

## Course Syllabus—Yonsei International Summer School 2010

**Subject: China's National Security: Chinese and American Perspectives**

**Credits:** 3

**Instructor:** Dr. Andrew S. Erickson. *He will be participating solely in his private capacity, and all statements will reflect his personal views, and not the policies or estimates of the U.S. Naval War College or any other organization of the U.S. Government.*

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**Office Hours:** TBA

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**Course Description and Goals:** China's rapid development is reshaping the world in all dimensions. Like any nation, China has its own core national security interests. As the most dynamic great power in the international system today, however, China increasingly influences the interests of other nations even as those nations influence China's interests. As the world's greatest developed and developing powers, respectively, the United States and China are central to the development of world events in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The most sensitive aspect of this vital bilateral relationship is the development of their militaries, particularly as China reclaims its status as a great power.

This graduate-level seminar course will help students to better examine creatively, understand, and conduct their own original research on, Chinese military modernization. Class discussions will emphasize how these factors and developments can be addressed or affected by U.S. and Chinese policy choices. Multiple perspectives are welcome and ideology will not be imposed in any way; the emphasis will rather be on exploring vital issues by employing the most accurate data and analysis.

Graduates will be able to:

- Describe and assess the economic, technological, and regional dynamics that drive China's military modernization.
- Describe China's military forces, including the specific capabilities and weaknesses addressed or omitted in its modernization effort.
- Assess and describe how China's military modernization will affect the security of other Pacific nations, and their possible military, economic, and other policy responses.
- Assess how China will likely react, based on historical and cultural influences as well as objective motivations, to changes in U.S. naval and other military presence in the Western Pacific, including basing on Guam and Japan.
- Describe where and how U.S., Chinese and other states' security interests and concerns coincide and conflict, and analyze how policy choices can mitigate or exacerbate such conflicts.

- Describe opportunities for and potential benefits and risks of increased maritime engagement between the U.S., China, and other Pacific economic and military powers.

**Prerequisites:** None.

**Course Requirements:**

*Format:* The first half of the class will generally be a lecture. The second half will center on class discussion. Students are expected to read assigned readings in advance to prepare for class. Additional readings may be consulted in preparing research papers. These may be supplemented by other sources. Chinese analyses in English are available from <http://www.chinasecurity.us/>; students are strongly encouraged to make maximum use of this unique resource. Analyses, many written by American researchers, are available from [www.nbr.org](http://www.nbr.org), [www.rand.org](http://www.rand.org), [http://www.ndu.edu/INSS/CHINA\\_Center/INSS\\_About\\_CSCMA.htm](http://www.ndu.edu/INSS/CHINA_Center/INSS_About_CSCMA.htm), <http://www.cna.org/international/china/>, <http://www.defensegroupinc.com/cira/index.cfm>, <http://www.comw.org/cmp/>, <http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/>, <http://www.fas.org/blog/ssp/category/china>, <http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute.aspx> and [www.andrewerickson.com](http://www.andrewerickson.com). Other highly recommended sources include [www.sinodefence.com](http://www.sinodefence.com).

Course requirements consist of active participation in the daily sessions, a thorough examination of the required readings, and a research paper. Required readings must be read prior to each class. Additional readings may be read at the student's discretion. This is highly encouraged, as it will enable students to make a greater contribution to class discussions and prepare their research papers.

*Research Paper:* The research paper requires the student to examine a specific aspect of Chinese military modernization, using non-U.S. source material whenever possible.

*Grading:* Grading will be based on a combination of the student's written product and class participation demonstrating an understanding of the assigned readings. Students must meet the following requirements, which will be weighted accordingly:

- Active class participation in class discussion: 25%
- Paper topic: 5%
- Paper bibliography: 5%
- Paper draft: 15%
- Class presentation: 10%
- Final paper: 40%

The dates at which these specific items are due are specified in the syllabus.

## **Week 1: China's National Security Interests and Geostrategic Position**

### **29 June: Introduction, Sources and Methodology**

#### **Required Reading:**

- *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World* (Washington, D.C.: National Intelligence Council, November 2008), [http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC\\_2025\\_project.html](http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html). (Please read the executive summary and skim any other parts that interest you).
- Paul Kennedy, "The Rise and Fall of Navies," *International Herald Tribune*, April 5, 2007, <http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/04/05/opinion/edkennedy.php>.
- Robert D. Kaplan, "America's Elegant Decline," *Atlantic Monthly* (November 2007), <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/prem/200711/america-decline>.

### **30 June: China and the Asia-Pacific**

#### **Required Reading:**

- David Shambaugh, "China and the Korean Peninsula: Playing for the Long Term," *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2003, pp. 43-56, [http://www.twq.com/03spring/docs/03spring\\_shambaugh.pdf](http://www.twq.com/03spring/docs/03spring_shambaugh.pdf).
- Wu Xinbo, "The End of the Silver Lining: A Chinese View of the U.S.-Japan Alliance," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2005-06, pp. 119-130, [http://www.twq.com/06winter/docs/06winter\\_wuxinbo.pdf](http://www.twq.com/06winter/docs/06winter_wuxinbo.pdf).
- Eugene B. Rumer, "China, Russia and the Balance of Power in Central Asia," National Defense University, Strategic Forum No. 223, November 2006, pp. 1-8, <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Strforum/SF223/SF223.pdf>.

#### **Additional Reading:**

- Yang Bojiang, "Redefining Sino-Japanese Relations after Koizumi," *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2006, pp. 129-137, [http://www.twq.com/06autumn/docs/06autumn\\_yang.pdf](http://www.twq.com/06autumn/docs/06autumn_yang.pdf).
- Peter Dutton, "Carving up the East China Sea," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 60, no. 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 49-72, <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/346ee9d7-0c45-4e54-9a48-20f25d83c61d/Carving-Up-the-East-China-Sea---Dutton,-Peter>
- Peter Dutton, *Scouting, Signaling, and Gatekeeping: Chinese Naval Operations in Japanese Waters and the International Law Implications*, China Maritime Study No. 2 (February 2009), [http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS2\\_Dutton.aspx](http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS2_Dutton.aspx).

### **1 July: China and the World**

**\*\*\*Paper topics due: one paragraph submitted electronically.**

#### **Required Reading:**

- James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, “China and the United States in the Indian Ocean: An Emerging Strategic Triangle?,” *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 61, No. 3, (Summer 2008), pp. 41-60, [http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/NWCR\\_Strategic-Triangle-in-IO\\_HolmesYoshihara.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/NWCR_Strategic-Triangle-in-IO_HolmesYoshihara.pdf).
- Bates Gill and James Reilly, “The Tenuous Hold of China, Inc. in Africa,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 37-52, [http://www.twq.com/07summer/docs/07summer\\_gill\\_reilly.pdf](http://www.twq.com/07summer/docs/07summer_gill_reilly.pdf).
- Liu Xuecheng, “China’s Energy Strategy and Its Grand Strategy,” The Stanley Foundation, Policy Analysis Brief, September 2006, pp. 1-15, <http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pab/pab06chinasenergy.pdf>.

### **Additional Reading:**

- Daniel H. Rosen and Trevor Houser, “China Energy--A Guide for the Perplexed,” China Balance Sheet Project, May 2007, pp. 4-45, <http://www.petersoninstitute.org/publications/papers/rosen0507.pdf>.
- Andrew S. Erickson and Gabriel Collins, “China’s Maritime Evolution: Military and Commercial Factors,” *Pacific Focus*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 2007), pp. 47-75, [http://www.inhacis.com/zeroboard/data/krback/1207813097/03\\_Ericson.pdf](http://www.inhacis.com/zeroboard/data/krback/1207813097/03_Ericson.pdf).
- Jing-dong Yuan, “The Dragon and the Elephant: Chinese-Indian Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2007, pp. 131-44, [http://www.twq.com/07summer/docs/07summer\\_yuan.pdf](http://www.twq.com/07summer/docs/07summer_yuan.pdf).
- Lyle Goldstein, “Strategic Implications of China’s Fisheries Development,” *Jamestown China Brief*, Vol. 9, No. 16 (August 2009), pp. 10-13, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=35372](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35372).
- *China Fisheries* (Washington DC: NOAA, 2000), <http://www.lib.noaa.gov/china/index.htm>.

## **Week 2: China’s Military Modernization: Resources, Drivers, and Doctrine**

### **5 July: China’s National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine**

**\*\*\*Paper sources due: two pages submitted electronically.**

### **Required Reading:**

- *China’s National Defense in 2008*, State Council Information Office, January 2009, [http://www.china.org.cn/government/central\\_government/2009-01/20/content\\_17155577.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/government/central_government/2009-01/20/content_17155577.htm)
- Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J. Tellis, *Interpreting China’s Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future*, Rand, 2000, pp. 1-6, [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1121/](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1121/) (PDFs of the chapters are available at the bottom of the page; please read summary)
- Xu Qi, “Maritime Geostrategy and the Development of the Chinese Navy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” translated by Andrew Erickson and Lyle Goldstein, *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Autumn 2006), pp. 46-66,

[http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson---Goldstein\\_Chinese-Maritime-Geostrategy\\_fall06.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson---Goldstein_Chinese-Maritime-Geostrategy_fall06.pdf).

- Michael Chase and Kristen Gunness, “The PLA’s Multiple Military Tasks: Prioritizing Combat Operations and Developing MOOTW Capabilities,” *Jamestown China Brief*, January 21, 2010, [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=35931&tx\\_ttnews\[backPid\]=25&cHash=8945e05997](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35931&tx_ttnews[backPid]=25&cHash=8945e05997).

#### **Additional Reading:**

- David M. Finkelstein, “China’s National Military Strategy: An Overview of the ‘Military Strategic Guidelines,’” in Roy Kamphausen and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Right-Sizing the People’s Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China’s Military*, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September 2007, pp. 69-132, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB784.pdf> (please note this is a link to the PDF of the entire book).
- David M. Finkelstein, “Thinking About the PLA’s ‘Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs,’” in James Mulvenon and David Finkelstein, ed., *China’s Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs: Emerging Trends in the Operational Art of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army*, Alexandria, VA: Center for Naval Analysis, 2005, pp. 1-28, <http://www.cna.org/documents/doctrinebook.pdf> (please note that this is a link to the PDF of the entire book)
- Nan Li, *Chinese Civil-Military Relations in the Post-Deng Era: Implications for Crisis Management and Naval Modernization*, China Maritime Study No. 4 (January 2010), <http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/China-Maritime-Study-No-4-January-2010.aspx>.

### **6 July: China’s Defense Spending and Industry**

#### **Required Reading:**

- Keith Crane, Roger Cliff, Evan Medeiros, James Mulvenon, and William Overholt, *Modernizing China’s Military: Opportunities and Constraints*, Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2005, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG260-1/>. (Please read summary, which may be downloaded separately).
- Evan S. Medeiros, Roger Cliff, Keith Crane, and James Mulvenon, *A New Direction for China’s Defense Industry*, Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2005, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG334/>. (Please read summary, which may be downloaded separately).

#### **Additional Reading:**

- Gabriel Collins and LCDR Michael Grubb, USN, *A Comprehensive Survey of China’s Dynamic Shipbuilding Industry: Commercial Development and Strategic Implications*, [http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS1\\_Collins-Grubb.aspx](http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS1_Collins-Grubb.aspx).

- Paul Maidment, “Outsourcing Innovation?” *Forbes*, May 29, 2007, [http://www.forbes.com/opinions/2007/05/21/outsourcing-china-innovation-oped-cx\\_pm\\_0529china.html](http://www.forbes.com/opinions/2007/05/21/outsourcing-china-innovation-oped-cx_pm_0529china.html).

## **7 July: PLA Development Trends**

### **Required Reading:**

- Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Annual Report to the Congress: The Military Power of the People’s Republic of China-2009*, Department of Defense, March 2009, [http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Power\\_Report\\_2009.pdf](http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Power_Report_2009.pdf) (Please read the executive summary and feel free to browse any other sections of particular interest to you).
- M. Taylor Fravel, “China’s Search for Military Power,” *Washington Quarterly* 31:3 (Summer 2008), pp. 125-141, [http://www.twq.com/08summer/docs/08summer\\_fravel.pdf](http://www.twq.com/08summer/docs/08summer_fravel.pdf)

### **Additional Reading:**

- *Right-Sizing the People’s Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China’s Military* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September 2007), pp. 143-190, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=784>

## **8 July: Debating China’s Military Trajectory**

### **Required Reading:**

- Aaron L. Friedberg and Robert S. Ross, “Here be Dragons—Robert S. Ross and Aaron L. Friedberg Debate: Is China a Military Threat?” *National Interest*, Sep/Oct 2009, <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=22022>.
- Dennis J. Blasko, “The Pentagon-PLA Disconnect: China’s Self Assessments of its Military Capabilities,” *China Brief*, July 3, 2008, [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=5034&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=168&no\\_cache=1](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=5034&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=168&no_cache=1).
- Dennis Blasko, “The PRC 60th Anniversary Parade: Equipment on Display, Not Military Capabilities,” *China Brief*, September 24, 2009, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=35535](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35535).

### **Additional Reading:**

- “China’s Military Space Strategy: An Exchange,” *Survival* 50:1 (February 2008), pp. 157-198, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/SurvivalTellis.pdf>.

## **Week 3: China’s Military Force Modernization: Part 1: Land and Sea Dimensions**

### **12 July: Overview and Ground Forces**

\*\*\*Paper outlines due: five pages submitted electronically.

### Required Reading:

- Murray Scott Tanner, “How China Manages its Internal Security Challenges and its Impact on PLA Missions,” in Roy Kamphausen, David Lai, and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan*, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=910>.
- Robert O. Modarelli III, “PLA Missions in Frontier Security and Counterterrorism,” in Roy Kamphausen, David Lai, and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan*, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=910>.

### Additional Reading:

- Bates Gill and Chin-hao Huang, “China’s Expanding Presence in UN Peacekeeping Missions and Implications for the United States,” in Roy Kamphausen, David Lai, and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan*, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=910>.
- Andrew Scobell et al., “Roundtable: Sizing the Chinese Military,” *Asia Policy*, No. 4 (July 2007), pp. 53-105, [http://nbr.org/publications/asia\\_policy/AP4/AP4%20PLA%20RT.pdf](http://nbr.org/publications/asia_policy/AP4/AP4%20PLA%20RT.pdf).

## 13 July: Naval Development--Overview

### Required Reading:

- Office of Naval Intelligence, China SIO, *The People’s Liberation Army Navy: A Modern Navy with Chinese Characteristics*, Office of Naval Intelligence, Suitland, MD, July 2009, pp. 1-2, 5-11, 16-30, 43-46, [http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/11/oni\\_china\\_navy.html](http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/11/oni_china_navy.html).
- Ronald O’Rourke, “China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities -- Background and Issues for Congress,” October 21, 2009, [http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/11/oni\\_china\\_navy.html](http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/11/oni_china_navy.html).
- Lu Rude, “The New U.S. Maritime Strategy Surfaces” (translated by Andrew Erickson), *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (Autumn 2008), pp. 35-71, [http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson\\_MARSTRAT\\_ChineseViews\\_Part2\\_Translation\\_Lu\\_Rude\\_NWCR\\_2008\\_Autumn.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson_MARSTRAT_ChineseViews_Part2_Translation_Lu_Rude_NWCR_2008_Autumn.pdf).

### Additional Reading:

- Andrew Erickson, “Assessing the New U.S. Maritime Strategy: A Window into Chinese Thinking (Annotated translation and analysis of three Chinese articles),” *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (Autumn 2008), pp. 35-71,

[http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson\\_MARSTRAT\\_ChineseViews\\_Part1\\_Analysis\\_NWCR\\_2008\\_Autumn.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson_MARSTRAT_ChineseViews_Part1_Analysis_NWCR_2008_Autumn.pdf).

- Wang Baofu, “The U.S. Military’s ‘Maritime Strategy’ and Future Transformation” (translated by Andrew Erickson), *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (Autumn 2008), pp. 35-71, [http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson\\_MARSTRAT\\_ChineseViews\\_Part3\\_Translation\\_Wang\\_Baofu\\_NWCR\\_2008\\_Autumn.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson_MARSTRAT_ChineseViews_Part3_Translation_Wang_Baofu_NWCR_2008_Autumn.pdf).
- Su Hao, “The U.S. Maritime Strategy’s New Thinking: Reviewing the ‘Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower’” (translated by Andrew Erickson), *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (Autumn 2008), pp. 35-71, [http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson\\_MARSTRAT\\_ChineseViews\\_Part4\\_Translation\\_Su\\_Hao\\_NWCR\\_2008\\_Autumn.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson_MARSTRAT_ChineseViews_Part4_Translation_Su_Hao_NWCR_2008_Autumn.pdf).

#### **14 July: Naval Development—Undersea Capabilities**

##### **Required Reading:**

- James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, “China’s New Undersea Deterrent: Strategy, Doctrine, and Capabilities,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, Number 50 (3rd quarter 2008), pp. 31-38, [http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/JFQ\\_ChineseSSBN\\_YoshiharaHolmes.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Published-Articles/JFQ_ChineseSSBN_YoshiharaHolmes.pdf).
- Andrew Erickson and Michael Chase, “China’s SSBN Force: Transitioning to the Next Generation,” *Jamestown China Brief*, Vol. 9, Issue 12, June 12, 2009, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=35120](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35120).
- Andrew Erickson, Lyle Goldstein, and William Murray, “China’s ‘Undersea Sentries’: Sea Mines Constitute Lead Element of PLA Navy’s ASW,” *Undersea Warfare*, Vol. 9, Winter 2007, pp. 10-15, [http://andrewserickson.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/erickson-article\\_chinese-mine-warfare\\_undersea-warfare\\_winter-2007.pdf](http://andrewserickson.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/erickson-article_chinese-mine-warfare_undersea-warfare_winter-2007.pdf).

##### **Additional Reading:**

- Andrew S. Erickson, Lyle J. Goldstein, and William S. Murray, *Chinese Mine Warfare: A PLA Navy ‘Assassin’s Mace’ Capability*, China Maritime Study No. 3 (June 2009), [http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS3\\_Mine-Warfare.aspx](http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/CMS3_Mine-Warfare.aspx).
- Andrew Erickson and Lyle Goldstein, “China’s Future Nuclear Submarine Force-Insights from Chinese Writings,” *Naval War College Review*, winter 2007, pp. 55-79, [http://andrewserickson.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/erickson-article\\_erickson-goldstein\\_chinas-future-nuclear-submarine-force\\_nwcr\\_2007-01.pdf](http://andrewserickson.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/erickson-article_erickson-goldstein_chinas-future-nuclear-submarine-force_nwcr_2007-01.pdf).

#### **15 July: Naval Development—Surface and Air Capabilities**



**Required Reading:**

- Eric A. McVadon, "China's Maturing Navy," *Naval War College Review* (Spring 2006), <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/733a4954-0390-4bfa-a122-4a22fa0e6fba/China-s-Maturing-Navy---McVadon,-Eric-A->
- Richard Fisher, "China's New Large Amphibious Assault Ship," (Washington DC: International Strategy Assessment Center, 2007), [http://www.strategycenter.net/printVersion/print\\_pub.asp?pubID=136](http://www.strategycenter.net/printVersion/print_pub.asp?pubID=136).
- Nan Li and Christopher Weuve, "China's Aircraft Carrier Ambitions: An Update," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 63, No. 1, Winter 2010, <http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/China-s-Aircraft-Carrier-Ambitions--An-Update1.pdf>.

**Additional Reading:**

- You Ji, "A New Era for China's Naval Expansion," *China Brief*, Vol 6, No. 5 (March 2006), [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=31437&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=196&no\\_cache=1](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=31437&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=196&no_cache=1).

**Week 4: China's Military Force Modernization: Part 2: Air and Space Dimensions****19 July: China's Nuclear Doctrine and Forces**

\*\*\*Paper drafts due: twenty pages submitted electronically.

**Required Reading:**

- Wang Zhongchun, "Nuclear Challenges and China's Choices," *China Security*, Winter 2007, pp. 52-65, [http://www.wsichina.org/cs5\\_4.pdf](http://www.wsichina.org/cs5_4.pdf)
- Michael Chase, Andrew Erickson, and Christopher Yeaw, "The Future of Chinese Deterrence Strategy," *China Brief*, March 4, 2009, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=34661](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34661)
- Larry M. Wortzel, *China's Nuclear Forces: Operations, Training, Doctrine, Command, Control, and Campaign Planning* (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2007). [www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub776.pdf](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub776.pdf).

**Additional Reading:**

- Evan S. Medeiros, "'Minding the Gap:' Assessing the Trajectory of the PLA's 2<sup>nd</sup> Artillery," in Roy Kamphausen and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Right-Sizing the People's Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China's Military*, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September 2007, pp. 143-190, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB784.pdf>.

**20 July: China's Conventional Missile Forces**

**Required Reading:**

- Martin Andrew, “China’s Conventional Cruise and Ballistic Missile Force Modernization and Deployment,” *Jamestown China Brief*, January 7, 2010, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=35881](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35881).
- Andrew Erickson and David Yang, “On the Verge of a Game-Changer,” U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*, Vol. 135, No. 3 (May 2009), pp. 26-32, [http://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/story.asp?STORY\\_ID=1856](http://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/story.asp?STORY_ID=1856).
- “China’s Missile Industry,” in Evan Medeiros et al., *A New Direction for China’s Defense Industry* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005), pp. 51-106, [www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\\_MG334.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG334.pdf).

**Additional Reading:**

- National Air and Space Intelligence Center, *Ballistic and Cruise Missile Threat* (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, April 2009), [www.fas.org/programs/ssp/nukes/NASIC2009.pdf](http://www.fas.org/programs/ssp/nukes/NASIC2009.pdf).
- Mark A. Stokes, “Chinese Ballistic Missile Forces in the Age of Global Missile Defense: Challenges and Responses,” in Andrew Scobell and Larry M. Wortzel, ed., *China’s Growing Military Power: Perspectives on Security, Ballistic Missiles, and Conventional Capabilities*, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September 2002, pp. 107-168, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB59.pdf>
- Andrew Erickson and David Yang, “Using the Land to Control the Sea? Chinese Analysts Consider the Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile,” *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Autumn 2009, pp. 53-86, [http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/Erickson-Article\\_Erickson-Yang\\_China-ASBM\\_NWCR\\_200.pdf](http://www.usnwc.edu/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies-Institute/Publications/documents/Erickson-Article_Erickson-Yang_China-ASBM_NWCR_200.pdf)

**21 July: China’s Air Power Development****Required Reading:**

- Phillip C. Saunders and Erik R. Quam, “China’s Air Force Modernization,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, Issue 47, No. 4 2007, pp. 28-33, [http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Press/jfq\\_pages/editions/i47/7.pdf](http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Press/jfq_pages/editions/i47/7.pdf).
- “China’s Military-Aviation Industry,” in Evan Medeiros et al., *A New Direction for China’s Defense Industry* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005), pp. 155-201, [www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\\_MG334.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG334.pdf).

**Additional Reading:**

- Phillip C. Saunders and Erik R. Quam, “China’s Air Force Modernization,” in Roy Kamphausen and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Right-Sizing the People’s Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China’s Military*, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September 2007, pp. 377-421, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=784> (please note that this is a link to the PDF of the entire book).

## 22 July: China's C4ISR and Space Development

### Required Reading:

- Andrew Erickson and Michael Chase, "Information Technology and China's Naval Modernization," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Issue 50, No. 3, 2008.  
[www.ndu.edu/inss/Press/jfq\\_pages/editions/i50/10.pdf](http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Press/jfq_pages/editions/i50/10.pdf)
- Bao Shixiu, "Dominance in Space," *Beijing Review*, 15-21 March 2007,  
[http://www.bjreview.com.cn/world/txt/2007-03/07/content\\_58206.htm](http://www.bjreview.com.cn/world/txt/2007-03/07/content_58206.htm).
- Russell Hsiao, "Aims and Motives of China's Recent Missile Defense Test," *Jamestown China Brief*, January 21, 2010,  
[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=35943](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35943).
- Kevin Pollpeter, "Motives and Implications Behind China's ASAT Test," *Jamestown China Brief*, May 9, 2007,  
[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=4022](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=4022).

### Additional Reading:

- Larry Wortzel, "PLA Command, Control, and Targeting Architectures: Theory, Doctrine, and Warfighting Applications," in Roy Kamphausen and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Right-Sizing the People's Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China's Military*, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September 2007, pp. 191-234, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=784>
- Ashley J. Tellis, "China's Military Space Strategy," *Survival* 49:3 (September 2007), pp. 41-72, [http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/tellis\\_china\\_space1.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/tellis_china_space1.pdf).
- James C. Mulvenon, "PLA Computer Network Operations: Scenarios, Doctrine, Organizations, and Capability," in Roy Kamphausen, David Lai, and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan*, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009, pp. 253-286,  
<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=910>.
- Eric Hagt, "China's ASAT Test: Strategic Response," *China Security* (Winter 2007), pp. 31-51, [www.wsichina.org/cs5\\_3.pdf](http://www.wsichina.org/cs5_3.pdf).
- Kevin Pollpeter, "The Chinese Vision of Space Military Operations," in James Mulvenon and David M. Finkelstein, eds., *China's Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs: Emerging Trends in the Operational Arts of the People's Liberation Army* (Washington, DC: CNA Corporation, 2005), pp. 329-370, [www.cna.org/documents/doctrinebook.pdf](http://www.cna.org/documents/doctrinebook.pdf).

## Week 5: Remaining Uncertainties and Possible Scenarios

### 26 July: Class Presentations

\*\*\*Come prepared to give a 10 minute oral presentation of your research findings.

### 27 July: Class Presentations

### 28 July: The PLA's Professionalization, Training, and Personnel Capacity

**Required Reading:**

- Office of Naval Intelligence, China SIO, *The People's Liberation Army Navy: A Modern Navy with Chinese Characteristics*, Office of Naval Intelligence, Suitland, MD, July 2009, pp. 12-15, 31-42, [http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/11/oni\\_china\\_navy.html](http://www.fas.org/blog/secretcy/2009/11/oni_china_navy.html)
- Roy Kamphausen, Andrew Scobell, and David Lai, ed., *The "People" in the PLA: Recruitment, Training, and Education in China's Military* (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2008) pp. 1-18, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=858>.
- Dennis Blasko, "PLA Exercises March Toward Trans-Regional Joint Training," *Jamestown China Brief*, November 4, 2009, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews\[swords\]=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx\\_ttnews\[any\\_of\\_the\\_words\]=Dennis%20Blasko&tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=35690&tx\\_ttnews\[backPid\]=7&cHash=991b40ed13](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[swords]=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews[any_of_the_words]=Dennis%20Blasko&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35690&tx_ttnews[backPid]=7&cHash=991b40ed13)

**Additional Reading:**

- Office of Naval Intelligence, *China's Navy 2007*, <ftp.fas.org/irp/agency/oni/chinanavy2007.pdf>.
- Nan Li, "Educating 'New Type Military Talent': The PLA's Command Colleges," in Roy Kamphausen, Andrew Scobell, and David Lai, ed., *The "People" in the PLA: Recruitment, Training, and Education in China's Military*, (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2008), pp. 291-316, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=858>.
- James C. Mulvenon, *Professionalization of the Senior Chinese Officer Corps: Trends and Implications*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1997, pp. ix-xv, 69-82, [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR901/](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR901/).

**29 July: Taiwan Scenarios****Required Reading:**

- Roger Cliff, Mark Burles, Michael S. Chase, Derek Eaton, and Kevin L. Pollpeter, *Entering the Dragon's Lair: Chinese Anti-access Strategies and their Implications for the United States*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2007, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG524/>. (Please read summary).
- Gabriel Collins and William Murray, "No Oil for the Lamps of China?," *Naval War College Review*, (Spring, 2008), pp. 79-95, <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/22821a31-a443-4bc7-95a6-54527ad8924a/No-Oil-for-the-Lamps-of-China---Collins,-Gabriel->.
- William S. Murray, "Revisiting Taiwan's Defense Strategy," *Naval War College Review*, 61:3 (Summer 2008), pp. 13-38, <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/ae650b06-a5e4-4b64-b4fd-2bcc8665c399/Revisiting-Taiwan-s-Defense-Strategy---William-S->.

**Additional Reading:**

- Thomas Christensen, “The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 25:4 (autumn 2002), pp. 7-21, <http://www.twq.com/02autumn/christensen.pdf>
- Michael Grubb, “Merchant Shipping in a Chinese Blockade of Taiwan,” *Naval War College Review*, (Winter 2007), pp. 81–102, <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/1809d665-edc9-4e2e-89f3-dd58602db574/Merchant-Shipping-in-a-Chinese-Blockade-of-Taiwan->
- Murray Scot Tanner, *Chinese Economic Coercion Against Taiwan: A Tricky Weapon to Use*, RAND, 2007, pp. xiii-xvi, [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND\\_MG507.sum.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG507.sum.pdf).
- Michael Swaine and Roy Kamphausen, “Military Modernization in Taiwan,” in Ashley Tellis and Michael Wills, eds., *Strategic Asia 2005-06: Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty*, National Bureau of Asian Research, 2005, pp. 387-422, [http://www.nbr.org/publications/strategic\\_asia/pdf/SA05Swaine\\_Kamphausen.pdf](http://www.nbr.org/publications/strategic_asia/pdf/SA05Swaine_Kamphausen.pdf).

## Week 6: China’s Military Future: Implications for the U.S. and Beyond

### 2 August: Beyond Taiwan

#### Required Reading:

- James Mulvenon, “Chairman Hu and the PLA’s ‘New Historic Missions,’” *China Leadership Monitor*, Winter 2009, <http://media.hoover.org/documents/CLM27JM.pdf>.
- Andrew Scobell, “How China Manages Taiwan and its Impact on PLA Missions,” in Roy Kamphausen, David Lai, and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan*, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009, pp. 29-38, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=910>.
- Philip C. Saunders, “Uncharted Waters: The Chinese Navy Sails to Somalia,” *PacNet*, No. 3 (January 14, 2009), <http://www.csis.org/media/isis/pubs/pac0903.pdf>.
- Michael Chase and Andrew Erickson, “Changing Beijing’s Approach to Overseas Basing?,” *Jamestown China Brief*, Vol. 9, Issue 19, September 24, 2009, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=35536&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=a7adb10f11](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35536&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=a7adb10f11)

#### Additional Reading:

- Mark Cozad, “China’s Regional Power Projection: Prospects for Future Missions in the East and South China Seas,” in Roy Kamphausen, David Lai, and Andrew Scobell, ed., *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions other than Taiwan*, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009, pp. 287-326, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=910>.
- Andrew Erickson and Lyle Goldstein, “Gunboats for China’s New “Grand Canals”?: Probing the Intersection of Beijing’s Naval and Oil Security Policies,” *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 62, No. 2, (Spring 2009), pp. 43-76, <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Research---Gaming/China-Maritime-Studies->

[Institute/Published-Articles/Erickson-Article\\_Erickson-Goldstein\\_Beijing-s-Naval-and-Oil-Security-Policies\\_NWCR\\_Spring-2009.pdf](#).

- Michael McDevitt, "Taiwan: The Tail That Wags Dogs," *Asia Policy*, January 2006, pp. 69-93, <http://www.nbr.org/publications/article.aspx?ID=289>.
- Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, "If Taiwan Chooses Unification, Should the United States Care?" *The Washington Quarterly*, 25:3 (summer 2002), pp.15-28  
<http://www.twq.com/02summer/tucker.pdf>
- Chris Rahman, "Defending Taiwan, and Why it Matters," *Naval War College Review* (Autumn 2001), <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/55e114ad-3e38-48cb-8add-612c9e19f883/Defending-Taiwan,-and-Why-It-Matters---Rahman,-Chr>
- Ted Galen Carpenter, "Let Taiwan Defend Itself," *Cato Policy Analysis* no. 313, August 24, 1998, <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-313.html>.

### 3 August: China's Military Future

#### Required Reading:

- David Finkelstein, "The Chinese People's Liberation Army in 2020," Paper Presented at the National Intelligence Council 2020 Project Workshop, Washington, DC, May 26, 2004, [http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF\\_GIF\\_2020\\_Support/2004\\_05\\_25\\_papers/pla.pdf](http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF_GIF_2020_Support/2004_05_25_papers/pla.pdf)
- Thomas Christensen, "Posing Problems without Catching Up," *International Security*, spring 2001, pp. 5-40, <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/christensenvol25no4.pdf>.

#### Additional Reading:

- Evan Medeiros, "Strategic Hedging and the Future of Asia-Pacific Stability," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2005-06, pp. 145-167,  
[http://www.twq.com/06winter/docs/06winter\\_medeiros.pdf](http://www.twq.com/06winter/docs/06winter_medeiros.pdf).
- Evelyn Goh, "Understanding 'Hedging' in Asia-Pacific Security," *PacNet*, Pacific Forum, No. 43, August 31, 2006, pp. 1-2,  
<http://www.csis.org/media/isis/pubs/pac0643.pdf>.
- Peter Dutton, "Charting a Course: U.S.-China Cooperation at Sea," *China Security*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (Winter 2009), pp. 11-26,  
[http://www.chinasecurity.us/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=220](http://www.chinasecurity.us/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=220).

### 4 August: China's Future

\*\*\* Final Papers Due: Electronic copies *must* be submitted. *In addition*, hard copies also welcome.

(Class Discussion)