Maritime Patrol and Reconnaissance Program Office (PMA290). He has served on the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (OPNAV) staff as the N501 Branch Head for Future Fleet Design and Architecture, the Executive Assistant to the Director of the Navy Staff, and on the Office of Secretary of Defense staff as the Military Assistant to the DoD Chief Information Officer.

Bryan is a graduate of the Joint Aviation Electronic Warfare School and the Joint and Combined Warfighting School. He has logged over 3100 flight hours in Maritime Patrol and Reconnaissance aircraft, including over 400 combat hours. Bryan is a recipient of the Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Meritorious Service Medal, Air Medal, Strike/Flight Air Medal (three awards), and numerous campaign and unit awards.

CSBA STAFF



Robert Haffa

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Bob Haffa is a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.

Prior to joining CSBA in 2011, Dr. Haffa directed the Northrop Grumman Analysis Center, having joined Northrop after retiring from the U.S. Air Force as a colonel. His Air Force career included a combat tour in Vietnam in RF-4C aircraft, F-4D/E squadron and wing assignments in England and Korea, teaching political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy where he served as professor and acting department head, and a tour with the Air Staff in the Pentagon as Chief of the Long Range Planning Division and Director of the Operations Group supporting the Air Force Chief of Staff.

At Northrop Grumman, Dr. Haffa's work included analyses of U.S. military strategy, force planning, programming, and wargaming for the business sectors of the company, as well as the development of corporate strategic planning scenarios. Dr. Haffa is an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Haffa received a B.S. in International Affairs from the U.S. Air Force Academy, an M.A. in Political Science from Georgetown University, an M.S. in Management from the University of Arkansas, and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



David W. Hamon

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Mr. Hamon is a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. His experience and research focus on solutions to policy and strategy problems for the benefit of government and society by developing future-oriented, strategic research initiatives and teams as well as creating dialogue and engagement opportunities with diverse groups of experts. Hamon currently serves as Vice President for the Economic Warfare Institute and Director of Strategic Initiatives at Soft Power Solutions Inc.

Previously, he was a Distinguished Analyst & Founding Director of Banyan Analytics Institute, Analytic Services Inc.; Director of Strategic Research and Dialogues as well as Deputy Director of Research and Studies of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Office of Advanced Systems and Concepts; and Regional Director for Policy and Programs, African Affairs for the Office of the Secretary of Defense. He additionally served with the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. He is an adjunct faculty member for the University of Montana, the University of Mary Washington, and Webster University. He is a retired U.S. Army Logistician.

Hamon received his M.A. in Political Science/International Affairs from Northeastern University.



Benjamin Lambeth

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Dr. Benjamin S. Lambeth assumed this position in July 2011 after a 37-year career as a Senior Research Associate at the RAND Corporation, where he remains an adjunct associate.

Before joining RAND, he served in the Office of National Estimates at the Central Intelligence Agency and worked for both the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Institute for Defense Analyses. In 2002, he was elected an honorary member of the Order of Daedalians, the national fraternity of U.S. military pilots. In 2008, Dr. Lambeth was appointed by the Secretary of Defense to serve an eight-year term as a member of the Board of Visitors of Air University. He is a member of the Council on

Foreign Relations, the Air Force Association, the U.S. Naval Institute, the Association of Naval Aviation, the Red River Valley Fighter Pilots Association, and the Editorial Advisory Boards of *Air and Space Power Journal* and *Strategic Studies Quarterly*.

Dr. Lambeth received a B.S. in Political Science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, an M.A. in Government from Georgetown University, and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Harvard University.



James Mersol

PUBLICATIONS MANAGER

James Mersol is the Publications Manager at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. Prior to joining CSBA, he covered cybersecurity and national security for GovernmentCIO Media & Research. Previously, James interned at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he focused on defense budget issues, and at the Intelligence and National Security Alliance, where he focused on financial threats, cybersecurity, and acquisition management. While pursuing his master's degree, he edited for the SAIS Review and worked as Dr. Eliot Cohen's research assistant. James also serves as an editor for Charged Affairs, the online publication for Young Professionals in Foreign Policy.

James graduated from Davidson College with a B.A. in Political Science (cum laude) and from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) with an M.A. in Strategic Studies and International Economics.



Ben Noon

PUBLIC INTEREST FELLOW

Ben Noon is a research assistant for the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. He is interested in topics such as East Asian security, Chinese politics, and great power competition. Ben has interned for the RWR Advisory Group, The American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, and the Research on Conflict and Collective Action Lab at Vanderbilt University.

CSBA STAFF



Daniel Patt

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Dr. Daniel Patt joined in January 2018 after serving at the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) as the Deputy Director for the Strategic Technologies Office.

At DARPA, he led the development of a strategy for renewed conventional military advantage focused on achieving decision superiority and risk distribution. He led investments enabling robust distributed systems architectures in a technology portfolio including battle management, command and control; communications and networking; intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance; and electronic warfare. He has extensive industry experience in developing products centered on cutting-edge autonomy, artificial intelligence, robotics, and unmanned systems.

In 2017, Dr. Patt supported the Deputy Secretary of Defense in leading an effort to define a new modernization initiative for the Department of Defense. In this role, he advised the 2017 National Defense Strategy drafting group. He is a Samuel J. Heyman Service to America Honoree and is the recipient of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics Achievement Award in recognition of his work developing and fielding advanced situational awareness software and networking tools in support of combat operations.

He has earned a B.S., M.S., and Ph.D. in Aerospace Engineering from the University of Michigan.



Julie H. Pulley

SENIOR EXECUTIVE MANAGER

Julie Pulley manages CSBA's administrative functions.

Prior to CSBA, Ms. Pulley worked at Discovery Communications, Inc., where she managed a variety of special projects. Ms. Pulley earned a B.S. at Howard University.



Carl Rehberg

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Dr. Carl Rehberg was founder and director of the Headquarters Air Force Asia-Pacific Cell, which played a pivotal role in the development of Air Force strategy, force development, planning, analysis, and warfighting concepts supporting initiatives related to Asia-Pacific and the DoD Third Offset Strategy. Dr. Rehberg spearheaded the establishment of the China Aerospace Studies Institute (CASI) and led the development of innovative concepts and capability proposals to improve DoD's joint resiliency and integrated air and missile defenses.

Prior to this assignment, he was the Assistant Associate Director for AF Strategic Planning and Director, Analysis Division in the AF QDR organization, leading multiple assessments of future capabilities and force structure.

During his 26+ year Air Force career, Rehberg served as a command pilot with over 6200 hours flying time in 25+ different aircraft including the KC-135, B-1B, TG-7, and T-3A. He taught Military Art and Science at the USAF Academy, and was instrumental in helping form the USAF Academy Center for Character Development. In the late 1990s, he served in the Pentagon as a strategic planner, programmer, and analyst, leading several studies for the Secretary of Defense on the Total Force. In 2001, Rehberg was selected as a National Security Fellow at Harvard and then spent two years at the National Defense University's Industrial College of the Armed Forces (ICAF) teaching courses in grand strategy, military mobilization, and the aircraft industrial base. As Chief, Long-Range Plans of the Air Staff, Rehberg led the development of future force structure plans and courses of action for numerous AF/defense resource and tradespace analyses.

Dr. Rehberg holds B.S. in Industrial Technology [Aviation Administration] with honors from California State University, Los Angeles; an M.A. in Political Science from the University of South Dakota; and a Ph.D. in Public Administration from the University of Colorado at Denver. HE was also a National Security Fellow at Harvard University.



Robert E. Schmidle, Jr.

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Lieutenant General (retired) Schmidle is the University Advisor on Cyber Capabilities and Conflict Studies at Arizona State University. Dr. Schmidle is also a Professor of Practice in the School of Politics and Global Studies. Additionally, he is a Senior Fellow in the Center on the Future of War at Arizona State University.

While on active duty he served as the first Deputy Commander of United States Cyber Command, responsible for standing up the command while concurrently executing full-spectrum cyber operations. Subsequently, he was the head of Marine Aviation and his final assignment on active duty was as the Principal Deputy Director, Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

He holds degrees from Drew University and American University and earned his doctorate from Georgetown University. His thesis, recognized with distinction, was titled "The Power of Context in Shaping Moral Choices." He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Defense Science Board. His numerous publications are in the fields of moral philosophy, social psychology, and military history.

CSBA STAFF



Harrison Schramm

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Harrison Schramm has been a leader in the Operations Research community for the past decade. Prior to joining CSBA, he had a successful career in the US Navy, where he served as a Helicopter Pilot, Military Assistant Professor at the Naval Postgraduate School, and as a lead Operations Research Analyst in the Pentagon. His areas of emphasis were large-scale simulation models, statistics, optimization, and applied probability. His current research is at the intersection of data, mathematical models, and policy.

Mr. Schramm enjoys professional accreditation from the Institute for Operations Research and Management Sciences (CAP, INFORMS), the American Statistical Association (PStat, ASA), and the Royal (UK) Statistical Society (CStat, RSS).

His published work has appeared in *INTERFACES*, *J. Applied Meteorology and Climatology*, *SIGNIFICANCE*, *J. Mathematical Biosciences*, *Proceedings of the US Naval Institute*, *OR/MS Today*, and *Military Operations Research*. He is a past Vice President of the Military Operations Research Society (MORS) and is active in several Committees of INFORMS. Notably, in 2018, he served as a Judge for the prestigious Franz Edelman Award.

He is a recipient of the Richard H. Barchi Prize, Steinmetz Prize, Meritorious Service Medal, Air Medal, and the Naval Helicopter Association's Aircrew of the Year. He is the 2018 recipient of the Clayton Thomas award for distinguished service to the profession of Operations Research.



Travis Sharp

RESEARCH FELLOW

Travis Sharp directs the budget program and works to educate and inform policymakers, senior leaders, and the general public about the defense budget and issues pertaining to resourcing national security. He also serves as an officer in the U.S. Navy Reserve while completing his Ph.D. in security studies at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Sharp has held positions with academic and policy organizations, including George Washington University's Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, West Point's Modern War Institute, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Center for a New American Security, and the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation. He has published think

tank monographs, journal articles, and commentaries on defense spending and strategy, cybersecurity, and military-to-military contacts between great power rivals, the topic of his dissertation.

Sharp is a past recipient of the Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship, the A.B. Krongard and John Parker Compton Fellowships at Princeton, the 1LT Bacevich Fellowship at CNAS, the Harold Rosenthal Fellowship in International Relations, and the Herbert Scoville Peace Fellowship.

Sharp holds a B.A. in History and Political Science (*summa cum laude*) from the University of San Francisco, an M.P.A. in International Relations, and an M.A. in Public Affairs from Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.



Julian Snelder

NON-RESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

Julian Snelder is a New Zealand-Netherlands dual national, resident in Asia for more than 25 years. He worked for the management consultancy McKinsey & Company for eight years, then for Morgan Stanley for eight years, the latter role as head of technology investment banking for Asia. From 2005 he served as director and partner in an emerging market investment fund.

Snelder has worked extensively in China, India, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. He has advised corporate and government clients on mergers and acquisitions, fundraising and capital investment, business planning and budget planning, privatization, and industrial policy. His interest is the application of IT and manufacturing technologies to matters

of national security. He writes regularly on this topic and has contributed to publications of the United States Naval War College.

Snelder received a bachelor's in economics from Trinity College Cambridge as well as a Bachelors in Mechanical Engineering from the University of Canterbury.



Jan van Tol

SENIOR FELLOW

Prior to his retirement from the Navy in 2007, Captain van Tol served as a special adviser in the Office of the Vice President.

He was a military assistant to Andrew W. Marshall, the Secretary of Defense's Principal Advisor for Net Assessment, from 1993-96 and again from 2001-2003. At sea, he commanded three warships, two of which, the USS O'Brien (DD-975) and the USS Essex (LHD-2), were part of the U.S. Navy's Forward Deployed Naval Forces based in Japan.

van Tol's analytic work has focused mainly on long-range strategic planning, naval warfare, military innovation, and wargaming. And he holds degrees in Philosophy and

Logic from the University of Massachusetts, in Operations Research from the Naval Postgraduate School, and he graduated with distinction from the Naval War College.



Toshi Yoshihara

SENIOR FELLOW

Before joining CSBA, Toshi Yoshihara held the John A. van Beuren Chair of Asia-Pacific Studies at the U.S. Naval War College where he taught strategy for over a decade. He was also an affiliate member of the China Maritime Studies Institute at the war college.

Dr. Yoshihara has been a visiting professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University since 2012. He has also taught as a visiting professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California, San Diego and as a visiting professor in the Strategy Department at the U.S. Air War College. He has served as a research analyst at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, RAND, and the American Enterprise Institute.

Dr. Yoshihara has testified before the Defense Policy Board, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. He is the recipient of the Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Award in recognition of his scholarship on maritime and strategic affairs at the Naval War College.

He is co-author of *Red Star over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy* (Naval Institute Press, 2010 and 2018), which has been listed on the Chief of Naval Operation's Professional Reading Program since 2012. Translations of *Red Star over the Pacific* have been published in China, Germany, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan.

He has also co-authored *Indian Naval Strategy in the Twenty-first Century* (Routledge, 2009) and *Chinese Naval Strategy in the Twenty-first Century: The Turn to Mahan* (Routledge, 2008). He is co-editor of *Strategy in the Second Nuclear Age: Power, Ambition, and the Ultimate Weapon* (Georgetown University Press, 2012) and *Asia Looks Seaward: Power and Maritime Strategy* (Praeger, 2008). His articles on Chinese seapower, maritime strategy, and Asian security issues have appeared in *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Asian Security*, *Washington Quarterly*, *Orbis*, *World Affairs*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Strategic Analysis*, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, and *Naval War College Review*. The *Naval War College Review* awarded him the Hugh G. Nott Prize for best article of 2010.

He holds a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and a B.S.F.S. from the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.



Yohei Yoshimizu

VISITING FELLOW, 2020-2021

Lieutenant Colonel Yohei Yoshimizu is currently on active duty with the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF). A specialist in military transportation with more than 15 years of service, Lt. Col. Yoshimizu's current assignment is Strategic Planner with the Defense Plans and Policy Department (J5) of the Joint Staff at the Japanese Ministry of Defense. He has served in increasingly responsible positions in the JGSDF, including at the Central Readiness Force Headquarters (Currently reorganized as Ground Component Command); Eastern Army Headquarters; Logistics Management Department of the Ground Material Control Command; and the Logistics Management Division, Logistics Department of the General Staff. He has participated in numerous US-Japan bilateral

exercises as well as organizing several bilateral and multilateral military logistics staff engagements. He has also served as an Instructor at the JGSDF Transportation School.



David Zikusoka

RESEARCH FELLOW, 2020-2021

David Zikusoka is a Research Fellow in Aerospace Studies, conducting research and analysis on integrated concepts of air, space, and cyber power, assessing the impact of all aerospace domains on U.S. and allied strategy.

Before coming to CSBA, Dave served on the U.S. Cyberspace Solarium Commission, where he was Policy Director for the Commission's Integration Cell, developing approaches to long-term strategic competition in the cyber domain. Previously, he worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense as a Space Policy and Strategy analyst, Special Assistant for Battle Space Awareness, and Special Assistant for Global Force Planning. Prior to the Department of Defense, Dave served on the national security

staff in the office of Vice President Joseph Biden, including as Senior Advisor for Weapons of Mass Destruction and Nonproliferation. Dave has been a Security Fellow at the Truman National Security Project in Washington and has worked and written on topics ranging from space warfare and nuclear weapons to the security implications of artificial intelligence. Dave received a Master in Public Diplomacy from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University and an AB in History from Harvard University.

CSBA BOARD MEMBERS



Barbara Humpton, Chair

**PRESIDENT & CEO
SIEMENS USA**

Barbara Humpton serves as President and Chief Executive Officer of Siemens USA, using its global leadership in engineering and technology innovation to meet America's toughest challenges, delivering solutions for industry, hospitals, utilities, cities, and manufacturers: from efficient power generation, to digital factories and oil and gas fields, to medical diagnostics, to locomotives, to next-generation software used in every phase of product development. Prior to joining Siemens, Humpton served as a Vice President at Booz Allen Hamilton where she was responsible for program performance and new business development for technology consulting in the Department of Justice and

Department of Homeland Security. Earlier, Humpton was a Vice President at Lockheed Martin Corporation with responsibility for Biometrics Programs, Border and Transportation Security and Critical Infrastructure Protection, including such critical programs as the FBI's Next Generation Identification and the TSA's Transportation Workers' Identification Credential. Humpton is a graduate of Wake Forest University with a degree in Mathematics. She resides in Washington, DC with her husband David.



Anita Antenucci

**SENIOR MANAGING DIRECTOR
HOULIHAN LOKEY**

Ms. Antenucci is a Senior Managing Director and leads Houlihan Lokey's Aerospace • Defense • Government practice — a leading global investment bank with expertise in mergers and acquisitions, capital markets, financial restructuring, valuation, and strategic consulting. Antenucci has two decades of investment banking experience, including M&A, financing, and valuation. She has worked on the buy-side and the sell-side for an array of Fortune 500 and international companies, small-caps, entrepreneurs, and private equity owners. Her clients have included most of the world's leading aerospace/defense contractors. Before joining Houlihan Lokey, Antenucci served as the

Co-President and Managing Director of Quarterdeck Investment Partners, a boutique M&A advisor to the aerospace, defense, and government services industries. With degrees from Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies and Northwestern University, Antenucci is on the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of the Shakespeare Theatre Company, the Board of Directors of the Space Foundation, the Board of the National Guard Youth Foundation, and CSBA. Antenucci is based in the firm's Washington DC office.



Devon Cross

**PRESIDENT
POLICY FORUM ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

Devon Cross is Director of The Policy Forum on International Affairs and has extensive experience in funding research on foreign policy issues having served as Director of Research at Smith Richardson Foundation, President of The Donner Canadian Foundation, and Director of The Gilder Foundation. Ms. Cross serves on the boards of The Peter Munk Charitable Foundation, Intelligence Squared/U.S., and the Advisory Board for Johns Hopkins SAIS National Security Studies Program, and she served on the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board from 2001–2009. Her Washington experience included stints at The Center for Strategic and International Studies, Carnegie Endowment,

and the International Security Studies Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center. She studied at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and received her B.A. from Bryn Mawr College. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



J. Randy Forbes

**SENIOR DIRECTOR
GREENBERG TRAURIG**

Former U.S. Representative J. Randy Forbes is a Senior Director at Greenberg Traurig. Previously, he represented the Hampton Roads region for 16 years in the U.S. House of Representatives. While in Congress, Forbes served as a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee. He was Chairman of the Subcommittee on Readiness from 2011–2013 and Chairman of the Subcommittee on Seapower and Projection Forces from 2013–2017. Forbes was widely recognized as the leading authority in Congress on naval issues. He also founded the Congressional China Caucus to call attention to China’s growing military and economic power and raise awareness about its implications for the United States. He has been recognized with more than a dozen awards for his maritime leadership, including the Navy’s Distinguished Public Service Award and the Navy League’s “Outstanding Civilian Leadership” and “Teddy Roosevelt ‘Big Stick’” Awards. He has also served as a Senior Distinguished Fellow at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, sharing his perspectives on topics such as maritime strategy, naval policy, civil-military relations, and the role of Congress in national security affairs. Prior to his service in Congress, Forbes served in the Virginia Senate and House of Delegates and was an attorney in private practice. Forbes received his B.A. in Political Science from Randolph-Macon College (graduating valedictorian) and his J.D. from the University of Virginia Law School.



Nelson Ford

**FORMER PRESIDENT AND CEO
LMI**

Nelson M. Ford, who retired from the CSBA Board in 2021, is the former President and CEO of LMI, a government consulting firm. Prior to joining LMI in 2009, Mr. Ford was Under Secretary of the Army. Previous to this position, he held a number of positions in the Department of Defense, including Assistant Secretary of the Army for Financial Management and Comptroller. From 1997 to 2000, he was President and CEO of Clinipad, a manufacturer of disposable medical products. During the 1990s, he was Chief Operating Officer of Georgetown University Medical Center. During the 1980s, Mr. Ford was a partner with Coopers & Lybrand, providing strategic and financial consulting services to a wide range of healthcare clients. During the 1970s, he was the Executive Secretary of the Health Care Financing Administration and worked on health policy matters in the Office of Management and Budget. Mr. Ford holds a bachelor’s degree in history from Duke University, a master’s in education from the University of Delaware.



Adam Frankel

**GENERAL COUNSEL
CBAM PARTNERS, LLC**

Adam B. Frankel is General Counsel at CBAM Partners, LLC in New York. Prior to joining CBAM, he was Evercore’s Senior Managing Director and the firm’s General Counsel from 2006 to 2018. From 2003 to 2006, Mr. Frankel was senior vice president, general counsel, and corporate secretary of Genesee & Wyoming Inc., a leading owner, and operator of short line and regional freight railroads in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Australia, and Bolivia. Mr. Frankel was also responsible for matters related to human resources and government affairs. Mr. Frankel worked from 1999 until 2003 as a corporate and transactions attorney in the office of the general counsel at Ford Motor Company. From 1995 until 1999, Mr. Frankel was an associate at Simpson Thacher & Bartlett in London and New York. Mr. Frankel is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a trustee at the Sesame Workshop. He has a B.A. from Brown University and a J.D. from Stanford Law School.

CSBA BOARD MEMBERS



General John M. Keane (Ret.)

**SENIOR MANAGING PARTNER
KEANE ADVISORS, LLC**

John M. Keane is Senior Managing Director and co-founder of Keane Advisors, LLC. General Keane is a retired four-star general who dedicated four decades of his life to public service, which culminated in his appointment as acting Chief of Staff and Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army. General Keane is a career paratrooper, a combat veteran of Vietnam, decorated for valor. He is a member of the Secretary of Defense's Policy Board, member of the Congressional Commission on the National Guard and Reserves, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, director of the George C. Marshall Foundation, director of the Knollwood Foundation, a member of the Executive

Committee of the Pentagon Memorial Fund, chairman of the Terry Maude Foundation and chairman of Senior Executive Committee of the Army Aviation Association of America. General Keane holds a B.S. in Accounting from Fordham University and an M.A. in Philosophy from Western Kentucky University. He is a graduate of the Army War College and the Command and General Staff College.



Dave McCurdy

**BOARD MEMBER
COMMITTEE FOR A RESPONSIBLE FEDERAL BUDGET**

Dave McCurdy is currently a Board Member of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. Mr. McCurdy spent 14 years (1981–1995) in the House of Representatives as the Member from the Fourth Congressional District of Oklahoma. During that time, he served as Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee; Chairman of the Military Installations and Facilities Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee; and Chairman of the Transportation Aviation and Materials Subcommittee of the Science and Space Committee. He played a major role in enacting the 1988 National Superconductivity Competitiveness Act; the 1985 Goldwater-Nichols Act; the Nunn-

McCurdy Amendment in 1982; and the 1993 National Service Legislation. In 2008, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates appointed Congressman McCurdy to the Defense Policy Board; he was reappointed to the Defense Policy Board in 2009 by the Obama Administration. He also served as President of the Electronics Industries Association and the American Gas Association.



General Paul Selva (Ret.)

**TRUSTEE
THE AEROSPACE CORPORATION**

General Paul Selva retired from the United States Air Force in July of 2019 after 39 years of service. He is an aviator whose operational assignments culminated with command of Air Mobility Command and subsequently United States Transportation Command. Immediately prior to his retirement General Selva served as the tenth Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

General Selva graduated from the United States Air Force Academy with a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering and holds Master of Science degrees from Abilene Christian University in Management and Human Relations and Auburn University in Political Science. He is a graduate of the Air Command and Staff College and served on the first Secretary of Defense Strategic Studies Group.



Laurence Zuriff

**GENERAL PARTNER
ZFI CAPITAL**

Laurence is the founder and CFO of Xometry, an advanced manufacturing company. He also serves as the General Partner of ZFI Capital, a private investment partnership spun out of Granite Capital International Group in 2011. Mr. Zuriff currently chairs the International Economics Working Group of the John Hay Initiative and is a board member of the Alexander Hamilton Society. Mr. Zuriff holds a B.A. degree from Brown University and an M.A. from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

CSBA COUNCIL

In 2019, we launched the CSBA Council, an advisory board composed of accomplished individuals whose interests in contemporary security debates coincide with CSBA's mission. The CSBA Council will further the institute's efforts to develop innovative, resource-informed defense concepts, promote public debate, and spur policies to advance the interests of the United States and its allies. The Council meets regularly with senior management, participates in efforts to promote CSBA and its work, and engages with our team to promote fresh thinking in national strategy and nurture the next generation of defense leaders.



Sid Ashworth

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION

Sid Ashworth serves on the Executive Committee of the National Defense Industrial Association, the Board of the National Military Family Association, and is a Trustee of the U.S. Air Force Academy Falcon Foundation. Previously she served as corporate vice president of government relations for Northrop Grumman Corporation, and vice president of Washington Operations for GE Aviation. Prior to joining GE Aviation, she was principal of the Ashworth Group.

Ms. Ashworth served for 14 years as a professional staff member with the U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations. She also served as the staff director of the Defense Subcommittee and the Military Construction Subcommittee on Appropriations. During her tenure with the Defense Subcommittee, she was responsible for formulating funding and legislation recommendations for defense and intelligence spending in excess of \$600 billion annually. She also worked as a civilian in the Department of the Army, focused on resource management, force structure, and strategy. She served as a Special Advisor to the Commanding General, U.S. Army Pacific, and held several senior analyst positions with Eighth U.S. Army and U.S. Forces Korea.

She is a Senior Adviser with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, has served as an adjunct professor at the University of Maryland, and has lectured at Indiana University, The Brookings Institution, and Georgetown University. Ms. Ashworth was Senior Executive Fellow at Harvard University's JFK School of Government.

Ms. Ashworth earned her MBA from Campbell University, a bachelor's degree in management from the University of Maryland, and was a Senior Executive Fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.



Philip Breedlove
DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR
GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

General Philip M. Breedlove, USAF (ret.) serves on the Advisory Board of the Georgia Institute of Technology, where he is also a Distinguished Professor at the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs. He is also on the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council.

Mr. Breedlove served for 39 years in the United States Air Force, culminating his career as one of six geographic Combatant Commanders and Supreme Allied Commander of NATO. As Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and the Commander of U.S. European Command—in his NATO capacity he answered directly to the North Atlantic Council, and in his US capacity he answered directly to the President of the United States and Secretary of Defense. Previously, as Commander, U.S. Air Forces Europe, and Air Forces Africa, he was responsible for organizing, training, equipping, and maintaining combat-ready forces while ensuring theater air defense forces were ready to meet the challenges of peacetime air sovereignty and wartime defense. As Vice Chief of Staff of the Air Force, he presided over the Air Staff and served as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Requirements Oversight Council and Deputy Advisory Working Group during a period of intense challenge as the Budget Control Act required a \$480 billion reduction of the DOD budget. Accordingly, he led the organization, training, and equipping of over 690,000 people serving in the United States Air Force and provided oversight of its \$120 billion annual budget. As Assistant Chief of Staff for Air Operations, Plans and Requirements, he directed all Air Force operations across the globe, oversaw strategic and operational planning, and set the requirements for all Air Force procurement. He held a variety of additional assignments including command of a squadron, a group, three fighter wings, and a Numbered Air Force in service across three different continents. His extensive command and control experience in wartime, contingency, and humanitarian relief actions include operations in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

Mr. Breedlove earned his Bachelor of Civil Engineering degree from The Georgia Institute of Technology, a Master of Science in Aerospace Technology from Arizona State University, and a Master of Science in International Security Affairs from the National War College.



Christian Brose
HEAD OF STRATEGY
ANDURIL INDUSTRIES

Christian Brose is Head of Strategy at Anduril Industries, Senior Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and a member of the Aspen Strategy Group. From 2015-18, he was staff director of the Senate Armed Services Committee. In that capacity, he managed the Committee's professional staff in support of the Chairman and other majority members in overseeing all of the programs, policies, and resources of the Department of Defense, as well as confirming all of the Department's senior civilian and military leaders. He was also responsible for leading the production, negotiation, and passage of four National Defense Authorization Acts (FY16-19), which set policy and authorized spending for all U.S. national defense activities. From 2009-14, he served as senior policy adviser to Senator John McCain, supporting his work on the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. From 2008-09, he was senior editor of Foreign Policy magazine. Previously, he served as policy adviser and chief speechwriter to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, working as a member of the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff. He began his career in public service as a speechwriter for Secretary of State Colin Powell.

Mr. Brose studied political science at Kenyon College and international economics at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.



Jonathan Burks

**VICE PRESIDENT, GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICY
WALMART**

Jonathan Burks is a policy and political professional with two decades of experience at the highest levels of public service. He most recently served as the chief of staff to Speaker of the House Paul Ryan, where he managed a team of over 40 staff and served as the Speaker's principal adviser on policy, strategy, and management. Burks was promoted to chief of staff after having served as the Speaker's national security adviser where he was responsible for advising the Speaker on sensitive intelligence, defense, and foreign policy issues.

Prior to joining the Speaker's office, Burks advised Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell on budget and appropriations issues. Before going to the Senate, Burks served as policy director of the House Budget Committee, director of legislative affairs at the Securities and Exchange Commission, senior advisor to the Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs, and policy advisor in the transition office of the newly created Director of National Intelligence. Burks also served as the deputy policy director on the 2012 Romney for President campaign. Previously, he served four years at the White House, including two years as a special assistant to President George W. Bush and two years as a deputy assistant to Vice President Dick Cheney.

Mr. Burks has an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University and a B.S. from Georgetown University.



Lisa Disbrow

**SENIOR FELLOW
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY APPLIED PHYSICS LABORATORY**

Lisa Stephens Disbrow is the former United States Under Secretary of the Air Force. From January to May 2017, she served as the Acting Secretary of the Air Force until Heather Wilson assumed the office. Previously, Ms. Disbrow served as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Financial Management and Comptroller. From 1995 to 2014, she held a variety of positions on the Joint Staff as a senior civilian, including the Joint Staff Vice Director for Force Structure, Resources, and Assessment. While assigned to the Joint Staff, Ms. Disbrow was detailed to the president's National Security Advisor as the special advisor for policy implementation and execution at the White House, where

she assisted in planning and implementing the National Security Strategy.

Ms. Disbrow currently serves as a Director on the Boards of Mercury Systems, Perspecta, BlackBerry, and the Logistics Management Institute (LMI). She is a Senior Fellow at The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory and is the Chair of Mitre Corporation's U.S. Air Force Advisory Board.

Ms. Disbrow is a graduate of the University of Virginia, and she served as an officer in the United States Air Force from 1984 to 2008, primarily in the intelligence field. Following Operation Desert Storm, she left active service, continued to serve in the US Air Force Reserve, and contributed to the intelligence community both as a reserve officer and as a senior systems engineer for the National Reconnaissance Office.



Tina Jonas

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION**

Tina W. Jonas has served at the highest levels in both the government and commercial sectors and is a recognized expert in military, defense, and aerospace issues. Ms. Jonas is currently an independent consultant and serves on several boards, including the Aerospace Corporation, Serco, Arete, and Top Aces Corporation. She also serves on the executive committee of the National Defense Industrial Association, the United Services Organization (USO), and is chairman of the National Military Family Association.

Ms. Jonas served more than two decades in government and national security positions. She was Undersecretary of Defense (comptroller) for the Department of Defense from 2004 to 2008. Prior to that, she served as Assistant Director and Chief Financial Officer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Financial Management, and as a senior analyst with the Office of Management and Budget and the House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee. Her education includes executive studies at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and the University of Virginia's Darden School of Business. Ms. Jonas holds an M.A. in liberal studies from Georgetown University and a B.A. in political science from Arizona State University.



Paul Lettow

**DIRECTOR
ALEXANDER HAMILTON SOCIETY**

Paul Lettow served as the Senior Director for Strategic Planning on the National Security Council staff at the White House from 2007 to 2009. He has also served in the Department of State. Paul is the author of *Ronald Reagan and His Quest to Abolish Nuclear Weapons and Strengthening the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime*, as well as numerous articles. He serves on the Board of Directors of the Alexander Hamilton Society and the American Friends of Christ Church (Oxford), and on the Advisory Board of First Amendment Voice.

Dr. Lettow received his undergraduate degree in history from Princeton University, a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University (Christ Church), and a law degree from Harvard Law School.

CSBA COUNCIL



Vance Serchuk

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
KKR GLOBAL INSTITUTE

Vance Serchuk is the Executive Director of the KKR Global Institute, the geopolitical strategy unit of the international investment firm KKR. In this capacity, Vance works on a range of KKR investments, with a particular focus on defense, national security, and emerging markets. He currently serves on the board of Hensoldt Inc. Vance is also an adjunct senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security. Previously, he served as the senior national security advisor to Senator Joseph Lieberman and as a professional staff member on the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. In 2013, he lived in Japan as a Council on Foreign Relations-Hitachi International Affairs

Fellow and was a monthly columnist for the Washington Post. Vance's writings have also appeared in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic, National Review, and Politico.

Mr. Serchuk is a summa cum laude graduate of Princeton University, holds a JD from Yale Law School, and was a Fulbright scholar in the Russian Federation. He has served for the past 8 years as an officer in the U.S. Navy Reserve.



Mitchell Shivers

PRESIDENT
HUGHES+SHIVERS, LLC

Mitchell Shivers is a former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian & Pacific Security Affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (Policy). In that capacity, he was one of the Pentagon's top policy officials developing, implementing, and overseeing policy for the region. Mr. Shivers also served as Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense toward the end of the George W. Bush Administration. Previously, he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Central Asia (with policy responsibility for an area that included Afghanistan, Pakistan, and five former Soviet republics). From November 2004 to November 2005, Mr. Shivers was a Senior Advisor and the Economic Sector Chief of

the State Department's Afghanistan Reconstruction Group at the United States Embassy, Kabul, Afghanistan. As such, he was the principal American advisor on economics and finance to several American ambassadors to Afghanistan as well as to the Afghan government.

An international investment banker by profession, Mr. Shivers retired from Merrill Lynch as Managing Director and Head of Global Public Credit Origination in 2002 – then the industry's top team in that highly competitive field. Also at Merrill Lynch, Mr. Shivers played a key leadership role earlier in the global initial public offerings of Indonesia's first privatized state-owned enterprises – at the time the largest-ever IPOs to come out of non-Japan Asia. In his almost thirty years in financial services, Mr. Shivers held senior management posts in New York, Chicago, Singapore, Tokyo, London (twice), and Jakarta with Merrill Lynch as well as two British merchant banks, Samuel Montagu and Kleinwort Benson (where he was the first American member of the main board at each bank).

Mr. Shivers is a Distinguished Alumnus, Distinguished Business Alumnus, and former trustee of Monmouth University and attended New York University's Graduate School of Business.



Roger Zakheim

WASHINGTON DIRECTOR

RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION AND INSTITUTE

Prior to his appointment at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Institute, Mr. Zakheim practiced law at Covington & Burling LLP in the firm's Public Policy and Government Affairs practice group, where he served as co-chair. Before joining the firm, he was General Counsel and Deputy Staff Director of the U.S. House Armed Services Committee. In this role, Mr. Zakheim managed the passage of the annual National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) the annual defense policy bill that authorizes the Defense Department's \$600 billion budget. Mr. Zakheim is currently a Congressionally appointed Commissioner on the Commission on the National Defense Strategy of the

United States. Previously, Mr. Zakheim served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, where he managed the department's policies and programs related to the Iraq and Afghanistan coalition affairs.

Mr. Zakheim frequently speaks and writes on national security and defense issues. His views have appeared in the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Politico, National Public Radio, Fox News, CNN, BBC, The Weekly Standard, National Review, among other media outlets.

He received a B.A. from Columbia University, an M. Phil. from the University of Cambridge, and a JD from New York University School of Law.

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