

APPENDIX I

UNITED STATES-CHINA ECONOMIC AND SECURITY REVIEW COMMISSION CHARTER

22 U.S.C. 7002 (2001)

The Commission was created on October 30, 2000, by the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act for 2001 § 1238, Pub. L. No. 106-398, 114 STAT. 1654A-334 (2000) (codified at 22 U.S.C. § 7002 (2001), as amended by the Treasury and General Government Appropriations Act for 2002 § 645 (regarding employment status of staff) & § 648 (regarding changing annual report due date from March to June), Pub. L. No. 107-67, 115 STAT. 514 (November 12, 2001); as amended by Division P of the “Consolidated Appropriations Resolution, 2003,” Pub. L. No. 108-7 (February 20, 2003) (regarding Commission name change, terms of Commissioners, and responsibilities of Commission); as amended by Pub. L. No. 109-108 (enacted November 22, 2005) (regarding responsibilities of Commission and applicability of FACA); as amended by Pub. L. No. 110-161 (enacted December 26, 2007) (regarding changing annual report due date from June to December; reporting unobligated balances and submission of quarterly financial reports; deemed Commission a committee of Congress for printing and binding costs; amended employee compensation levels, and performance-based reviews and awards subject to Title 5 USC; and directed that travel by members of the Commission and its staff shall be arranged and conducted under the rules and procedures applying to travel by members of the House of Representatives and its staff).

§ 7002. United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission

(a) Purposes. The purposes of this section are as follows:

(1) To establish the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission to review the national security implications of trade and economic ties between the United States and the People’s Republic of China.

(2) To facilitate the assumption by the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission of its duties regarding the review referred to in paragraph (1) by providing for the transfer to that Commission of staff, materials, and infrastructure (including leased premises) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission that are appropriate for the review upon the submittal of the final report of the Trade Deficit Review Commission.

(b) Establishment of United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission.

(1) In general. There is hereby established a commission to be known as the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission (in this section referred to as the “Commission”).

(2) Purpose. The purpose of the Commission is to monitor, investigate, and report to Congress on the national security implications of the bilateral trade and economic relationship between the United States and the People’s Republic of China.

(3) Membership. The United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall be composed of 12 members, who shall be appointed in the same manner provided for the appointment of members of the Trade Deficit Review Commission under section 127(c)(3) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission Act (19 U.S.C. 2213 note), except that—

(A) Appointment of members by the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall be made after consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives, in addition to consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives provided for under clause (iii) of subparagraph (A) of that section;

(B) Appointment of members by the President pro tempore of the Senate upon the recommendation of the majority leader of the Senate shall be made after consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate, in addition to consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Finance of the Senate provided for under clause (i) of that subparagraph;

(C) Appointment of members by the President pro tempore of the Senate upon the recommendation of the minority leader of the Senate shall be made after consultation with the ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate, in addition to consultation with the ranking minority member of the Committee on Finance of the Senate provided for under clause (ii) of that subparagraph;

(D) Appointment of members by the minority leader of the House of Representatives shall be made after consultation with the ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives, in addition to consultation with the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives provided for under clause (iv) of that subparagraph;

(E) Persons appointed to the Commission shall have expertise in national security matters and United States-China relations, in addition to the expertise provided for under subparagraph (B)(i)(I) of that section;

(F) Each appointing authority referred to under subparagraphs (A) through (D) of this paragraph shall—

(i) appoint 3 members to the Commission;

(ii) make the appointments on a staggered term basis, such that—

(I) 1 appointment shall be for a term expiring on December 31, 2003;

(II) 1 appointment shall be for a term expiring on December 31, 2004; and

(III) 1 appointment shall be for a term expiring on December 31, 2005;

(iii) make all subsequent appointments on an approximate 2-year term basis to expire on December 31 of the applicable year; and

(iv) make appointments not later than 30 days after the date on which each new Congress convenes.

(G) Members of the Commission may be reappointed for additional terms of service as members of the Commission; and

(H) Members of the Trade Deficit Review Commission as of the date of the enactment of this Act [enacted Oct. 30, 2000] shall serve as members of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission until such time as members are first appointed to the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission under this paragraph.

(4) Retention of support. The United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall retain and make use of such staff, materials, and infrastructure (including leased premises) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission as the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission determines, in the judgment of the members of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission, are required to facilitate the ready commencement of activities of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission under subsection (c) or to carry out such activities after the commencement of such activities.

(5) Chairman and vice chairman. The members of the Commission shall select a Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Commission from among the members of the Commission.

(6) Meetings.

(A) Meetings. The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairman of the Commission.

(B) Quorum. A majority of the members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of the Commission.

(7) Voting. Each member of the Commission shall be entitled to one vote, which shall be equal to the vote of every other member of the Commission.

(c) Duties.

(1) Annual report. Not later than June 1 each year [beginning in 2002], the Commission shall submit to Congress a report, in both unclassified and classified form, regarding the national security implications and impact of the bilateral trade and economic relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The report shall include a full analysis, along with conclusions and recommendations for legislative and administrative actions, if any, of the national security implications for the United States of the trade and current balances with the People's Republic of China in goods and services, financial transactions, and technology transfers. The Commission shall also take into account patterns of trade and transfers through third countries to the extent practicable.

(2) Contents of report. Each report under paragraph (1) shall include, at a minimum, a full discussion of the following:

(A) The portion of trade in goods and services with the United States that the People's Republic of China dedicates to military systems or systems of a dual nature that could be used for military purposes.

(B) The acquisition by the People's Republic of China of advanced military or dual-use technologies from the United States by trade (including procurement) and other technology transfers, especially those transfers, if any, that contribute to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or their delivery systems, or that undermine international agreements or United States laws with respect to nonproliferation.

(C) Any transfers, other than those identified under subparagraph (B), to the military systems of the People's Republic of China made by United States firms and United States-based multinational corporations.

(D) An analysis of the statements and writing of the People's Republic of China officials and officially-sanctioned writings that bear on the intentions, if any, of the Government of the People's Republic of China regarding the pursuit of military competition with, and leverage over, or cooperation with, the United States and the Asian allies of the United States.

(E) The military actions taken by the Government of the People's Republic of China during the preceding year that bear on the national security of the United States and the regional stability of the Asian allies of the United States.

(F) The effects, if any, on the national security interests of the United States of the use by the People's Republic of China of financial transactions and capital flow and currency manipulations.

(G) Any action taken by the Government of the People's Republic of China in the context of the World Trade Organization that is adverse or favorable to the United States national security interests.

(H) Patterns of trade and investment between the People's Republic of China and its major trading partners, other than the United States, that appear to be substantively different from trade and investment patterns with the United States and whether the differences have any national security implications for the United States.

(I) The extent to which the trade surplus of the People's Republic of China with the United States enhances the military budget of the People's Republic of China.

(J) An overall assessment of the state of the security challenges presented by the People's Republic of China to the United States and whether the security challenges are increasing or decreasing from previous years.

(3) Recommendations of report. Each report under paragraph (1) shall also include recommendations for action by Congress or the President, or both, including specific recommendations for the United States to invoke Article XXI (relating to security exceptions) of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994 with respect to the People's Republic of China, as a result of any adverse impact on the national security interests of the United States.

(d) Hearings.

(1) In general. The Commission or, at its direction, any panel or member of the Commission, may for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this section, hold hearings, sit and act at times and places, take testimony, receive evidence, and administer oaths to the extent that the Commission or any panel or member considers advisable.

(2) Information. The Commission may secure directly from the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, and any other Federal department or agency information that the Commission considers necessary to enable the Commission to carry out its duties under this section, except the provision of intelligence information to the Commission shall be made with due regard for the protection from unauthorized disclosure of classified information relating to sensitive intelligence sources and methods or other exceptionally sensitive matters, under procedures approved by the Director of Central Intelligence.

(3) Security. The Office of Senate Security shall—

(A) provide classified storage and meeting and hearing spaces, when necessary, for the Commission; and

(B) assist members and staff of the Commission in obtaining security clearances.

(4) Security clearances. All members of the Commission and appropriate staff shall be sworn and hold appropriate security clearances.

(e) Commission personnel matters.

(1) Compensation of members. Members of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall be compensated in the same manner provided for the compensation of members of the Trade Deficit Review Commission under section 127(g)(1) and section 127(g)(6) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission Act [19 U.S.C. 2213 note].

(2) Travel expenses. Travel expenses of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall be allowed in the same manner provided for the allowance of the travel expenses of the Trade Deficit Review Commission under section 127(g)(2) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission Act [19 U.S.C. § 2213 note].

(3) Staff. An executive director and other additional personnel for the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall be appointed, compensated, and terminated in the same manner provided for the appointment, compensation, and termination of the executive director and other personnel of the Trade Deficit Review Commission under section 127(g)(3) and section 127(g)(6) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission Act [19 U.S.C. § 2213 note]. The executive director and any personnel who are employees of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall be employees under section 2105 of title 5, United States Code, for purposes of chapters 63, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89, and 90 of that title [language of 2001 amendment, Sec. 645].

(4) Detail of government employees. Federal Government employees may be detailed to the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission in the same manner provided for the detail of Federal Government employees to the Trade Deficit Review Commission under section 127(g)(4) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission Act [19 U.S.C. § 2213 note].

(5) Foreign travel for official purposes. Foreign travel for official purposes by members and staff of the Commission may be authorized by either the Chairman or the Vice Chairman of the Commission.

(6) Procurement of temporary and intermittent services. The Chairman of the United States-China Economic and Security Re-

view Commission may procure temporary and intermittent services for the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission in the same manner provided for the procurement of temporary and intermittent services for the Trade Deficit Review Commission under section 127(g)(5) of the Trade Deficit Review Commission Act [19 U.S.C. § 2213 note].

(f) Authorization of appropriations.

(1) In general. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for fiscal year 2001, and for each fiscal year thereafter, such sums as may be necessary to enable the Commission to carry out its functions under this section.

(2) Availability. Amounts appropriated to the Commission shall remain available until expended.

(g) Federal Advisory Committee Act. The provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App.) shall not apply to the Commission.

(h) Effective date. This section shall take effect on the first day of the 107th Congress.

Amendments:

SEC. 645. (a) Section 1238(e)(3) of the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001 (as enacted by Public Law 106–398) is amended by adding at the end the following: “The executive director and any personnel who are employees of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall be employees under section 2105 of title 5, United States Code, for purposes of chapters 63, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89, and 90 of that title.” (b) The amendment made by this section shall take effect on January 3, 2001.”

SEC. 648. DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF ANNUAL REPORTS BY UNITED STATES-CHINA ECONOMIC AND SECURITY REVIEW COMMISSION. Section 1238(c)(1) of the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001 (as enacted into law by section I of Public Law 106–398) is amended by striking “March” and inserting “June”.

Changes: Enacted into law by Division P of the “Consolidated Appropriations Resolution, 2003” Pub. L. No. 108–7 dated February 20, 2003:

H. J. Res. 2—

DIVISION P—UNITED STATES-CHINA ECONOMIC AND SECURITY REVIEW COMMISSION

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.—This division may be cited as the “United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission”.

SEC. 2. (a) APPROPRIATIONS.—There are appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,800,000, to remain available until expended, to the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission.

(b) NAME CHANGE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1238 of the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act of 2001 (22 U.S.C. 7002) is amended— as follows:

In each Section and Subsection where it appears, the name is changed to the “U.S.-CHINA ECONOMIC AND SECURITY REVIEW COMMISSION”—

(2) REFERENCES.—Any reference in any Federal law, Executive Order, rule, regulation, or delegation of authority, or any document of or relating to the United States-China Security Review Commission shall be deemed to refer to the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission.

(c) MEMBERSHIP, RESPONSIBILITIES, AND TERMS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1238(b)(3) of the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act of 2001 (22 U.S.C. 7002) is amended by striking subparagraph (F) and inserting the following:

“(F) each appointing authority referred to under subparagraphs (A) through (D) of this paragraph shall—

“(i) appoint 3 members to the Commission;

“(ii) make the appointments on a staggered term basis, such that—

“(I) 1 appointment shall be for a term expiring on December 31, 2003;

“(II) 1 appointment shall be for a term expiring on December 31, 2004; and

“(III) 1 appointment shall be for a term expiring on December 31, 2005;

“(iii) make all subsequent appointments on an approximate 2-year term basis to expire on December 31 of the applicable year; and

“(iv) make appointments not later than 30 days after the date on which each new Congress convenes;”.

SEC. 635. (a) Modification of Responsibilities.—Notwithstanding any provision of section 1238 of the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001 (22 U.S.C. 7002), or any other provision of law, the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission established by subsection (b) of that section shall investigate and report exclusively on each of the following areas:

(1) PROLIFERATION PRACTICES.—The role of the People’s Republic of China in the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other weapons (including dual use technologies), including actions, the United States might take to encourage the People’s Republic of China to cease such practices.

(2) ECONOMIC TRANSFERS.—The qualitative and quantitative nature of the transfer of United States production activities to the People’s Republic of China, including the relocation of high technology, manufacturing, and research and development facilities, the impact of such transfers on United States national security, the adequacy of United States export control laws, and the effect of such transfers on United States economic security and employment.

(3) ENERGY.—The effect of the large and growing economy of the People’s Republic of China on world energy supplies and the role the United States can play (including joint research and development efforts and technological assistance), in influencing the energy policy of the People’s Republic of China.

(4) UNITED STATES CAPITAL MARKETS.—The extent of access to and use of United States capital markets by the People's Republic of China, including whether or not existing disclosure and transparency rules are adequate to identify People's Republic of China companies engaged in harmful activities.

(5) REGIONAL ECONOMIC AND SECURITY IMPACTS.—The triangular economic and security relationship among the United States, Taipei and the People's Republic of China (including the military modernization and force deployments of the People's Republic of China aimed at Taipei), the national budget of the People's Republic of China, and the fiscal strength of the People's Republic of China in relation to internal instability in the People's Republic of China and the likelihood of the externalization of problems arising from such internal instability.

(6) UNITED STATES-CHINA BILATERAL PROGRAMS.—Science and technology programs, the degree of non-compliance by the People's Republic of China with agreements between the United States and the People's Republic of China on prison labor imports and intellectual property rights, and United States enforcement policies with respect to such agreements.

(7) WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION COMPLIANCE.—The compliance of the People's Republic of China with its accession agreement to the World Trade Organization (WTO).

(8) FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.—The implications of restrictions on speech and access to information in the People's Republic of China for its relations with the United States in the areas of economic and security policy.

(b) Applicability of Federal Advisory Committee Act.—Subsection (g) of section 1238 of the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001 is amended to read as follows:

(g) Applicability of FACA.—The provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App.) shall apply to the activities of the Commission.

The effective date of these amendments shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act [November 22, 2005].

Changes: Enacted into law by the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008, Pub. L. No. 110–161 dated December 26, 2007:

H.R. 2764—

For necessary expenses of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission, \$4,000,000, including not more than \$4,000 for the purpose of official representation, to remain available until September 30, 2009: *Provided*, That the Commission shall submit a spending plan to the Committees on Appropriations no later than March 1, 2008, which effectively addresses the recommendations of the Government Accountability Office's audit of the Commission (GAO–07–1128): *Provided further*, That the Commission shall provide to the Committees on Appropriations a quarterly accounting of the cumulative balances of any unobligated funds that were received by the Commission during any previous fiscal year: *Provided further*, That for purposes of costs relating to printing and binding, the Commission shall be deemed, effective on the date of its establishment, to be a committee of Congress: *Provided further*, That compensation for the executive director of the Commission may not exceed the rate payable for level II of the Ex-

ecutive Schedule under section 5314 of title 5, United States Code: *Provided further*, That section 1238(c)(1) of the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2001, is amended by striking “June” and inserting “December”: *Provided further*, That travel by members of the Commission and its staff shall be arranged and conducted under the rules and procedures applying to travel by members of the House of Representatives and its staff.

COMMISSION FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

SEC. 118. (a) REQUIREMENT FOR PERFORMANCE REVIEWS.—The United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall comply with chapter 43 of title 5, United States Code, regarding the establishment and regular review of employee performance appraisals.

(b) LIMITATION ON CASH AWARDS.—The United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission shall comply with section 4505a of title 5, United States Code, with respect to limitations on payment of performance-based cash awards.

APPENDIX II

BACKGROUND OF COMMISSIONERS

The Honorable William A. Reinsch, Chairman

Chairman William Reinsch was reappointed to the Commission by Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid for a term expiring December 31, 2011. Chairman Reinsch served as Under Secretary for Export Administration in the U.S. Department of Commerce. As head of the Bureau of Export Administration, later named the Bureau of Industry and Security, Chairman Reinsch was charged with administering and enforcing the export control policies of the U.S. government, including its antiboycott laws. Major accomplishments during his tenure included refocusing controls regarding economic globalization, most notably on high-performance computers, microprocessors, and encryption, completing the first revisions of the Export Administration regulations in over 40 years. In addition, he revised the interagency process for reviewing applications and permitted electronic filing of applications over the Internet.

During this time, Chairman Reinsch delivered more than 200 speeches and testified 53 times before various committees of the Congress. Before joining the Department of Commerce, Mr. Reinsch was a senior legislative assistant to Senator John Rockefeller and was responsible for the senator's work on trade, international economic policy, foreign affairs, and defense. He also provided staff support for Senator Rockefeller's related efforts on the Finance Committee and the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee.

For over a decade, Chairman Reinsch served on the staff of Senator John Heinz as chief legislative assistant, focusing on foreign trade and competitiveness policy issues. During that period, Senator Heinz was either the chairman or the ranking member of the Senate Banking Committee's Subcommittee on International Finance. Senator Heinz was also a member of the International Trade Subcommittee of the Finance Committee. Mr. Reinsch provided support for the senator on both subcommittees. This work included five revisions of the Export Administration Act and work on four major trade bills. Prior to joining Senator Heinz's staff, Chairman Reinsch was a legislative assistant to Representatives Richard Ottinger and Gilbert Gude, acting staff director of the House Environmental Study Conference, and a teacher in Maryland.

Today Chairman Reinsch is president of the National Foreign Trade Council. Founded in 1914, the council is the only business organization dedicated solely to trade policy, export finance, international tax, and human resources issues. The organization represents over 300 companies through its offices in New York City and Washington.

In addition to his legislative and private sector work, Chairman Reinsch served as an adjunct associate professor at the University of Maryland University College Graduate School of Management and Technology, teaching a course in international trade and trade policy. He is also a member of the boards of the Executive Council on Diplomacy and KHI Services, Incorporated. Chairman Reinsch's publications include "Why China Matters to the Health of the U.S. Economy," published in *Economics and National Security*; "The Role and Effectiveness of U.S. Export Control Policy in the Age of Globalization" and "Export Controls in the Age of Globalization," both published in *The Monitor*. In addition, Chairman Reinsch has published "Should Uncle Sam Control U.S. Technology Exports," published in *Insight Magazine*; "Encryption Policy Strikes a Balance," published in the *Journal of Commerce*; and "Building a New Economic Relationship with Japan," published with others in *Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy*.

Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman

Daniel Slane was reappointed to the Commission by House Republican Leader John Boehner for a two-year term expiring on December 31, 2011. Vice Chairman Slane was elected as the Commission's vice chairman for the 2011 report cycle and served as the Commission's chairman for the 2010 report cycle.

Vice Chairman Slane served for two years on active duty as a U.S. Army Captain in Military Intelligence; in addition he served for a number of years as a case officer with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Vice Chairman Slane worked in The White House during the Ford Administration.

In 1996, Vice Chairman Slane became a member of the board of trustees of The Ohio State University and was chairman from 2005 to 2006. Ohio State University is the nation's largest university, with an annual budget of over \$4 billion. He is also the former chairman of University Hospital, a 1,000 bed regional hospital in Columbus, and the former chairman of the James Cancer Hospital, a National Cancer Institute Comprehensive Cancer Center. Vice Chairman Slane serves on the board of two financial institutions and a number of nonprofit organizations.

Vice Chairman Slane is the founder and co-owner of the Slane Company, whose principal business includes real estate development, lumber, and furniture. He has extensive international business experience, including operating a business in China. Prior to becoming a member of the Commission, Vice Chairman Slane manufactured plywood and related wood products at factories in Harbin, Dalian, and Balu (Pizhou), China. In 2007, he sold his interest in that company.

Vice Chairman Slane received a Bachelor of Science in Business Administration and a Juris Doctorate from The Ohio State University. He holds a Master's Degree in International Law from the Europa Institute at the University of Amsterdam in The Netherlands. Vice Chairman Slane is a member of the Ohio Bar and formerly a partner in the law firm of Grieser, Schafer, Blumenstiel, and Slane.

Carolyn Bartholomew

Carolyn Bartholomew was reappointed to the Commission by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for a two-year term expiring on December 31, 2011. She previously served as the Commission's chairman for the 2007 and 2009 report cycles and as vice chairman for the 2010, 2008, and 2006 report cycles.

Commissioner Bartholomew has worked at senior levels in the U.S. Congress, serving as counsel, legislative director, and chief of staff to now House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi. She was a professional staff member on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and also served as a legislative assistant to then-U.S. Representative Bill Richardson. In these positions, Commissioner Bartholomew was integrally involved in developing U.S. policies on international affairs and security matters. She has particular expertise in U.S.-China relations, including issues related to trade, human rights, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Ms. Bartholomew led efforts in the establishment and funding of global AIDS programs and the promotion of human rights and democratization in countries around the world. She was a member of the first Presidential Delegation to Africa to Investigate the Impact of HIV/AIDS on Children and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Staff Roundtable on Asian Political and Security Issues.

In addition to U.S.-China relations, her areas of expertise include terrorism, trade, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, human rights, U.S. foreign assistance programs, and international environmental issues. Currently, she serves on the board of directors of the Kaiser Aluminum Corporation and the nonprofit organizations Polaris Project and Asia Catalyst.

Commissioner Bartholomew received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Minnesota, a Master of Arts in Anthropology from Duke University, and a Juris Doctorate from Georgetown University Law Center. She is a member of the State Bar of California.

Daniel A. Blumenthal

Daniel Blumenthal was reappointed to the Commission by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2011. Commissioner Blumenthal served as the Commission's vice chairman for the 2007 report cycle.

Commissioner Blumenthal was the country director for China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, later becoming a senior director for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia during the first term of President George W. Bush. Commissioner Blumenthal developed and implemented defense policy toward China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia. Commissioner Blumenthal was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service.

Prior to joining the Defense Department, Commissioner Blumenthal was an associate attorney in the Corporate and Asia Practice Groups at Kelly Drye & Warren LLP. Earlier, he was an editorial and research assistant for *Near East Policy*.

Today, Commissioner Blumenthal is the director of Asian Studies and a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, and a research associate with the National Asia Research Program. He is a member of the Academic Advisory Group of the Congressional U.S.-China Working Group and has been a member of the Project 2049 Institute's board of advisors since 2008. In addition, Commissioner Blumenthal has written extensively on national security issues. He has written articles and op-eds for the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Weekly Standard*, *National Review*, and numerous edited volumes.

Commissioner Blumenthal received a Master of Arts in International Relations and International Economics from The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a Juris Doctorate from Duke University.

Peter T.R. Brookes

Commissioner Brookes was reappointed to the Commission by House Republican Leader John Boehner for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2011. Commissioner Brookes is currently a senior fellow for National Security Affairs at The Heritage Foundation. Prior to Heritage, he served in the George W. Bush Administration as the deputy assistant secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Affairs, with the Committee on International Relations in the U.S. House of Representatives, at the Central Intelligence Agency, at the State Department at the United Nations, in the defense industry, and in the U.S. Navy. He is a doctoral candidate at Georgetown University, and a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, the Defense Language Institute, the Naval War College, and The Johns Hopkins University.

Robin Cleveland

Commissioner Cleveland was reappointed to the Commission by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2012. After three decades of government service, Commissioner Cleveland is now serving as a professional school counselor. Previously, Commissioner Cleveland worked for U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell in a number of senior positions on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the Foreign Relations Committee, and the Senate Appropriations Committee. In addition, Commissioner Cleveland served as the counselor to the president of the World Bank, as the associate director of the Office of Management and Budget at The White House, and as principal with Olivet Consulting, LLC.

During her tenure in The White House, Commissioner Cleveland co-led the interagency effort to develop two presidential initiatives: the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. These efforts reflect her experience linking policy, performance, and resource management.

Commissioner Cleveland graduated from Wesleyan University with honors and received her M.A. in Education and Human Development from The George Washington University.

The Honorable C. Richard D'Amato

Dick D'Amato was reappointed to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission by Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid on December 8, 2010, for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2012. He previously served on the Commission from March 2001 to December 2007, serving as the chairman and vice chairman of the Commission from April 2001 through December 20, 2005. He is an attorney and a member of the Maryland and DC Bars. He is a former delegate to the General Assembly of the State of Maryland (1998–2002), representing the Annapolis, Maryland, region, and served on the Appropriations Committee. He is also a retired captain in the United States Navy Reserve, served two tours of duty in the Vietnam theatre aboard the *USS KING* (DLG-10), and three years as an assistant professor of Government at the U.S. Naval Academy. He served on the Trade Deficit Review Commission, a Congressional advisory body, as a member from 1999 to 2000.

He served as vice president for development of Synergics, Inc., an international energy company and developer of alternative energy projects, particularly wind energy. He also serves as an official presenter and participant in former Vice President Gore's climate project, serves as a member of Maryland Governor O'Malley's commission on climate change, and is a trustee of St. Mary's College of Maryland.

From 1988 to 1998, Commissioner D'Amato was the Democratic counsel for the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. Senate. He was responsible for coordinating and managing the annual appropriations bills and other legislation on policy and funding of U.S. defense, foreign policy, trade, and intelligence matters. He served from 1980 to 1988 as senior foreign policy and defense advisor to the former Democratic Senate leader, Senator Robert C. Byrd. In this position, he supervised work on major foreign policy, national security, and trade policies and was the co-director for the Senate Arms Control Observer Group, a bipartisan leadership organization, which served as liaison with The White House on all arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. He also served on the Senate delegation to the Kyoto negotiations on global warming.

Mr. D'Amato began his career as legislative director for Congressman James Jeffords (Ind.-VT) from 1975 to 1978 and then as chief of staff for Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-CT) until 1980.

He has been active in other aspects of public service, having founded the annual Taste-of-the-Nation dinner in Annapolis as part of the nationwide "Share Our Strength" hunger relief organization and created an annual scholarship for college-bound African-American women in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He currently serves on the boards of the Annapolis Symphony Orchestra, the Annapolis Maritime Museum, The Johns Hopkins Cuba Exchange Program, and the University of Oxford Congressional Visitors program. He is a founding member of the National Sailing Hall of Fame.

Commissioner D'Amato received his B.A. (cum laude) from Cornell University in 1964 and served on the Cornell board of trustees' Advisory Council. He received his M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Boston in 1967, and received his legal education from Harvard Law School and from the Georgetown Univer-

sity Law Center (J.D., 1980). He resides in Annapolis with his wife, Dee.

Jeffrey L. Fiedler

Commissioner Fiedler was reappointed to the Commission by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi on December 16, 2009, for a third term expiring December 31, 2011. He is assistant to the general president, and director, Special Projects and Initiatives, for the International Union of Operating Engineers. Previously, he was President of Research Associates of America (RAA) and the elected president of the Food and Allied Service Trades Department, AFL–CIO (“FAST”). This constitutional department of the AFL–CIO represented ten unions with a membership of 3.5 million in the United States and Canada. The focus of RAA, like FAST before it, was organizing and bargaining research for workers and their unions.

He served as a member of the AFL–CIO Executive Council committees on International Affairs, Immigration, Organizing, and Strategic Approaches. He also served on the board of directors of the Consumer Federation of America and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. In 1992, Mr. Fiedler co-founded the Laogai Research Foundation (LRF), an organization devoted to studying the forced labor camp system in China. When the foundation’s Executive Director, Harry Wu, was detained in China in 1995, Mr. Fiedler coordinated the campaign to win his release. He no longer serves as a director of the LRF.

Mr. Fiedler has testified on behalf of the AFL–CIO before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Affairs Committee and its various subcommittees, as well as the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee concerning China policy. He attended three of the American Assembly conferences on China sponsored by Columbia University and has participated in a Council on Foreign Relations task force and study group on China. He has been interviewed on CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, and CNBC on China policy, international trade issues, human rights, and child labor.

A Vietnam veteran, he served with the U.S. Army in Hue in 1967–68. He received his B.A. in Political Science from Southern Illinois University. He is married with two adult children and resides in Virginia.

The Honorable Patrick A. Mulloy

Commissioner Patrick Mulloy has served four two-year terms as a commissioner and was reappointed in 2009 by Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid for a new two-year term expiring December 31, 2011.

Commissioner Mulloy served as assistant secretary of Commerce for Market Access and Compliance in the department’s International Trade Administration during the second Clinton Administration. As assistant secretary, Commissioner Mulloy directed a trade policy unit of over 200 international trade specialists, which focused worldwide on removing foreign barriers to U.S. exports and on ensuring that foreign countries complied with trade agreements negotiated with the United States. This activity involved discus-

sions both in the World Trade Organization and with individual governments. Commissioner Mulloy traveled extensively, meeting with foreign leaders to advance market-opening programs in the European Union, China, India, Taiwan, Indonesia, Canada, and Central and South America. He was also appointed by President Clinton to serve as a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Before becoming assistant secretary, Commissioner Mulloy held various senior positions on the staff of the U.S. Senate Banking Committee, including chief international counsel and general counsel. In those positions, he contributed to much of the international trade and finance legislation formulated by the committee, such as the Foreign Bank Supervision Enhancement Act of 1991, the Export Enhancement Act of 1992, the Defense Production Act Amendments of 1994, and titles of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 that dealt with foreign bribery, investment, exchange rates, and export controls.

Prior to his work in the Senate, Commissioner Mulloy was a senior attorney in the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, where he directed a staff of lawyers and economists who supervised participation of U.S. oil companies in the Paris-based International Energy Agency (IEA). In earlier duties at the Justice Department, he represented the United States in a variety of cases related to federal environmental laws, including criminal and civil enforcement actions in various U.S. district courts, several circuit courts of appeal, and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Commissioner Mulloy began his public service career as a foreign service officer, where he served in the Department of State's Office of United Nations Political Affairs, the Office of International Environmental and Oceans Affairs, and as vice counsel in the U.S. Consulate in Montreal, Canada.

Today, Commissioner Mulloy is a consultant to the president emeritus of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and is an adjunct professor of International Trade Law at the law schools of Catholic University and George Mason University. He is a member of the Asia Society and the Washington International Trade Association and serves on the advisory boards of the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress and of the Coalition for a Prosperous America. He has several times testified on international trade and investment matters before committees of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives.

Commissioner Mulloy, a native of Kingston, Pennsylvania, holds an LL.M. from Harvard University Law School, a Juris Doctorate from The George Washington University Law School, a Master of Arts from the University of Notre Dame, and a Bachelor of Arts from King's College. Commissioner Mulloy is a member of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania Bars. He resides in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife Marjorie, and they have three adult children.

The Honorable Dennis C. Shea

Commissioner Dennis Shea was reappointed by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2012. An attorney with 25 years of experience in govern-

ment and public policy, he is the founder of Shea Public Strategies LLC, a government relations firm based in Alexandria, Virginia. Before starting the firm, he served as vice president for Government Affairs—Americas for Pitney Bowes Inc., a Fortune 500 company.

Commissioner Shea's government service began in 1988 when he joined the Office of Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole as counsel, subsequently becoming the senator's deputy chief of staff in the Office of the Senate Majority Leader. In these capacities, he advised Senator Dole and other Republican senators on a broad range of domestic policy issues, was involved in the drafting of numerous pieces of legislation, and was recognized as one of the most influential staffers on Capitol Hill. In 1992, Commissioner Shea's service with Senator Dole was interrupted when he ran for Congress in the Seventh District of New York.

During the 1996 elections, Commissioner Shea continued to help shape the national public policy debate as the director of policy for the Dole for President Campaign. Following the elections, he entered the private sector, providing legislative and public affairs counsel to a wide range of clients while employed at BKSH & Associates and Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson, and Hand.

In 2003, Commissioner Shea was named the executive director of the President's Commission on the United States Postal Service. Many of the Commission's recommendations were subsequently adopted in the landmark 2006 postal reform legislation.

In 2004, Commissioner Shea was confirmed as assistant secretary for Policy Development and Research at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. As assistant secretary, Commissioner Shea led a team responsible for conducting much of the critical analysis necessary to support the department's mission. In 2005, Commissioner Shea left to serve as senior advisor to Senator Elizabeth Dole in her capacity as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Commissioner Shea received a J.D., an M.A. in History, and a B.A. in Government from Harvard University. He is admitted to the bar in New York and the District of Columbia. He currently resides in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife Elizabeth and daughter Juliette.

Michael R. Wessel

Commissioner Michael R. Wessel, an original member of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, was reappointed by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2012.

Commissioner Wessel served on the staff of House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt for more than two decades, leaving his position as general counsel in March 1998. In addition, Commissioner Wessel was Congressman Gephardt's chief policy advisor, strategist, and negotiator. He was responsible for the development, coordination, management, and implementation of the Democratic leader's overall policy and political objectives, with specific responsibility for international trade, finance, economics, labor, and taxation.

During his more than 20 years on Capitol Hill, Commissioner Wessel served in a number of positions as Congressman Gephardt's principal Ways and Means aide, where he developed and implemented numerous tax and trade policy initiatives. He participated in the enactment of every major trade policy initiative from 1978 until his departure in 1998. In the late 1980s, he was the executive director of the House Trade and Competitiveness Task Force, where he was responsible for the Democrats' trade and competitiveness agenda as well as overall coordination of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988.

Commissioner Wessel was intimately involved in the development of comprehensive tax reform legislation in the early 1980s and every major tax bill during his tenure. Beginning in 1989, he became the principal advisor to the Democratic leadership on economic policy matters and served as tax policy coordinator to the 1990 budget summit. In 1995, he developed the Ten Percent Tax Plan, a comprehensive tax reform initiative that would enable roughly four out of five taxpayers to pay no more than a 10 percent rate in federal income taxes, the principal Democratic tax reform alternative.

In 1988, he served as national issues director for Congressman Gephardt's presidential campaign. During the 1992 presidential campaign, he assisted the Clinton presidential campaign on a broad range of issues and served as a senior policy advisor to the Clinton Transition Office. In 2004, he was a senior policy advisor to the Gephardt for President Campaign and later co-chaired the Trade Policy Group for the Kerry presidential campaign. In 2008, he was publicly identified as a trade and economic policy advisor to the Obama presidential campaign.

He has coauthored a number of articles with Congressman Gephardt, and a book, *An Even Better Place: America in the 21st Century*. Commissioner Wessel served as a member of the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission in 1999–2000, a congressionally created commission charged with studying the nature, causes, and consequences of the U.S. merchandise trade and current account deficits.

Today, Commissioner Wessel is president of The Wessel Group Incorporated, a public affairs consulting firm offering expertise in government, politics, and international affairs.

Commissioner Wessel is a member of the board of directors of Goodyear Tire and Rubber. Commissioner Wessel holds a Bachelor of Arts and a Juris Doctorate from The George Washington University. He is a member of the Bar of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He and his wife Andrea have four children.

Larry M. Wortzel, Ph.D.

Larry Wortzel was reappointed by House Republican Leader John Boehner for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2012. Dr. Wortzel has served on the Commission since November 2001 and was the Commission's chairman for the 2006 and 2008 report cycles, and served as vice chairman for the 2009 report cycle.

A leading authority on China, Asia, national security, and military strategy, Commissioner Wortzel had a distinguished career in

the U.S. Armed Forces. Following three years in the marine corps, Commissioner Wortzel enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1970. His first assignment with the Army Security Agency took him to Thailand, where he focused on Chinese military communications in Vietnam and Laos. Within three years, he had graduated from the Infantry Officer Candidate School and the Airborne and Ranger schools. After four years as an infantry officer, Commissioner Wortzel shifted to military intelligence. Commissioner Wortzel traveled regularly throughout Asia while serving in the U.S. Pacific Command from 1978 to 1982. The following year, he attended the National University of Singapore, where he studied advanced Chinese and traveled in China and Southeast Asia. He next worked for the under secretary of Defense for Policy, developing counterintelligence programs to protect emerging defense technologies from foreign espionage. He also managed programs to gather foreign intelligence for the Army Intelligence and Security Command.

From 1988 to 1990, Commissioner Wortzel was the assistant army attaché at the U.S. embassy in Beijing, where he witnessed and reported on the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre. After assignments as an army strategist and managing army intelligence officers, he returned to China in 1995 as the army attaché. In December 1997, Commissioner Wortzel became a faculty member of the U.S. Army War College and served as the director of the Strategic Studies Institute. He retired from the army as a colonel.

After his military retirement, Commissioner Wortzel served as the director of the Asian Studies Center and vice president for foreign policy at The Heritage Foundation from 1999 to 2006. Commissioner Wortzel's books include *Class in China: Stratification in a Classless Society*; *China's Military Modernization: International Implications*; *The Chinese Armed Forces in the 21st Century*; and *Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Military History*. Commissioner Wortzel regularly publishes articles on Asian security matters.

A graduate of the Armed Forces Staff College and the U.S. Army War College, Commissioner Wortzel earned his Bachelor of Arts from Columbus College and his Master of Arts and Ph.D. from the University of Hawaii. He and his wife, Christine, live in Williamsburg, Virginia. They have two married sons and three grandchildren.

Michael R. Danis, Executive Director

Before joining the U.S.-China Commission, Michael Danis served as an intelligence officer with the Defense Intelligence Agency for 25 years. Mr. Danis managed the agency's technology transfer division. This division is the U.S. government's sole analytical entity tasked with producing intelligence assessments regarding all aspects of foreign acquisition of U.S.-controlled technology and high-technology corporations. Mr. Danis also established and led a unique team of China technology specialists producing assessments on China's military-industrial complex and the impact of U.S. export-controlled and other foreign technology on Chinese weapons development programs. While serving in the U.S. Air Force, Mr. Danis was twice temporarily assigned to the Office of the Defense Attaché in Beijing.

APPENDIX III

PUBLIC HEARINGS OF THE COMMISSION

<p>Full transcripts and written testimonies are available online at the Commission's website: www.uscc.gov.</p>

January 27, 2011: Public Hearing on “China’s Active Defense Strategy and its Regional Impact” Washington, DC

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman; Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman; Carolyn Bartholomew (Hearing Co-Chair); Hon. C. Richard D’Amato; Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy; Hon. Dennis C. Shea; Larry M. Wortzel (Hearing Co-Chair).

Congressional Perspectives: Hon. Rob Wittman, U.S. Representative from the state of Virginia; Hon. Daniel Inouye,* U.S. Senator from the state of Hawaii.

Witnesses: Oriana Skylar Mastro, Princeton University; Roger Cliff, The RAND Corporation; Cortez A. Cooper, The RAND Corporation; Martin C. Libicki, The RAND Corporation; Dean Cheng, The Heritage Foundation; Balbina Y. Hwang, Georgetown University; Stacy A. Pedrozo, Council on Foreign Relations; Jim Thomas, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments; David A. Deptula,* The Deptula Group, LLC.

February 25, 2011: Public Hearing on “China’s Internal Dilemmas” and Roundtable on “China’s Internal Dilemmas and Implications for the United States” Washington, DC

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman (Hearing Co-Chair); Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman; Daniel A. Blumenthal; Peter T.R. Brookes; Robin Cleveland (Hearing Co-Chair); Hon. C. Richard D’Amato; Jeffrey L. Fiedler; Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy; Hon. Dennis C. Shea; Michael R. Wessel.

Witnesses: Elizabeth Economy, Council on Foreign Relations; Martin K. Whyte, Harvard University; Murray Scot Tanner, CNA; Yukon Huang, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Steven Dunaway, Council on Foreign Relations.

Roundtable Participants: James Mann, The Johns Hopkins University, SAIS; Martin K. Whyte, Harvard University; Murray Scot Tanner, CNA; Yukon Huang, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Steven Dunaway, Council on Foreign Relations.

**March 10, 2011: Public Hearing on “China’s Narratives
Regarding National Security Policy”
Washington, DC**

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman; Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman; Carolyn Bartholomew; Daniel A. Blumenthal; Peter T.R. Brookes; Hon. C. Richard D’Amato; Jeffrey L. Fiedler (Hearing Co-Chair); Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy; Hon. Dennis C. Shea (Hearing Co-Chair); Michael R. Wessel; Larry M. Wortzel.

Witnesses: David M. Lampton, The Johns Hopkins University, SAIS; Gilbert Rozman, Princeton University and Woodrow Wilson Center; Christopher A. Ford, The Hudson Institute; Jacqueline A. Newmyer Deal, Long Term Strategy Group and Foreign Policy Research Institute; Ashley Esarey, Whitman College, Harvard University, and University of Washington; Mark A. Stokes, Project 2049 Institute; John S. Park, U.S. Institute of Peace; Abraham M. Denmark, Center for a New American Security; Alison Kaufman,* CNA; Gary D. Rawnsley,* University of Leeds (UK); Andrew Scobell,* The RAND Corporation.

**March 30, 2011: Public Hearing on “Chinese State-Owned
Enterprises and U.S.-China Bilateral Investment”
Washington, DC**

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman; Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman (Hearing Co-Chair); Carolyn Bartholomew; Daniel A. Blumenthal; Peter T.R. Brookes; Robin Cleveland; Hon. C. Richard D’Amato; Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy; Hon. Dennis C. Shea; Michael R. Wessel (Hearing Co-Chair); Larry M. Wortzel.

Congressional Perspectives: Hon. Rosa L. DeLauro, U.S. Representative from the state of Connecticut; Hon. Maurice Hinchey, U.S. Representative from the state of New York; Hon. Michael A. Michaud,* U.S. Representative from the state of Maine.

Witnesses: Barry J. Naughton, University of California; Derek Scissors, The Heritage Foundation; Theodore H. Moran, Georgetown University and Peterson Institute for International Economics; Robert E. Scott, Economic Policy Institute; K.C. Fung, University of California at Santa Cruz; Daniel H. Rosen, Rhodium Group and Peterson Institute for International Economics; Karl P. Sauvant, Columbia University.

**April 13, 2011: Public Hearing on “China’s Foreign Policy:
Challenges and Players”
Washington, DC**

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman; Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman; Carolyn Bartholomew (Hearing Co-Chair); Daniel A. Blumenthal; Peter T.R. Brookes (Hearing Co-Chair); Robin Cleveland; Hon. C. Richard D’Amato; Jeffrey L. Fiedler; Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy; Hon. Dennis C. Shea; Michael R. Wessel; Larry M. Wortzel.

Congressional Perspectives: Hon. Dana Rohrabacher, U.S. Representative from the state of California; Hon. Bill Johnson,* U.S. Representative from the state of Ohio.

Witnesses: Daniel J. Kritenbrink, U.S. Department of State; David Helvey, U.S. Department of Defense; J. Peter Pham, Atlantic Council; Alan M. Wachman, Tufts University; Andrew Small, German Marshall Fund of the United States; Victor D. Cha, Georgetown University and Center for Strategic and International Studies; John W. Garver, Georgia Institute of Technology; Richard Weitz, The Hudson Institute; Yu-Wen Julie Chen, University of Virginia; Erica S. Downs, The Brookings Institution; Susan V. Lawrence, Congressional Research Service.

**May 4, 2011: Public Hearing on “China’s Intellectual Property Rights and Indigenous Innovation Policy”
Washington, DC**

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman; Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman; Carolyn Bartholomew, Peter T.R. Brookes; Hon. C. Richard D’Amato (Hearing Co-Chair); Jeffrey L. Fiedler; Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy; Hon. Dennis C. Shea (Hearing Co-Chair); Michael R. Wessel.

Congressional Perspectives: Hon. Thomas Slade Gorton, former U.S. Senator from the state of Washington; Hon. Brad Sherman, U.S. Representative from the state of California.

Witnesses: Michael Schlesinger, International Intellectual Property Alliance; Ken Wasch, Software & Information Industry Association; Thea Mei Lee, AFL-CIO; Alan Wm. Wolff, Dewey & LeBoeuf, LLP.

**May 11, 2011: Public Hearing on “The Implications of China’s Military and Civil Space Programs”
Washington, DC**

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman; Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman; Carolyn Bartholomew; Daniel A. Blumenthal (Hearing Co-Chair); Robin Cleveland; Hon. C. Richard D’Amato; Jeffrey L. Fiedler; Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy; Hon. Dennis C. Shea; Michael R. Wessel (Hearing Co-Chair); Larry M. Wortzel.

Congressional Perspective: Hon. Frank Wolf, U.S. Representative from the state of Virginia.

Witnesses: Gregory L. Schulte, U.S. Department of Defense; Mark A. Stokes, Project 2049 Institute; Bruce W. MacDonald, U.S. Institute of Peace; Barry Watts, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments; Scott Pace, The George Washington University; James Clay Moltz, Naval Postgraduate School; Alanna Krolikowski, The George Washington University Space Policy Institute and University of Toronto; Dean Cheng,* The Heritage Foundation.

**June 15, 2011: Public Hearing on “China’s Five-Year Plan,
Indigenous Innovation and Technology Transfers,
and Outsourcing”
Washington, DC**

Commissioners present: Hon. William A. Reinsch, Chairman; Daniel M. Slane, Vice Chairman (Hearing Co-Chair); Carolyn Bartholomew; Daniel A. Blumenthal; Peter T.R. Brookes; Robin Cleveland; Hon. C. Richard D’Amato; Hon. Patrick A. Mulloy (Hearing Co-Chair); Hon. Dennis C. Shea; Michael R. Wessel.

Witnesses: Willy C. Shih, Harvard Business School; Eswar S. Prasad, Cornell University and The Brookings Institution; Adam Segal, Council on Foreign Relations; John Neuffer, Information Technology Industry Council; Dieter Ernst, East-West Center; Ralph E. Gomory, NYU Stern School of Business and Alfred P. Sloan Foundation; Leo Hindery, Jr., New America Foundation; Philip I. Levy, American Enterprise Institute.

*Submitted material for the record.

APPENDIX IIIA
LIST OF WITNESSES TESTIFYING BEFORE
THE COMMISSION
2011 Hearings

Full transcripts and written testimonies are available online at the Commission's website: www.uscc.gov .

Alphabetical Listing of Panelists Testifying before the USCC

Panelist Name	Panelist Affiliation	USCC Hearing
Cha, Victor D.	Georgetown University and Center for Strategic and International Studies	April 13, 2011
Chen, Yu-Wen Julie	University of Virginia	April 13, 2011
Cheng, Dean	The Heritage Foundation	January 27, 2011 May 11, 2011 *
Cliff, Roger	The RAND Corporation	January 27, 2011
Cooper, Cortez A.	The RAND Corporation	January 27, 2011
DeLauro, Rosa L.	U.S. Representative from the state of Connecticut	March 30, 2011
Denmark, Abraham M.	Center for a New American Security	March 10, 2011
Deptula, David A. *	The Deptula Group, LLC	January 27, 2011
Downs, Erica S.	The Brookings Institution	April 13, 2011
Dunaway, Steven	Council on Foreign Relations	February 25, 2011
Economy, Elizabeth	Council on Foreign Relations	February 25, 2011
Ernst, Dieter	East-West Center	June 15, 2011
Esarey, Ashley	Whitman College, Harvard University, and University of Washington	March 10, 2011
Ford, Christopher A.	The Hudson Institute	March 10, 2011
Fung, K.C.	University of California at Santa Cruz	March 30, 2011

Alphabetical Listing of Panelists Testifying before the USCC
Continued

Panelist Name	Panelist Affiliation	USCC Hearing
Garver, John W.	Georgia Institute of Technology	April 13, 2011
Gomory, Ralph E.	NYU Stern School of Business and Alfred P. Sloan Foundation	June 15, 2011
Gorton, Thomas Slade	Former U.S. Senator from the state of Washington	May 4, 2011
Helvey, David	U.S. Department of Defense	April 13, 2011
Hinchey, Maurice	U.S. Representative from the state of New York	March 30, 2011
Hindery Jr., Leo	New America Foundation	June 15, 2011
Huang, Yukon	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	February 25, 2011
Hwang, Balbina Y.	Georgetown University	January 27, 2011
Inouye, Daniel *	U.S. Senator from the state of Hawaii	January 27, 2011
Johnson, Bill *	U.S. Representative from the state of Ohio	April 13, 2011
Kaufman, Alison *	CNA	March 10, 2011
Kritenbrink, Daniel J.	U.S. Department of State	April 13, 2011
Krolikowski, Alanna	The George Washington University Space Policy Institute and University of Toronto	May 11, 2011
Lampton, David M.	The Johns Hopkins University, SAIS	March 10, 2011
Lawrence, Susan V.	Congressional Research Service	April 13, 2011
Lee, Thea Mei	AFL-CIO	May 4, 2011
Levy, Philip I.	American Enterprise Institute	June 15, 2011
Libicki, Martin C.	The RAND Corporation	January 27, 2011
MacDonald, Bruce W.	U.S. Institute of Peace	May 11, 2011
Mann, James	The Johns Hopkins University, SAIS	February 25, 2011
Mastro, Oriana Skylar	Princeton University	January 27, 2011
Michaud, Michael A.*	U.S. Representative from the state of Maine	March 30, 2011
Moltz, James Clay	Naval Postgraduate School	May 11, 2011

Alphabetical Listing of Panelists Testifying before the USCC
Continued

Panelist Name	Panelist Affiliation	USCC Hearing
Moran, Theodore H.	Georgetown University and Peterson Institute for International Economics	March 30, 2011
Naughton, Barry J.	University of California	March 30, 2011
Neuffer, John	Information Technology Industry Council	June 15, 2011
Newmyer Deal, Jacqueline A.	Long Term Strategy Group and Foreign Policy Research Institute	March 10, 2011
Pace, Scott	The George Washington University	May 11, 2011
Park, John S.	U.S. Institute of Peace	March 10, 2011
Pedrozo, Stacy A.	Council on Foreign Relations	January 27, 2011
Pham, J. Peter	Atlantic Council	April 13, 2011
Prasad, Eswar S.	Cornell University and The Brookings Institution	June 15, 2011
Rawnsley, Gary D.*	University of Leeds (UK)	March 10, 2011
Rohrabacher, Dana	U.S. Representative from the state of California	April 13, 2011
Rosen, Daniel H.	Rhodium Group and Peterson Institute for International Economics	March 30, 2011
Rozman, Gilbert	Princeton University and Woodrow Wilson Center	March 10, 2011
Sauvant, Karl P.	Columbia University	March 30, 2011
Schlesinger, Michael	International Intellectual Property Alliance	May 4, 2011
Schulte, Gregory L.	U.S. Department of Defense	May 11, 2011
Scissors, Derek	The Heritage Foundation	March 30, 2011
Scobell, Andrew*	The RAND Corporation	March 10, 2011
Scott, Robert E.	Economic Policy Institute	March 30, 2011
Segal, Adam	Council on Foreign Relations	June 15, 2011
Sherman, Brad	U.S. Representative from the state of California	May 4, 2011
Shih, Willy C.	Harvard Business School	June 15, 2011
Small, Andrew	German Marshall Fund of the United States	April 13, 2011

Alphabetical Listing of Panelists Testifying before the USCC
Continued

Panelist Name	Panelist Affiliation	USCC Hearing
Stokes, Mark A.	Project 2049 Institute	March 10, 2011 May 11, 2011
Tanner, Murray Scot	CNA	February 25, 2011
Thomas, Jim	Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments	January 27, 2011
Wachman, Alan M.	Tufts University	April 13, 2011
Wasch, Ken	Software & Information Industry Association	May 4, 2011
Watts, Barry	Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments	May 11, 2011
Weitz, Richard	The Hudson Institute	April 13, 2011
Whyte, Martin K.	Harvard University	February 25, 2011
Wittman, Rob	U.S. Representative from the state of Virginia	January 27, 2011
Wolf, Frank	U.S. Representative from the state of Virginia	May 11, 2011
Wolff, Alan Wm.	Dewey & LeBoeuf, LLP	May 4, 2011

*Submitted material for the record.

APPENDIX IV
INTERLOCUTORS' ORGANIZATIONS

Asia Fact Finding Trips
December 2010 and August 2011

SINGAPORE AND INDONESIA, DECEMBER 10–18, 2010

During the visit of a U.S.-China Commission delegation to Singapore and Indonesia in December 2010, the delegation met with representatives of the following organizations:

In Singapore

U.S. Government

- U.S. Embassy in Singapore

Government of Singapore

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Ministry of Defense
- Republic of Singapore Navy
- Economic Development Board

Research Organizations

- Rajaratnam School of International Studies
- East Asian Institute

In Indonesia

U.S. Government

- U.S. Embassy in Jakarta

Government of Indonesia

- Indonesia Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (KEMLU)
- National Economic Committee
- Ministry of Trade (KEMDAG)
- Ministry of Defense (KEMHAN)
- National Resilience Institute of Indonesia (LEMHANAS)

Universities and Research Organizations

- Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta
- University of Indonesia

Private Enterprise

- PT Indika Energy
- Van Zorge, Heffernan & Associates

Intergovernmental Institutions

- ASEAN Secretariat
- World Bank Office Jakarta

CHINA, HONG KONG, AND TAIWAN, AUGUST 6–18, 2011

During the visit of a U.S.-China Commission delegation to China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan in August 2011, the delegation met with representatives of the following organizations:

In China**U.S. Government**

- U.S. Embassy in Beijing
- U.S. Consulate in Shanghai

Government of the People's Republic of China

- China Investment Corporation
- China Institute of International Studies
- The Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs

Research and University Organizations

- Shanghai Scholar Roundtable
- Fudan University
- Shanghai Jiaotong University
- Shanghai Institute for International Studies
- Tongji University

Private Enterprise

- China Aerospace Science and Technology Corporation
- China Great Wall Industry Corporation
- Shanghai Academy of Spaceflight Technology
- American Chamber of Commerce Beijing
- American Chamber of Commerce Shanghai
- U.S.-China Business Council
- Korea Business Consultants
- Koryo Tours
- Pan Asia Technical Automotive Center (Shanghai)

In Hong Kong**U.S. Government**

- U.S. Consulate in Hong Kong

Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

- Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office

Private Enterprise

- American Chamber of Commerce Hong Kong
- Goldman Sachs

Political Enterprise

- Hong Kong Pan-Democrats

In Taiwan

U.S. Government

- American Institute in Taiwan

Government of Taiwan

- President Ma Ying-Jeou
- Legislative Yuan
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Ministry of Defense
- Ministry of Economic Affairs
- National Security Council
- Mainland Affairs Council

Political Enterprise

- Taiwan Democratic Progressive Party

APPENDIX V
LIST OF RESEARCH MATERIAL
Contracted and Staff Research Reports
Released in 2011

Disclaimer

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Contracted Research Reports

An Analysis of State-owned Enterprises and State Capitalism in China

Prepared for the USCC by Andrew Szamosszegi and Cole Kyle/
Capital Trade, Inc.

October 2011

http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/10_26_11_CapitalTradeSOEStudy.pdf

China's Program for Science and Technology Modernization: Implications for American Competitiveness

Prepared for the USCC by Micah Springut, Stephen Schlaikjer, and
David Chen/CENTRA Technology, Inc.

April 2011

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Ready for Takeoff: China's Advancing Aerospace Industry

Prepared for the USCC by Roger Cliff, Chad J.R. Ohlandt, and
David Yang/RAND Corporation

March 2011

http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/RAND_Aerospace_Report%5b1%5d.pdf

The Evolving Role of China in International Institutions

Prepared for the USCC by Stephen Olson and Clyde Prestowitz/
The Economic Strategy Institute

January 2011

<http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/TheEvolvingRoleofChinainInternationalInstitutions.pdf>

Staff Research Reports and Backgrounders

China's Foreign Assistance in Review

Written by USCC staff members Jonathan Weston,
Caitlin Campbell, and Katherine Koleski

September 2011

http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/9_1_%202011_ChinasForeignAssistanceinReview.pdf

The Confucian Revival in the Propaganda Narratives of the Chinese Government

Written by USCC Research Coordinator John Dotson

July 2011

http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/Confucian_Revival_Paper.pdf

The Chinese People's Liberation Army Delegation Visit to the United States, May 2011: A Summary of Key Actors and Issues

Written by USCC Research Fellow Amy Chang

June 2011

http://www.uscc.gov/PLA_Delegation_Visit_to_U.S._May_2011_Backgrounder.pdf

Backgrounder: China's 12th Five-Year Plan

Written by USCC Research Assistant Katherine Koleski and
Research Fellow Joseph Casey

June 2011

http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/12th-FiveYearPlan_062811.pdf

Backgrounder: China in Latin America

Written by USCC Research Assistant Katherine Koleski
May 2011

http://www.uscc.gov/Backgrounder_China_in_Latin_America.pdf

Going Out: An Overview of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment

Written by USCC Policy Analyst Nargiza Salidjanova

March 2011

<http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/GoingOut.pdf>

***The National Security Implications of Investments and
Products from the People's Republic of China in the
Telecommunications Sector***

Prepared by USCC staff with the support of Reperi LLC

January 2011

*<http://www.uscc.gov/RFP/2011/FINALREPORT> TheNational
SecurityImplicationsofInvestmentsandProductsfromThePRC
intheTelecommunicationsSector.pdf*

APPENDIX VI

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFL–CIO	American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CAIFC	China Association for International Friendly Contact
CBRC	China Banking Regulatory Commission
CCTV 7	China Central Television 7
CFIUS	Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States
CIC	China Investment Corporation
CIRC	China Insurance Regulatory Commission
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
CNPC	China National Petroleum Corporation
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CRS	Congressional Research Service
CPD	Center for Peace and Development
CSRC	China Securities Regulatory Commission
CZ	Chang Zheng (family of rockets)
DoD	Department of Defense
EEZ	Exclusive economic zone
EOS	Earth observation system
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GDP	Gross domestic product
GPA	WTO Agreement on Government Procurement
Km	Kilometer
MLP	Medium- and Long-Term Plan for the Development of Science and Technology
NDRC	National Development and Reform Commission
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PLA	People’s Liberation Army
PRC	People’s Republic of China
R&D	Research and development
RMB	Renminbi
SASAC	State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEI	Strategic Emerging Industry
Sinopec	China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation
SOE	State-owned enterprise
UN	United Nations
USTR	United States Trade Representative
VAT	Value-added tax

WAPI	Wired Authentication and Privacy Infrastructure Standard
WTO	World Trade Organization

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