

RECOMMENDATIONS

China's Military Modernization

- The Commission recommends that Congress direct the Administration to engage in a strategic dialogue with China on the importance of space surveillance, the military use of space, and space weapons. Such a dialogue should include strategic warning and verification measures.
- The Commission recommends that Congress instruct the Director of National Intelligence, working with the Department of Defense, to formulate and establish a more effective program for assessing the nature, extent, and strategic and tactical implications of China's military modernization and development.
- The Commission recommends that Congress require the Department of Defense to include in its annual report to Congress on China's military power an assessment of U.S. weapons systems, force structure, basing, doctrine, and tactics in order to maintain a favorable balance of military power in the region and to ensure U.S. forces will prevail as rapidly and effectively as possible in the event of a conflict with the Chinese military over Taiwan or other interests in the Asia-Pacific region.

U.S. Export Controls

- The Commission recommends that Congress enact a new Export Administration Act to clarify U.S. export control policy and the U.S. approach to multilateral export control regimes. The new legislation should take into account new and emerging national security threats, unique U.S. technological advances, and global trade developments since the expired Export Administration Act was enacted in 1979. It also should establish strengthened penalties against violators.

- The Commission further recommends that Congress encourage the Administration, as it reviews U.S. export controls aimed at China, to engage in substantive discussions with U.S. companies and business groups with the objective of avoiding the imposition of unnecessary export burdens that do not appreciably enhance U.S. security interests.
- The Commission recommends that Congress urge the Administration to engage in more vigorous diplomatic activity at high levels in order to obtain multilateral cooperation necessary for effective global export controls.
- The Commission recommends that Congress provide adequate funding to support an increase in the number of initial and periodic follow-up end-use/end-user verification visits for exports licensed to China and Hong Kong. This should include increasing the number of qualified, Mandarin-speaking export control officers stationed in China and Hong Kong.
- The Commission recommends that Congress encourage the Administration to discuss with key allies the establishment of a multilateral arrangement to ensure post-shipment verification of the status of certain sensitive technologies exported to China.

Military Balance Across the Taiwan Strait

- The Commission recommends that Congress urge the Administration to encourage Taiwan's Legislative Yuan to approve the purchase of the remaining components of the arms package offered by the United States in April 2001, or alternative systems that will enhance Taiwan's defense capability, and that additional arms requests from Taiwan be considered by the U.S. government on their merits.

Protection of Government Computers from Espionage

- The Commission recommends that Congress examine the federal procurement process to ensure that all agencies consider security measures when purchasing computers.

ENDNOTES

1. U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, (Washington, DC: February 6, 2006), p. 29.

2. U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, (Washington, DC: February 6, 2006), p. 29. Assistant Secretary of Defense Peter Rodman explained to the Commission that China's modernization effort "has implications not only for the military balance in the Taiwan Strait, but for the balance in the Asia-Pacific region as well." U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006,.

3. China uses the term "People's Liberation Army" to refer to its combined Army, Navy, Air Force and Strategic Rocket Forces. For the purposes of this section, the terms "ground forces or Army," "Navy," "Air Force," or "Second Artillery", respectively, will be used to distinguish single service branches from the entire armed forces.

4. House Armed Services Committee, *Hearing on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, testimony of Peter Rodman, June 22, 2006.

5. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 1.

6. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006.

7. Taiwan Relations Act, Public Law 98–6, 96th Congress, (April 10, 1979), Sec. 2 (5) (6).
8. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 37.
9. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.
10. Eric McVadon, "China's Maturing Navy," *Naval War College Review*, vol. 59, no. 2 (Spring 2006).
11. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 11.
12. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006.
13. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 7.
14. "Increased dependence on overseas resources will bring Beijing to require a greater effort by Chinese naval forces to protect the trade flows and show the flag in ports of countries that are considered important trading partners." Giuseppe Anzera. "The Modernization of the Chinese Navy," *Power and Interest News Report*, September 12, 2005. See also U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 15.
15. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.
16. "In the near term, Beijing's efforts to build a navy able to satisfy... maritime security concerns focus on Taiwan; in the mid-term, they include the disputes with Japan over natural gas deposits in the East China Seabed and with the claimants to South China Sea territories." National Defense University, *Conference on China's Global Activism: Implications for U.S. Security Interests*, remarks of Bernard Cole, June 20, 2006, p. 3.
17. Quote from Quadrennial Defense Review cited in U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006.
18. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006.
19. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006.
20. High level U.S. Government officials continually have urged Beijing to be more transparent in its military activities. For example, when meeting with senior Asia-Pacific defense officials earlier this year in Singapore, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld noted that "there are aspects of China's actions that can complicate their relationships with other nations. The lack of transparency with respect to their military investments understandably causes concerns for some of its neighbors." Ralph Cossa, "A Subtler China Policy?," *The International Herald Tribune*, June 9, 2006, p. 7. In March 2006, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice expressed concern over China's military modernization and said, "We've told the Chinese that they need to be transparent about what their military buildup means." David Gollust, "Rice Urges Chinese Transparency on Defense Plans," *The Voice of America News*, March 16, 2006.
21. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. I.
22. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. I.
23. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 14.
24. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Jacqueline Newmyer, March 16, 2006.
25. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Jacqueline Newmyer, March 16, 2006.
26. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006.

27. For more on military-to-military contacts, see Shirley A. Kan, *U.S.-China Military Contacts: Issues for Congress*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC: June 30, 2006).

28. Edward Cody, "U.S. Aims to Improve Military Ties With China," *The Washington Post*, May 16, 2006, p. A-14.

29. House Armed Services Committee, *Hearing on The Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, testimony of Peter Rodman, June 22, 2006.

30. Edward Cody, "U.S. Aims to Improve Military Ties With China," *The Washington Post*, May 16, 2006, p. A-14.

31. "China, U.S. Hold Military Talks Following Heated Exchanges," *Agence France-Presse*, June 9, 2006.

32. Rear Admiral Zhang Leiyou led the Chinese delegation and said "The visit helped China obtain a better understanding of U.S. weapons, training, skills and exercise arrangements." Christopher Bodeen, "Chinese Officers Claim Appreciation of U.S. Weapons and Tactics From Wargames Observation," *Associated Press*, June 22, 2006.

33. Shirley A. Kan, *U.S.-China Military Contacts: Issues for Congress*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC: June 30, 2006), p. 61.

34. "China, US agree to further military coop," *China Daily*, July 19, 2006. www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-07/19/content_644838.htm.

35. Shirley A. Kan, *U.S.-China Military Contacts: Issues for Congress*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC: June 30, 2006), pp. 17-18.

36. "China Launches North Sword 2005 War Exercises," *Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)*, September 28, 2005.

37. International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 2005-2006*, (Routledge, London: 2006), p. 249. See also "China's Defense Budget to Increase 14.7% in 2006," *Xinhua*, March 5, 2006. english.people.com.cn/200603/05/eng20060305_247883.html. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006. U.S. dollar amount based upon an exchange rate of 8 RMB = \$1.

38. International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 2005-2006*, (Routledge, London: 2006), p. 252.

39. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Peter Rodman, March 16, 2006.

40. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 20. The Report also notes that "[w]hile the United States has long urged China to increase transparency in reporting military budgets and expenditures, to date Beijing has only provided a highly aggregated breakout of maintenance and operations, personnel, and equipment roughly defined as equal shares in its Defense White Papers."

41. "China's leaders and strategists do not like being dependent on other countries for their defense modernization needs. They have made it clear that their long-term goal is to return to the first path — "self-reliance" in defense production." Keith Crane, et al., *Modernizing China's Military—Opportunities and Constraints*, (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA: 2005), p. 137.

42. Evan Medeiros, et al., *A New Direction for China's Defense Industry*, (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA: 2005), p. xvi.

43. Evan Medeiros, et al., *A New Direction for China's Defense Industry*, (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA: 2005), p. xvii.

44. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Richard Bitzinger, March 16, 2006.

45. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Roger Cliff, March 16, 2006.

46. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Roger Cliff, March 16, 2006.

47. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Adam Segal, March 16, 2006.

48. Cheung Tai Ming, "Chinese Defense Industrial Reform and the Navy," *The Jamestown Foundation China Brief*, February 25, 2005. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Roger Cliff, March 16, 2006.

49. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 4.
50. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.
51. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006. See also U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 30—"The PLA has shifted from point defense of key military, industrial, and political targets to a new Joint Anti-Air Raid Campaign doctrine based on a modern, integrated air defense system capable of effective offensive counter-air (OCA) and defensive counter-air (DCA). Under this doctrine, the PLA will use aircraft, surface-to-air missiles, long-range artillery, special operations forces, naval forces, and guerrilla units to destroy and enemy's ability to conduct offensive air operations and provide defense of PRC airspace."
52. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 4.
53. Keith Crane, et al., *Modernizing China's Military — Opportunities and Constraints*, (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA: 2005), p. 176.
54. "J-XX 4th Generation Fighter Aircraft," *Chinese Defence Today*, updated June 2, 2006. www.sinodefence.com/airforce/fighter/jxx.asp. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Richard Fisher, March 16, 2006.
55. "J-XX 4th Generation Fighter Aircraft," *Chinese Defence Today*, updated June 2, 2006. www.sinodefence.com/airforce/fighter/jxx.asp.
56. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 4.
57. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 4. In October 2006, Russian sources confirmed negotiations over China's purchase of Su-33 aircraft. This aircraft is similar to the Su-27 but configured for carrier operations. See "China to Buy Su-33 Fighter from Russia," *Chinese Defence Today*, updated October 24, 2005. www.sinodefence.com/news/2006/news06-10-24.asp.
58. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Bernard Cole, March 16, 2006.
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61. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006).
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65. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 26.
66. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 16.
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68. "Jane's World Armies: China," *Jane's Online*, updated June 14, 2006. www.janes.com.arugula.cc.columbia.edu.
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81. PLA amphibious training levels vary significantly between units. While amphibious mechanized infantry divisions are capable of sophisticated maneuvers, other units must concentrate on basic anti-sea sickness, loading and unloading drills.
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136. Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Discussion on Win-Win High Technology Trade With China*, remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce David McCormick, June 9, 2006, p. 4. www.bis.doc.gov/News/2006/McCormick06-9-06.htm.

137. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Darryl Jackson, March 17, 2006.

138. U.S. Department of Justice, *Four Owners/Operators of New Jersey Company Sentenced For Illegally Selling National-Security Sensitive Items to Chinese Interests*, (Washington, DC: May 1, 2006). www.bis.doc.gov/news/2006/DOJ05_01_06.htm.

139. U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Inspector General, *U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls for China Need to Be Strengthened*, (Washington, DC: March 2006), p. 1. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Beth McCormick, March 17, 2006.—“Thus, our concern is manifest in the potential of U.S. or Western technologies that could migrate to these [problematic] regimes via Chinese entities. This poses one of our most significant policy challenges with respect to China.”

140. Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Discussion on Win-Win High Technology Trade With China*, remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce David McCormick, June 9, 2006, p. 1. www.bis.doc.gov/News/2006/McCormick06-9-06.htm.

141. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Darryl Jackson, March 17, 2006.

142. Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Discussion on Win-Win High Technology Trade With China*, remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce David McCormick, June 9, 2006, p. 1. www.bis.doc.gov/News/2006/McCormick06-9-06.htm.

143. “China Seeks Reduced U.S. Export Controls,” *The Associated Press*, June 27, 2006.

144. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Francis Record, March 17, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Darryl Jackson, March 17, 2006.

145. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Francis Record, March 17, 2006. See also U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Inspector General, *U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls for China Need to Be Strengthened*, (Washington, DC: March 2006), p. 3.

146. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Senator Michael Enzi, March 17, 2006.

147. For more on the Export Administration Act, see Ian Ferguson, et al., *Export Administration Act of 1979 Reauthorization*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC: January 2, 2003).

148. As a result of the Tiananmen crackdown, Public Law 101–246 was enacted, suspending export licenses for munitions list items.

149. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Edmund Rice, March 17, 2006.

150. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Edmund Rice, March 17, 2006.

151. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Edmund Rice, March 17, 2006.

152. Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Discussion on Win-Win High Technology Trade With China*, remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce David McCormick, June 9, 2006, p. 4. www.bis.doc.gov/News/2006/McCormick06-9-06.htm. See also U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Inspector General, *U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls for China Need to Be Strengthened*, (Washington, DC: March 2006), p. 17.

153. Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Discussion on Win-Win High Technology Trade With China*, remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce David McCormick, June 9, 2006, p. 4. www.bis.doc.gov/News/2006/McCormick06-9-06.htm.

154. U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Inspector General, *U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls for China Need to Be Strengthened*, (Washington, DC: March 2006), p. iii. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Darryl Jackson, March 17, 2006.

155. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Darryl Jackson, March 17, 2006.

156. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Darryl Jackson, March 17, 2006.

157. U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Inspector General, *U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls for China Need to Be Strengthened*, (Washington, DC: March 2006), p. 25.

158. U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Inspector General, *U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls for China Need to Be Strengthened*, (Washington, DC: March 2006), pp. 7–8.

159. U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Inspector General, *U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls for China Need to Be Strengthened*, (Washington, DC: March 2006), p. iii.

160. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Edmund Rice, March 17, 2006.

161. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Christopher Hankin, March 17, 2006.

162. "Introduction," *The Wassenaar Arrangement*. www.wassenaar.org/introduction/print_intro.html.

163. "Introduction," *The Wassenaar Arrangement*. www.wassenaar.org/introduction/print_intro.html.

164. "Introduction," *The Wassenaar Arrangement*. www.wassenaar.org/introduction/print_intro.html.

165. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of William Hawkins, March 17, 2006. See also U.S. General Accounting Office, *Rapid Advances In China's Semiconductor Industry Underscore Need For Fundamental U.S. Policy Review*, (Washington, DC: April 2002), pp. 16–17.

166. "The European Arms Embargo On China," *The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*, March 2004. www.sipri.org/contents/expcon/euchiemb.html.

167. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Francis Record, March 17, 2006.

168. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Francis Record, March 17, 2006.

169. U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 23.

170. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Francis Record, March 17, 2006.

171. For more information on Chinese use of network-centric warfare to attack carrier battle groups, see Zhang Kaide and Zhao Shubin, "shimin Daji Zhihui Kongzhi Jishu Chutan" ("The Command and Control Technology of Time Critical Strikes"), *Zhihui Kongzhi yu Fangzhen (Command and Control Simulation)* 28, No. 2 (April 2006), pp. 1–5. See also Nie Yubao, "Daji Haishang Di Da Jian Jianting Biandui de Dianzi Zhan Zhanfa" ("Current Methods for Electronic Warfare Attacks on Heavily Fortified Naval Formations"), *Wo Jun Xinxu Zhan Wenti Yanjiu (Research on Questions about Information Warfare)*, (National Defense University Press, Beijing: 1999).

172. State Council Information Office, *China's National Defense in 2004*, (People's Republic of China: 2004), p. 3.

173. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

174. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

175. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

176. The types of surface combatants introduced during this period include 956EM *Sovremenny*-, Type 052B *Luyang I*, and Type 052C *Luyang II*-class destroyers, and the Type 054 *Jiangkai*-, Type 053H3 *Jiangwei II*-class frigates. A fourth

class of destroyer, the Type 051C *Luzhou*, has been launched and is expected to enter service by the end of 2006. See Ronald O'Rourke, *China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Naval Capabilities—Background and Issues for Congress*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: November 18, 2005). See also "Naval Ships," *Chinese Defence Today*, October 26, 2006. www.sinodefence.com/navy/default.asp.

177. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Richard Fisher, March 16, 2006.

178. U.S. Navy RADM Michael McDevitt (ret), defines "sea denial" as the capability to temporarily deny a maritime area to an enemy, "with the recognition that control will be contested, and that neither side has complete freedom to use the sea as it wishes." In contrast, "sea control" describes a state in which one side has the means to deny an area to its enemy for as long as it wishes and can use the area "at [its] pleasure while an opponent cannot." McDevitt also notes that dominance of the airspace above the water in question is a key component of sea control.

179. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

180. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

181. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

182. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

183. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

184. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

185. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

186. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

187. House Armed Services Committee, *Hearing on The Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, testimony of Peter Rodman, June 22, 2006.

188. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

189. Kenneth Allen and Maryanne Kivlehan-Wise, "Implementing PLA Second Artillery Doctrine Reforms," *China's Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs: Emerging Trends in the Operational Art of the Chinese People's Liberation Army*, (Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, VA: November 2005), p. 175.

190. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

191. Kenneth Allen and Maryanne Kivlehan-Wise, "Implementing PLA Second Artillery Doctrine Reforms," *China's Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs: Emerging Trends in the Operational Art of the Chinese People's Liberation Army*, (Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, VA: November 2005), p. 159.

192. The Donghai-10 (DH-10) is a ground-launched, second generation land attack cruise missile with a range of more than 1,500 km. Its guidance system permits a circular error probable of 10 meters. See Wendell Minnick, "China Tests New Land-Attack Cruise Missile," *Jane's Missiles and Rockets*, September 21, 2004.

193. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

194. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

195. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

196. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.

197. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Richard Fisher, March 16, 2006.

198. The Jian-10 (J-10) is an advanced, multi-role fighter aircraft reported to be similar in weight and performance to the Eurofighter Typhoon or Dassault Rafale. See U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China*, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 4.

199. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Richard Fisher, March 16, 2006.

200. The JianHong-7A (JH-7A) is a ground-attack aircraft similar to the Vietnam-era MiG-21 Fishbed in terms of performance, but with upgraded avionics and weapons systems. See Ronald O'Rourke, *China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Naval Capabilities—Background and Issues for Congress*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: November 18, 2005), p. 66.

201. The roughly 400 Sukhoi aircraft purchased from Russia constitute the most lethal component of China's air force. The Su-27SK/UBK (also known as the "Jian-11" [J-11] for those versions built under license by China) has performance capabilities thought to equal or surpass those of the F-15C. See *Chinese Defence Today*, October 19, 2006. www.sinodefence.com/airforce/fighter/su27.asp. The Su-30 is an improved, multi-role version of the Su-27 and is considered roughly comparable to the US Air Force F-15E Strike Eagle in terms of performance and capability. The "MKK" designation denotes this model as modified for export to China. The maritime version of this aircraft, the Su-30MK2, is equipped to carry the Kh-31A supersonic anti-ship missile and is capable of tasking and controlling up to 10 other aircraft through a common communications net. See *Chinese Defence Today*, October 19, 2006. www.sinodefence.com/airforce/fighter/su30.asp.

202. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Richard Fisher, March 16, 2006.

203. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

204. "Project 877EKM/636 Kilo Class Diesel-Electric Submarine," *Chinese Defence Today*, updated December 25, 2005. www.sinodefence.com/navy/sub/kilo.asp.

205. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

206. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

207. The Heritage Foundation, *A New Look at China's Military*, (Washington, DC: June 7, 2006).

208. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Bernard Cole, March 16, 2006.

209. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

210. "Type 051C (Luzhou Class) Guided Missile Destroyer," *Chinese Defence Today*, updated June 18, 2006. www.sinodefence.com/navy/surface/type051cluzhou.asp.

211. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

212. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

213. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006. See also, Ted Parsons, "China Develops Anti-ship Missile," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, January 18, 2006.

214. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.
215. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.
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222. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.
223. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Mark Stokes, March 16, 2006.
224. "Taiwan Takes Delivery of Last Two of Four Destroyers," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, August 25, 2006.
225. Richard Dobson, "U.S. Suspends F-16 Sale to Taiwan over Budget Delay," *Reuters*, October 3, 2006.
226. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Richard Fisher, March 16, 2006.
227. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.
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232. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls*, testimony of Bernard Cole, March 16, 2006.
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