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US-China national security relationship: A resource guide

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Abstract

The USA and China have had a complex relationship since the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China. This relationship has gone from hostility to guarded friendliness to increased tension at the beginning of the new millennium. Recent years have seen the emergence of literature stressing China's potential emergence as a national security threat to the USA. This article will look at books, government documents, and Internet resources examining the current and possible future national security relationship between these two countries from 1995/1996 to the present. This literature presents US and international perspectives representing a variety of viewpoints on a subject that may have a major impact on international relations during the twenty-first century.

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Introduction

The USA and China have had a tumultuous relationship since the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and its communist government. This relationship was marked by overt and covert hostility until President Richard Nixon's state visit to China in 1972 signified a dramatic thawing in the relationship between these countries (Mann, 1999). Besides achieving a thaw in bilateral Sino-US relations, Nixon's visit also produced the first of three documents that are the keystones of the relationship between these two countries.

The first of these documents (also known as communiques) saw both nations acknowledge differences in their social systems, agree to respect each other's national sovereignty, and work towards establishing full diplomatic relations. Where national security issues are concerned, the USA agreed to accept China's definition of Taiwan being part of "one China" and that the USA would ultimately withdraw its military forces from Taiwan in order to facilitate a peaceful solution to the political disputes between the PRC and Taiwan (US National Archives and Records Administration, 1972).

Nixon's visit initiated the limited exchange of diplomatic personnel between the two countries and resulted in modest levels of bilateral cooperation during the Nixon and Ford administrations and the initial years of the Carter administration. The growing political and military power of the Soviet Union during the 1970s caused many of the USA's key foreign and national security policymakers to view China as a possible geopolitical counterforce to the Soviets. Negotiations to achieve full diplomatic relations with China were begun during the early years of the Carter administration and culminated with the establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors in 1979 (Mann, 1999).

Establishing Sino-US diplomatic relations resulted in the creation of a second communique between the two countries. Within this document, the USA acknowledged the PRC as China's sole legal government and agreed to end official diplomatic relations with Taiwan while maintaining unofficial diplomatic and other relations with Taiwan. The USA also reaffirmed China's position that there is only one China and that Taiwan is part of China,

that neither the USA nor China should seek hegemony in the Asia- Pacific region, and that both of them opposed efforts by any other country or groups of countries to establish such regional dominance (US National Archives and Records Administration, 1978).

This establishment of diplomatic relations and its perceived abandonment of Taiwan created acute concern in Congress and led to the 1979 passage of the Taiwan Relations Act. This legislation provided for continuing US weapons sales to Taiwan to enable it to defend itself and an implicit assurance that the USA would not permit a hostile external force to endanger Taiwan's security or existing socio-political system (*United States Statistics at Large*, n.d.).

Chinese concern over the perceived implications of the Taiwan Relations Act led to further negotiations between China and the USA and culminated in the issuance of a third communique in 1982. In this document, the USA again stated its adherence to there being only one China, stated its desire to not interfere in Chinese "internal affairs", and agreed to reduce and eventually end arms sales to Taiwan (US National Archives and Records Administration, 1982).

This communique and mutual concern over Soviet military power would lead to closer security cooperation between the USA and China and give the USA the opportunity to sell weapons to China. Throughout the 1980s national security ties between these two countries increased in the form of military to military contacts and visits between national security policymakers. In 1984 US Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger signed a military technology cooperation agreement with his Chinese counterpart and President Reagan declared China eligible to purchase US military materials in cash (US Department of Defense, 1997). US military sales to China totaled \$210 million between 1985-1989 which, although lagging behind Soviet arms sales to China, represented an important indication of the increasing security cooperation between China and the USA during this time period (US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1991).

This increasing level of Sino-US national security cooperation was not to last. The June 1989 massacre of pro-democracy students in Beijing's Tianamien Square by Chinese security

forces caused a downturn in Sino-US relations that still affects the relationship between these countries. The USA suspended arms sales to China and military-to-military contacts were also suspended temporarily (Mann, 1999).

Additional issues such as China's human rights conditions and practices, use of prison labor, arms and missile exports to the volatile Middle East and elsewhere, a growing Chinese trade surplus with the USA, and controversy over whether China should receive most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status helped complicate the overall Sino-US relationship during the 1990s, along with enduring outrage over Tianamien Square (Shambaugh and Robinson, 1994).

Taiwan resurfaced as an additional exacerbating irritant to Sino-US relations during the 1990s. In May 1995, the USA granted a visa to Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui to attend his class reunion at Cornell University and give a speech at Cornell's spring graduation. China's reaction to this was extreme displeasure which manifested itself several months later in the form of military exercises in the Taiwan Strait that included live fire missile exercises in March 1996. The USA responded by sending two aircraft carrier groups to the region to deter possible Chinese assaults against Taiwan (Garver, 1997).

Further complications in Sino-US national security relations occurred in 1999 when a series of government reports revealed extensive Chinese espionage at US Department of Energy (DOE) laboratories, resulting in the transfer of significant quantities of sensitive information to China, including nuclear weapons design data and satellite launch technology (US Congress, House Select Committee on Military/ Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China, 1999; US President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, 1999).

Chinese belligerence toward Taiwan, revelations of espionage at DOE facilities, concern over the intent of Chinese national security policy, and congressional dissatisfaction with the Clinton administration's China policies would be reflected in legislation during the late 1990s that sought to take a more critical look at the Sino-US national security relationship. In 1996 Congress passed legislation prohibiting federal funding of

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nuclear weapons programs activity with China and required the Secretaries of Energy and Defense to prepare a report describing all discussions and activities involving nuclear weapons between the USA and China (*United States Statutes at Large*, n.d.).

In 1998 the passage of additional legislation affecting the national security relationship between these two countries was introduced. One law required the Secretary of Defense to determine what individuals and corporations operating in the USA are Chinese military companies and to publish a list of these in the Federal Register (*United States Statutes at Large* n.d.). Another law prohibited the US military from entering in or renewing contracts with companies owned or partially owned by the Chinese military (*United States Statutes at Large*, n.d.).

Further indication of growing congressional displeasure with China was demonstrated in 1999 with introduction of legislation known as the "Taiwan Security Enhancement Act". This legislation called for training Taiwanese military officers in the USA, ensuring that Taiwan had full and timely access to available US weapons, and establishing direct and secure communication links between US and Taiwanese military forces (US Congress, House Committee on International Relations, 1999). Although this legislation did not pass during this congressional session, its introduction demonstrates the severity with which many members of Congress were viewing Chinese national security policies.

The 2000 National Defense Authorization Act saw Congress enact a number of additional measures pertaining to China's military. These included establishing a Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs within the National Defense University's Institute of National Strategic Studies to increase knowledge about China's military. Additional measures in this legislation included prohibiting military exchanges with China if such contact would create a national security risk due to Chinese military personnel being exposed to various kinds of sensitive US military information, requiring the Secretary of Defense to prepare an annual report to Congress on the current and future strategies of China's military, and a declaration that the USA should reexamine its policy permitting Chinese launching of

commercial US satellites (*United States Statutes at Large*, n.d.).

These events and the April 2001 incident involving a US Navy reconnaissance plane and Chinese jet fighters demonstrate that the Sino-US national security relationship is complex and multifaceted and likely to become more important and challenging in the years to come. Whether China and the USA are destined to become hostile geopolitical rivals is an open question and, arguably, the most important foreign policy and national security issue facing both of these countries and the international community in the early years of the twenty-first century.

The nature of this relationship, its future direction, and ultimate result is the subject of a vast and growing body of literature and debate reflecting a variety of opinions. This literature is produced by government agencies, military services, political figures, think tanks, and in a variety of scholarly and popular works. Interest in this subject is not confined to China or the USA due to its potential to affect global trade, economics, politics, diplomacy, and international security.

Topics addressed in this literature include the organizational structure of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA), nuclear proliferation, Taiwanese responses to Chinese policies, ballistic missiles and ballistic missile defense, the value of military-to-military contacts between China and the USA, the South China Sea serving as a potential source of military conflict, satellite technology, and information warfare. Information on this subject can be found in a variety of Websites as well as in print format and give interested students and scholars examples of the diverse opinions held on this complicated and increasingly important public policy issue.

Books

Bernstein, R. and Munro, R.H. *The Coming Conflict With China* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, NY (1997), ISBN 0-679-45463-2, 245 pp.

This book argues that Sino-US competition will become the major global rivalry in the opening

decades of the twenty-first century. This rivalry will occur due to Chinese desires to dominate Asia and by the US long-standing policy of preventing a single country from dominating that region (pp. 4-5). Contents of this work include recent verbal and policy demonstrations of Chinese hostility toward the USA, the impact of the 1991 Persian Gulf war on Chinese military thinking and policy, criticism of the Clinton administration's China policies which the authors see as being inconsistent, and US corporate support for increased and liberalized trade with China.

Other topics receiving coverage include commercial activities by China's military, Beijing's hostility toward Taiwan, China's attempts to weaken US-Japan military ties, possible scenarios for Sino-US military conflict, and recommendations for US policies toward China in areas such as national security, trade, and human rights.

Bracken, P. Fire in the East: The Rise of Asian Military Power and the Second Nuclear Age, Perennial, New York, NY, (1999), ISBN 0-06-019344-1, 186 pp.

This work notes that the 1998 Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests mark the emergence of Asia as a central focus of world strategic emphasis. Where China is concerned, Bracken sees its test firing of missiles at Taiwan in 1996 as a signal of Chinese willingness to take a more robust position in its relationship with that country and China's desire to achieve reunification with Taiwan. Fire in the East also focuses on how ballistic missiles, growing information technology sophistication among Asian nations, emerging Chinese and Asian nationalism, and the increased willingness and ability of Asian nations to use force to achieve national objectives. The cumulative affect of these trends will, in Bracken's assessment, make Asia a more politically contentious and military dangerous region for the USA and the international community.

Brown, M.E., Cote, O.R., Lynn-Jones, S.M. and Miller, S.E. (Eds), *The Rise of China*, An International Security Reader, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA (2000), ISBN: 0-262-52276-4 This compilation of essays is reproduced from articles appearing in the journal *International*

Security between 1996-1999 on China's growing military influence and possible US responses to this development. Essays are grouped into three themes covering China's capabilities and intentions, China and Asia-Pacific security, policy choices to take toward China.

Within these parameters, these chapters discuss ways to interpret China's arrival as a important player on the East Asian and international geopolitical stages, China's claims on the Diaoyu Islands in the East China sea against Taiwanese and Japanese claims on these islands, China's efforts to develop a modern air force, and how China's military views the world. Subsequent chapters address how China views the US-Japan alliance and its implications for its regional security interests, whether containment or engagement is the best US posture toward China, and how East Asian other countries believe China should be dealt with.

A bibliography of selected books and articles concludes this work.

Burles, M. and Shulsky, A.N., *Patterns in China's Use of Force: Evidence from History and Doctrinal Writings*, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, (2000), ISBN: 0-8330-24804-9, 106 pp.

Analyzes historical and contemporary use of military force by the People's Republic of China (PRC) as an instrument of governmental policy. Chapter contents focus on patterns in the PRC's use of military force, overall Chinese national military strategy, possible future uses of Chinese military force, local war under high technology conditions, application of Chinese military doctrine and strategy to US forces, and a supplemental note on Chinese strategic culture. Within these parameters, particular attention is placed on the role of surprise, psychological-political shock and opportunistic timing in Chinese military doctrine, the increasing emphasis the Chinese place on hightech warfare, potential Chinese uses of force against weaker and stronger military powers, Chinese assessments of US military vulnerabilities, and possible responses China might take to exploit such weaknesses. The appendix stresses similarities and differences in the military theories of Sun Zi and Carl von Clausewitz as applied to current Chinese military thought.

Garver, J.W., Face Off: China, the United States, and Taiwan's Democratization, University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA (1997), ISBN: 0-295-97617-9, 193 pp.

This succinct study covers the March 1996 crisis involving the USA, China, and Taiwan. Key events in this drama were Taiwan's first genuinely democratic presidential election, China's test firing missiles in the Taiwan Strait in an attempt to intimidate Taiwan, and the USA's deployment of two aircraft carrier battle groups near Taiwan to deter potential Chinese aggression.

Issues covered within this volume include China's concerns that Taiwan was coming closer to declaring itself an independent nation, Chinese objections to the USA Taiwan policy, China's heated reaction to the US 1995 decision to grant a visa for a personal visit to Taiwanese President Lee Teng-Hui, Chinese military exercises and the US response, whether China was surprised by the US response, how China might use its nuclear missiles to coerce Taiwan, international reactions to the confrontation, and assessing the costs and gains of China's actions during this crisis.

Gertz, B., *The China Threat: How the People's Republic Targets America*, Regnery Publishing, Inc., Washington, DC, (2000), ISBN: 0-89526-281-9, 280 pp.

Gertz, a Washington Times reporter, argues that China is targeting the USA as its principal enemy. He argues that China has used American technology to strengthen its conventional and nuclear forces and that such technology has been acquired through open commercial transactions, espionage, and liberalization of US export regulations.

His work also contends that China has sought to influence the American political process through political donations to the 1996 Clinton-Gore campaign, the Democratic National Committee, and cultivating tacit support for China's positions among selected Republicans. Other areas of emphasis include Chinese acquisition of business interests near the Panama Canal eventually threatening US access to the waterway, the growing international influence of Chinese arms sales, and nuclear weapons proliferation. Concluding

chapters feature US policy responses the author recommends such as developing a strategic plan to deal with China, strengthening alliances with other Asian countries, and creating a prodemocracy Pacific community. An appendix of government documents obtained by Freedom of Information Act requests concludes this work.

Khalizad, Z.M., Shulsky, A.N., Byman, D.L., Orletsky, D.T., Shlapak, D. and Tellis, A.J., *The United States and a Rising China: Strategic and Military Implications*, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA (2000), ISBN: 0-8330-2751-4, 111 pp.

This work provides a succinct overview and analysis of issues the USA will need to face in dealing with China's increasing international power.

Following the introduction, the authors cover how Chinese national security behavior may be determined by factors such as sovereignty concerns, regime maintenance, and protecting ethnic Chinese populations and business interests in other countries when threats to these populations and interests may occur.

Later chapters address the role played by domestic production and foreign purchases in China's military modernization and possible US policy options in response to this modernization. Examples of potential US responses include assessment of containment and engagement toward China as foreign policy responses and implications for the US military if China pursues more aggressive foreign and national security policies.

Lampton, D.M., Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing US-China Relations, 1989-2000, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA (2000), ISBN: 0-520-21590-7, 510 pp.

This presentation of Sino-US relations illustrates the upheavals in the relationship between these two countries and how both nations have had difficulty communicating with each other and managing their relationship, despite being drawn closer to each other by globalization and through interaction in various international relations venues. Lampton's work is divided into four sections, covering key points in the bilateral relationship, how Sino-US relations affect international relations, how the

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mass media influences popular perceptions of these countries, and the role of individuals in affecting bilateral relationships. Coverage is also given to national security issues and how economics and human rights contribute to the perceptions each country has toward the other.

Lilley, J.P. and Shambaugh, D. (Eds), *China's Military Faces the Future* (Studies on Contemporary China), American Enterprise Institute and M.E. Sharpe, Washington, DC, and Armonk, NY, China (1999), ISBN: 0-7656-0506-6, paperback, 356 pp.

This compilation of scholarly essays presents a variety of perspectives on how China's military forces may confront issues in areas such as national security crises, personnel management, and logistics. Essays are arranged into four different themes focusing on the military's upper echelon leadership, doctrine, strategy, and weapons, the military support base, and China's northeast Asian security environment. Within these themes, chapters cover topics such as China's military leadership after the death of former Premier Deng Xiaoping, foreign arms acquisition and PLA modernization, the intentions and capabilities of Chinese defense procurement spending, reforming military logistics in an era of market economics and high technology warfare, and how scientific and technological revolution may affect the twentyfirst century PLA. Concluding chapters stress Chinese military strategy for the Korean Peninsula, strains and ties between China and North Korea, and Chinese military strategy toward Japan.

US Government documents and Internet resources

Anderson, W.A., "Overcoming uncertainty: US-China strategic relations in the 21st Century", United States Air Force Academy, Institute for National Strategic Studies, Colorado Springs, CO, INSS Occasional Paper 29 (1999), 32 pp., Internet access: http://www.usafa.mil/inss/ocp29.htm

Anderson presents an overview and analysis of key issues affecting the strategic relationship between the USA and China. Topics addressed include an appraisal of current problems in the strategic relationship between these two countries such as incompatible national goals, the failure to establish an effective post-Cold War strategic relationship, and adhering to outmoded formulas established in the 1970s by Zhou Enlai and Richard Nixon which sought to emphasize convergent interests and set aside fundamental differences (p. 5).

Other topics receiving attention include the author's advocacy of what he sees as a balanced long-term approach to US-China strategic relations, maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, maintaining freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, preserving East Asian regional stability, and Chinese and American perceptions of their military relationship. Concluding recommendations are presented for improving and stabilizing military relations with China. Examples of these include shifting from "hedging" to "vigilant engagement" as the best US strategic posture toward China, strengthening and sustaining a US-China-Japan security dialogue forum, removing or waiving sanctions from the Tianamen era, and extending professional military education opportunities to PLA officers (pp. 29-31).

Binnendijk, H. and Montaperto, R.N. (Eds), *Strategic Trends in China*, US National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, Washington, DC (1998), 140 pp., SuDocs no: D 5.402:C 44/3. Item: 0378-H-01, ISBN: 1-57906-011-0.

This compendium of scholarly essays addresses strategic issues facing China at the approach of the new millenium. It opens with an executive summary and recommendations which include the need for the USA and China to establish bilateral regional conflict management mechanisms, having a US diplomatic envoy for China-Taiwan relations, the US Navy supporting freedom of navigation in the South China Sea by making regular transits through its waters, and preventing the formation of a Sino-Russian alliance against the USA by giving both countries incentives to increase their ties with Western nations

(pp. 2-3).

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Work contents proceed to cover topics such as China's economic prospects, political system, defense policy and posture, nuclear issues, Taiwan, and the South China Sea. Subsequent essays cover China's relations with Russia and Northeast Asia and the need for the USA's China policies to be based on overall national interests instead of on individual issues such as human rights or trade.

Dumbaugh, K., *China-US relations*, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, (2001), 16 pp.

This Congressional Research Service issue brief describes recent developments in Sino-US relations. It opens with an overview of recent events affecting this relationship such as the US 16 February 2001 bombing of Iraqi radar sites due to concerns that these sites had received Chinese technical assistance in improving their ability to achieve better coordination between Iraqi radar and anti-aircraft missiles.

Other aspects of the Sino-US national security relationship receiving coverage include China's 2000 national defense White Paper, allegations that China had acquired sensitive US satellite technology, and similar allegations of Chinese espionage at US Department of Energy laboratories. Report contents also cover facets of Sino-US relations such as trade relations, China's crackdown against the Falun Gong religious group, Chinese prisons and prison labor, family planning and coercive abortion, religious freedom, and contentious regional security issues such as Taiwan and Tibet.

Gauthier, K.L., "China as peer competitor?: trends in nuclear weapons, space, and information warfare", Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Maxwell Paper No. 18 (1999), 39 pp., Internet Access: http://research.maxwell.af.mil/Papers/max-pap/mp18.pdf>

This paper analyzes China's potential for becoming a peer competitor to the USA in coming decades by examining China's status as a nuclear weapons state and space power as well as its growing focus on information warfare. Gauthier focuses on the historical and contemporary development of Chinese nuclear forces and nuclear strategic doctrine. Her work

goes on to describe the development of China's space program and the role played in this program by satellite launchers, satellites, its space industry's launch infrastructure, the importance of commercial launch services, and technology transfer issues. Additional coverage is given to Chinese views on information war and how the US performance in Operation Desert Storm strongly influenced Chinese strategic thinking (pp. 18-19). This intellectual shift is reflected in the increasing Chinese emphasis on using information warfare to defeat technologically superior adversaries. Gauthier concludes that China has the potential to become the US peer competitor in these areas due to a narrowing of US military advantages in nuclear weapons, space power, and information warfare, that a collision of interests between these two countries is inevitable, and that the USA must not mishandle its relationship with China (pp. 29, 31).

Jian, C., The China Challenge in the Twenty-First Century: Implications for US Foreign Policy,
United States Institute of Peace, Washington,
DC, (1998), 29 pp., (#21 Peaceworks Series).
SuDocs no: Y 3.P 31: 19/NO. 21. Item: 1063K-11., Internet access: http://www.usip.org/pubs/pworks/chen21/chenpwk21.html

The author believes that China will pose a major challenge instead of a threat for US foreign and national security policymakers in the foreseeable future. He provides a historical review of the PRC as a revolutionary power and presents Chinese perspectives on issues such as transforming the communist state, identifying China's place in the world, pursuing economic reforms, and promoting political democratization. Issues also receiving coverage include what the author sees as effective US strategies toward China in areas such as Taiwan, human rights, Hong Kong, bilateral trade, and arms control.

Kan, S.A., Bolkcom, C. and O'Rourke, R., China's Foreign Conventional Arms Acquisitions: Background and Analysis, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, (2000), 72 pp.

Report examining major Chinese military acquisition of foreign conventional weapons

and the possible implications such purchases may have on US security interests. Coverage begins with an overview of congressional concerns about such Chinese activities during the 1990s.

Subsequent chapters deal with China's major foreign weapons system purchases and assessments of Chinese air and naval acquisitions. Within these chapters, analysis is presented of Chinese weapon systems purchases such as MI-17 helicopters and SU-27 fighter planes from the former Soviet Union and Russia, descriptions of air-to-air and surface-to-air missile purchases, and Chinese submarine purchases and comparison of Chinese submarines with Western naval submarines.

Material accompanied by numerous tables covering topics such as China's ranking among international arms purchaser and a glossary of relevant military acronyms combine to make this a valuable reference for those desiring indepth exploration of this subject.

Kan, S.A., China's Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Current Policy Issues, Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC (2001), 16 pp.

China's arms sales, including the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of using these weapons such as ballistic missiles, to countries as diverse as Pakistan, Iran, and North Korea are a major problem in Sino-US relations. This report opens by covering China's ambiguous adherence to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), Nuclear Nonproliferation Treatry (NPT), and other international agreements on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It proceeds to describe how China has sold nuclear technology such as ring magnets, diagnostic equipment, and missile technology to Pakistan, provided Iran with uranium enrichment technology and anti-ship cruise missiles, and other related weapons technology sales to North Korea, Libya, and Syria.

A second section presents policy issues and options for the USA covering areas such as trade controls including US import and export controls, along with multilateral export controls, strengthening international non-

proliferation agreements, and linking international financial loans to China to that nation's non-proliferation record.

US Congress, House Committee on Armed Services, *China's Strategic Intentions and Goals*, GPO, Washington, DC, (2000), 128 pp. SuDocs no. Y 4.AR 5/2A:999-2000/53, item: 1012-C-01.

A hearing on 21 June 2000 sought to examine China's strategic interests and its national security goals, with particular emphasis on those goals as applied to the USA. Witnesses testifying before the committee included Michael McDevitt, a retired navy rear admiral and director of the Center for Strategic Studies Center for Naval Analysis, Michael Pillsbury of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at National Defense University, University of Pennsylvania International Relations professor Arthur Waldron, and Heritage Foundation Asian Studies Center director Larry Worzel. Committee members involved in questioning these witnesses included committee chair Rep. Floyd Spence (R-SC) and ranking member Rep. Ike Skelton (D-MO).

US Congress, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Report on Impacts to US National Security of Advanced Satellite Technology Exports to the People's Republic of China (PRC), and Report on PRC Efforts to Influence US Policy, GPO, Washington, DC, 31 pp., SuDocs no: Y 4.IN 8/19:S.PRT. 106-25/CORR. Item: 1009-B-07.

This report examines the impact of US satellite technology exports to China and Chinese efforts to influence US political processes. It covers the extent that US export control policies since 1988, which permit the launching of US manufactured communication satellites in China, have affected US national security. Additional topics covered under this subject include whether technical information transmitted during this activity improved China's domestic launch industry and ballistic missiles. Report contents include recommendations on improving the USA's satellite technology safeguards monitoring program, the quality of State Department licensing procedures, and calling for annual intelligence assessments of Chinese efforts to

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acquire sensitive US technology and technological information.

Additional recommendations are also presented on monitoring possible Chinese attempts to influence the US political process; including better information sharing between the FBI and CIA and clarification on whether federal election law prohibits all foreign political contributions to US politicians regardless of the intent of such contributions.

US Department of Defense, Annual Report on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China, US Department of Defense, Washington (2000), DC, 22 pp., http://www.defenselink.mil/news/June2000/china06222000.htm

This report is submitted to Congress by the Secretary of Defense in adherence to Section 1202 of the 2000 National Defense Authorization Act. It presents a Defense Department analysis of what it sees as China's current and potential future military strategies. It opens with coverage of Chinese grand strategy which includes how the PRC interprets national power, Chinese security strategy with particular emphasis on Taiwan and Tibet, and Chinese military strategy, including an emphasis on creating a better-educated and technologically skilled military force in officer and enlisted ranks.

A second section of the report stresses developments in Chinese military doctrine. These include working to incorporate attributes of the "revolution in military affairs" which focus on developing technologies and tactics necessary to conduct high speed and technology warfare.

Other areas addressed within this section include Chinese attempts to obtain self-sufficiency in defense technology and production, achieving improvements in China's automated command, control, and information systems technologies, enhancing electronic warfare capabilities, and augmenting space launch resources.

The third and final section looks at the Taiwan Strait security situation. Issues receiving assessment here include Chinese missile forces, air, naval, and ground forces, China's capacity for preemptive strikes against Taiwan, Taiwan's ability to sustain military operations against integrated Chinese assaults,

and an overall appraisal of the balance of force between these two sides.

US Department of Defense, Executive Summary of Report to Congress on Implementation of the Taiwan Relations Act, US Department of Defense, Washington, DC (2000) http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/twstrait_12182000. html>

This is an unclassified summary of a congressionally required report on US efforts to comply with the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act and contains information on the military balance between the PRC and Taiwan. Summary report contents include coverage of US military assistance to and contacts with Taiwan, definitions of the military balance between these two countries, scenarios for possible Chinese operations against Taiwan, and ongoing and possible future trends in the Chinese and Taiwanese militaries. The report concludes by stressing areas where more information is needed by US policymakers, such as how military policymakers in China and Taiwan view their security situation, their approaches to using military force, their perceived vulnerabilities, their command and control capabilities, and how each side views emerging warfare practices such as using ballistic missiles and information warfare.

US General Accounting Office, Export Controls: Better Interagency Coordination Needed on Satellite Exports, US General Accounting Office, Washington, DC (1999), 56 pp., SuDocs no: GA 1.13:NSIAD-99-182. Item: 0546-D.

US governmental responsibility for overseeing and administering controls on the export of technologically sensitive items involves the US Departments of Commerce, Defense, and State. This report looks at licensing procedures on the export of satellite launchers to China, Russia, and Ukraine and whether unauthorized technological transfers occurred in these transactions. It provides background information on US export licensing policies and communication satellite transfers. Report findings reveal that sensitive technology was transferred in three cases with two of these transfers raising concerns about their impact on national security (p. 3).

Appendices include listings of possible export control violations reviewed in this report, and comments on report findings from the Commerce and State Departments.

US National Defense University. Institute for National Strategic Studies. The Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs, http://www.ndu.edu/inss/China_Center/,

This organization was created by Congress in the 2000 Defense Department appropriations bill to study the Chinese military. Its site contains conference information, the texts of reports on China's military, and links to related resources. Examples of reports featured on this site include China's Aviation Capabilities; PLA Strategy and Doctrine: Recommendations for a Future Research Agenda; Dragons in Orbit?: Analyzing the Chinese Approach to Space; Procurement and the Defense Industrial Base; and Thoughts and Questions about PLA Ground Forces.

Internet resources

Taiwan – from flashpoint to redefining one China", Klintworth, G., Research Paper No. 15 (2000), 2000-01, 47 pp., http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/rp/2000-01/01RP15.pdf
This analysis presents an Australian perspective on the antagonism between China and Taiwan,

Australia. Parliamentary Library, "China and

on the antagonism between China and Taiwan, US interests in Taiwan, and possible implications this issue may have for Australia. A particular focus of this paper is on what the author sees as how China and Taiwan define the phrase "One China" in descriptions of their relationship.

It opens with a historical overview of the relationship between Taiwan and China since the 1949 establishment of the PRC. It proceeds to cover the role China played during its 1995-1996 missile crisis with Taiwan, military, diplomatic, and economic constraints on possible Chinese military action against Taiwan, the significance of Chen Shui-bian's 2000 election as Taiwan's president, common Chinese-Taiwanese interests, whether war is possible between these two countries, and possible Australian diplomatic influence in building greater trust and confidence between China and Taiwan.

The work concludes with a listing of Chinese international trade statistics and a comparison of Chinese and Taiwanese military force strength.

Canada. Canadian Security Intelligence Service, "Potential for domestic instability in the People's Republic of China in the mediumterm (2001-2006)", Szony, M. (2000), Commentary No. 79,

<http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/comment/com79_e.html>

This assessment for Canada's foreign intelligence agency seeks to evaluate the potential for domestic instability in China. Looking at conditions in contemporary China, the author sees reasons for concern. These include recent economic growth being restricted to urban areas while rural areas have lagged behind, immigration from rural to urban areas which has increased unemployment, privatization of inefficient state-owned industries which has also increased unemployment, and continuing economic ineffifciency in industrial goods and agriculture at a time when barriers to foreign entry of these goods into China are being lowered in anticipation of China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Additional issues which may pose internal security challenges to China's current governmental regime include anti-government protests in selected regions, the growth of the Falun Gong religious movement, and ethnic unrest in Tibet and by Moslem Uighur separatists. These forces also occur against the backdrop of a potential national leadership change in 2002 at the Sixteenth Central Committee meeting of the Chinese Communist Party. Another complicating factor for China's government may be the temptation to divert public attention from these domestic problems with an invasion of Taiwan. The report concludes by contending that the likelihood of serious political instability between 2001-2006 is low, although many of these problems are likely to experience continued deterioration. It also argues that in the event of Chinese military action against Taiwan, the resulting instability would dramatically affect Canadian trade and investment and Canada would feel pressured to support American responses, including military action.

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Chao, L. and Myers, Ramon H., "The divided China problem: conflict avoidance and resolution", Essays in Public Policy, The Hoover Institution, Palo Alto, CA (2000) http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/publications/epp/101/101a.html

This essay covers the division between Taiwan and China and how this division has become, and remains, the most serious irritant in Sino-US relations. Its contents include coverage of how different regimes developed after 1949 on the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan, a history of relations and contact between the PRC and Taiwan, the collapse of a "detente" between the two countries in the middle 1990s, and the emergence of multiparty democracy in Taiwan at this time. The treatise concludes with recommendations for peaceful resolution of this issue such as improved telecommunication links between these two countries and that the US extend military support to Taiwan only if it negotiates with the PRC under the principle of there being just "one China" in the international political arena.

Monterey Institute of International Studies

Center for Nonproliferation Studies, "China's opposition to US missile defense programs", Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey, CA (2000), http://cns.miis.edu/cns/projects/eanp/fact/chinamd.htm

Presented as part of this organization's concern with stopping nuclear proliferation, this paper presents an overview of Chinese opposition to US theater missile defense programs involving Taiwan and Japan. Reasons cited for this opposition include China's concerns that such programs would increase Taiwan's selfconfidence, lead to Taiwanese calls for independence, represent the first step toward creating a US-Taiwan military alliance, represent a qualitiative upgrading of the US-Japan alliance, and spark an Asian arms race between China and Japan. Other components of this report cover China's diplomatic efforts to counter theater missile defense and present information on China's indigenous missile defense capabilities.

People's Republic of China, State Council, Chinese Defense White Paper: China's National

Defense in 2000, Internet access through US National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, Center for the Study of the Chinese Military (2000) http:// www.ndu.edu/inss/China_ Center.Chinaart4.htm> This document represents an authoritative statement of Chinese national defense policy. It begins with an overview of China's national security situation focusing on what it sees as positive and negative developments in this area with polemical rhetoric against Taiwan being its chief focus of complaint. It describes the components of PRC national defense policy which it claims is "defensive in nature" and which places a strong emphasis on self-reliance. Subsequent White Paper components cover armed forces structure and organization, military mobilization and education, defense spending figures comparing China's military spending with countries such as the USA, France, and Japan, frontier defense policy, the military legal system, and recent force reductions. Other contents stress the continuing importance of ideological work among armed forces personnel, military training, logistics, weapons, China's involvement in international security cooperation exchange programs, and its position on various arms control and disarmament issues, including opposition to ballistic missile defense systems such as those proposed by the USA.

Republic of China, Mainland Affairs Council, "Taipei Views Beijing's Defense White Paper (1998)", http://www.mac.gov.tw/english/MacPolicy/policy13/wpapere.htm

Report produced by the Taiwanese government agency responsible for Taiwan's China policies. This analysis of a defense White Paper published in 1998 by the Chinese government covers what it sees as the principal points of that document and their relevance to Taiwan. The Taiwanese note the White Paper's coverage of military law, international military cooperation, arms control and disarmament, but criticize its lack of military transparency. Taiwanese criticisms also cover whether published PRC defense spending includes research and development, a billion dollar purchase of Russian jet fighters, and noting that the growth

in China's defense spending is greater than its inflation rate. Additional Taiwanese arguments against the White Paper include reference to continued US criticisms of Chinese missile sales to Iran after China promised to end such sales, 1997 Chinese arms purchases, and not including the transfer of PLA soldiers to the "People's Armed Police" in its military personnel figures.

White, L.T., "Taiwan's China problem: after a decade or two, can there be a solution?", Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, SAIS Policy Forum, (1998), Report Number Six, 43 pp., http://www.sais-jhu.edu/pubs/policyforum/white.pdf>

This paper analyzes US policy toward China as applied to China's relations with Taiwan. It begins by presenting various premises concerning China's future international power, its relationships with large democracies, the future continuity of China's claims to Taiwan, and that the USA will not abandon Taiwan to an undemocratic political solution. Other issues receiving review include a synopsis of negotiations over the Taiwan Strait and factors influencing cross-strait relationships such the military strength of Taiwan and China and Chinese and native Taiwanese ethnic identity in Taiwan.

Concluding sections incorporate the author's policy recommendations, such as the USA maintaining offshore military strength in the area, political engagement between the USA, China, and Taiwan, and the need for Taiwan and Beijing to have a cross-strait truce to prevent military conflict.

Xinbo, W., "US security policy in Asia: implications for China-US relations", The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC (2000), http://www.brookings.org/fp/cnaps/papers/2000_wu.htm

This paper opens by observing that human rights, trade, and security have been the most important factors in Sino-US relations but that security issues have become the most important in this relationship since the mid-1990s. The author, an international politics professor at Shanghai's Fudan University, believes that the USA is mistaken in its belief that China's long-

term foreign policy objectives include being an Asian regional hegemon (p. 1). He goes on to explain his belief that China and the USA hold differing perceptions on national and regional security issues in the ways both sides view security alliances, view unilateral and mutual security and adhere to divergent attitudes on military security and comprehensive security which includes political and economic relations.

Other issues addressed by the author include his assessment of how the USA affects China's security interests through its policies toward

Japan, the Korean peninsula, South Asia, and Taiwan. His assessment concludes with policy recommendations including advocating US pressure on Taiwan to negotiate reunification with China, establishing an Asia-Pacific security community, freezing the US ballistic missile defense program while promoting arms control in Northeast Asia, and China making efforts to promote regional security confidence building.

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