Workshop on the Military and Geo-Strategic Implications of China’s Rise as a Global Technological Power

University of California Washington D.C. Center
January 25-26, 2012

This workshop provides a broad overview of the internal drivers and dynamics behind China’s growing defense technological and innovation transformation and the strategic implications for the rest of the world. Key topics covered on Day One include the current state of Chinese elite politics and prospects for leadership succession, assessing the reasons for China’s growing international assertiveness, explaining China’s defense technological and industrial progress, the nature of the Chinese defense research, development and acquisition system, and frameworks of analysis for understanding Chinese military innovation. This workshop draws upon the expertise of the DOD-funded Minerva Project on the Study of Innovation and Technology in China and bringing together leading China and strategic studies scholars.

There will be a half-day strategy review and brainstorming session on Day 2 on the policy implications of China's growing technological and innovation capabilities and intentions.

Wednesday, January 25

Day One Presentations on China’s Efforts to Become a Leading Science, Technology and Innovation Power

8:00 am Opening Remarks
Dr. Reggie Brothers, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research
Dr. Robin Staffin, Director for Basic Research, OSD

8:15 – 9:15 am Understanding Military Innovation: Chinese Defense S&T in Historical and Theoretical Perspective (Tom Mahnken)

9:30 – 10:30 am The Leadership and Organizational Structures of the Chinese Civilian, Defense S&T and PLA Systems (Alice Miller)

10:45 -11:45 am Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy (Susan Shirk)

11:45 am -1:00 pm Lunch

1:00 – 2:30 pm The Current State of the Chinese Defense Science, Technology, and Industrial Base and Its Development Prospects in the 12th Five-Year Plan, 2011-2015 (Tai Ming Cheung)
Reforming the Achilles Heel of China’s Defense Innovation System: Its Antiquated Research, Development, and Acquisition System
(Tai Ming Cheung)

Thursday, January 26

Policy Implications for the U.S. of China's Growing Technological and Innovation Capabilities and Intentions

Welcoming Remarks (Tai Ming Cheung)

Breakout Groups on Examining Chinese Economic, Political, Strategic, Science & Technology, and Defense Innovation Issues

Group 1: Leadership, Political Issues, and the Domestic-External Nexus (Led by Alice Miller and Susan Shirk)

Group 2: The Chinese Economy, Innovation, and Chinese Science and Technology (Led by Barry Naughton and Pete Suttmeier)

Group 3: Chinese Defense Science, Technology and Innovation (Led by Tai Ming Cheung)

Group 4: Strategic Implications for the U.S. (Led by Tom Mahnken)

Panel on Assessing the Current and Long-Term Political, Economic, Social, Military, and Strategic Drivers Shaping China’s Technological Development and Grand Strategy, and the Implications for U.S. National Security (Panelists: Susan Shirk, Alice Miller, Barry Naughton, Tai Ming Cheung, Peter Suttmeier, Jon Lindsay)
Moderator: Tom Mahnken

Questions to be Addressed:

1. Is China presently undergoing a major shift in its external grand strategy? If so, what are the key reasons behind this development and what changes are occurring? What are the implications for its security and technology policies?

2. What are the most important political, economic, internal, military and strategic drivers that will shape China’s technological development over the next 5-10 years?

3. Does China have a clearly defined vision and coherent grand strategy for its long-term technological development and catching up?
Optional Additional Sessions:

12:30 – 1:30 pm  Lunch (for anyone attending additional sessions)

1:30 – 3:00 pm  The Structure of Chinese Military Strategic Planning and the Role of the Strategic Planning Department Led by Tai Ming Cheung, David Finkelstein and Mark Stokes

3:15 - 4:45 pm  China's Defense Industrial Base and 12th Five Year Plan Led by Tai Ming Cheung
Speaker Bios

Tai Ming CHEUNG is senior research fellow at the University of California system-wide Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, is in charge of the Institute’s Minerva project "The Evolving Relationship Between Technology and National Security in China: Innovation, Defense Transformation, and China’s Place in the Global Technology Order” and is Associate Professor at the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at UC San Diego. He is a long-time analyst of Chinese and East Asian defense and national security affairs. Cheung was based in Asia from the mid-1980s to 2002 covering political, economic and strategic developments in greater China. He was also a journalist and political and business risk consultant in northeast Asia. Cheung received his Ph.D. from the War Studies Department at King's College, London University in 2006. His latest book, Fortifying China: The Struggle to Build a Modern Defense Economy, was published by Cornell University Press in 2009.

David M. FINKELSTEIN is Vice President of the Center for Naval Analyses and Director of CNA China Studies, a line research Division of CNA. With over a dozen full time analysts, CNA China Studies is one of the nation’s largest analytic groups focused on security Chinese affairs.

Finkelstein received his Ph.D. in Chinese history from Princeton University and studied Mandarin at Nankai University in Tianjin. Dr. Finkelstein serves on the Advisory Board of Issues & Studies (Taipei), is a Senior Advisor to The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly (Washington, D.C. & Stockholm), and a member of the National Committee for U.S.-China Relations and he previously served as a member of former Treasury Secretary Paulson’s outreach group for the Strategic Economic Dialog. He regularly leads seminars at the U.S. Department of State’s Foreign Service Institute and the U.S. Army War College.

A retired Regular U.S. Army Officer, Finkelstein is a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, the Command & General Staff College, the U.S. Army War College, the Foreign Area Officer Course at JFK Center for Military Assistance and Unconventional Warfare, and the U.S. Army Airborne School at Fort Benning. While on active duty, he held various command and staff positions in tactical field units to include service with the 86th and 40th Signal Battalions of the 11th Signal Brigade, the Army Communications Command, and the United Nations Command Joint Security Force in Poommunjom, Korea. He also held significant positions as a U.S. Army China Foreign Area Officer serving the Secretary of Defense as Assistant Defense Intelligence Officer for East Asia and the Pacific and on the Joint Staff as Director for Asian Studies (J-8, SAGD) for the Chairmen, JCS.

Dr. Finkelstein writes extensively on a wide range of Chinese issues and is an internationally recognized specialist on Chinese military and security affairs. Of note, his historical study, From Abandonment to Salvation: Washington’s Taiwan Dilemma, 1949-50 (George Mason University Press, 1993), was hailed in Presidential Studies Quarterly as “blazing a new trail” and “will take an important place in the literature of U.S.-China relations in the mid-20th Century.”
**Jon LINDSAY** is a postdoctoral scholar with the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC). He received his Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, M.S. in computer science and B.S. in cognitive science from Stanford University, and has served as an intelligence officer in the U.S. Navy. His research focuses broadly on the problems of knowledge in complex systems, with particular emphasis on the role of information technology in international security. Specific research topics include the strategic problems posed by emerging cyberwarfare capabilities, the capacity for "user innovation" as a component of military power, and the operational challenges of irregular warfare under conditions of high technology and complexity. His dissertation, "Information Friction: Information Technology and Military Performance," draws on fieldwork with a U.S. special operations unit in Iraq and historical casework to explain the social conditions under which uncertainty-reducing technologies can themselves generate additional uncertainty. He is presently working to broaden the information friction framework in order to understand how emerging information technologies affect Chinese military power.

**Thomas G. MAHNKEN** is currently the Jerome E. Levy Chair of Economic Geography and National Security at the U.S. Naval War College and a Visiting Scholar at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at The Johns Hopkins University’s Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Dr. Mahnken served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning from 2006-2009. He was the primary author of the 2008 National Defense Strategy and contributing author of the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review. Prior to joining the Defense Department, he served as a Professor of Strategy at the U.S. Naval War College. From 2004 to 2006 he was a Visiting Fellow at the Merrill Center at SAIS. His areas of primary expertise are strategy, intelligence, and special operations forces.

**Alice Lyman MILLER** is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and teaches in the Departments of History and Political Science at Stanford University. She is also a senior lecturer in the Department of National Security Affairs at the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. Prior to coming to Stanford in 1999, Miller was an analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency from 1974-1990. From 1990–2000, she was associate professor of China Studies and, for most of that period, director of the China Studies Program at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. Miller's research focuses on foreign policy and domestic politics issues in China and on the international relations of East Asia. She is currently editor of the China Leadership Monitor, which, now in its ninth year, offers authoritative assessments of trends in Chinese leadership politics. Additionally, she is author of two books: Science and Dissent in Post-Mao China: The Politics of Knowledge (University of Washington Press, 1996) and, with Richard Wich, Becoming Asia: An International History Since World War II (Stanford University Press, 2011). She is currently working on two book projects, one with IGCC Director Susan Shirk on the politics of oligarchy in China, and the second, tentatively entitled The Evolution of Chinese Grand Strategy, 1550–Present, which brings a historical perspective to bear on China's rising power in the contemporary international order.
Barry NAUGHTON’s most recent book is *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, a comprehensive survey of the Chinese economy that was published by MIT Press at the beginning of 2007. Naughton is an economist and professor at the University of California, San Diego, who was named the So Kuanlok Professor of Chinese and International Affairs at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies in 1998. Naughton has published extensively on the Chinese economy, with a focus on four interrelated areas: economic transition; industry and technology; foreign trade; and Chinese political economy. Naughton’s research on economic interactions among China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, focusing on the electronics industry, led to the edited volume *The China Circle: Economics and Technology in the PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong* (Brooking Institution, 1997). Since then, Naughton has continued to follow the electronics industry and technology policy in China and Taiwan, and has published several solo and co-authored articles on related subjects. Naughton publishes quarterly analysis of China’s economic policy online at *China Leadership Monitor*.

Susan SHIRK is the Ho Miu Lam professor of China and Pacific Relations at the UCSD School of International Relations and Pacific Studies and a senior Co-PI on the Minerva project on Chinese security and technology. Shirk first traveled to China in 1971 and has been doing research there ever since. During 1997-2000, Shirk served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs, with responsibility for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mongolia. Shirk’s publications include her books, *China: Fragile Superpower*; *How China Opened Its Door: The Political Success of the PRC’s Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms*; *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*; and *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and Student Strategies in China*. Her edited book, *Changing Media, Changing China*, will be published by Oxford University Press in December 2010. Shirk served as a member of the U.S. Defense Policy Board, the Board of Governors for the East-West Center (Hawaii), the Board of Trustees of the U.S.-Japan Foundation, and the Board of Directors of the National Committee on United States-China Relations. She is a member of the Trilateral Commission, China Council of the World Economic Forum, Council on Foreign Relations, and an emeritus member of the Aspen Strategy Group. As Senior Adviser to The Albright-Stonebridge Group, Shirk advises private sector clients on China and East Asia.

Mark STOKES is the Executive Director of the Project 2049 Institute. Previously, he was the founder and president of Quantum Pacific Enterprises, an international consulting firm, and vice president and Taiwan country manager for Raytheon International. He has served as executive vice president of Laifu Trading Company, a subsidiary of the Rehfeldt Group; a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; and member of the Board of Governors of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taiwan. A 20-year U.S. Air Force veteran, Stokes also served as team chief and senior country director for the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan and Mongolia in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. He holds a B.A. from Texas A&M University, and graduate degrees in International Relations and Asian Studies from Boston University and the Naval Postgraduate School. He is a fluent Mandarin speaker.
Richard P. SUTTMEIER is Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, at the University of Oregon. He has written widely on science and technology development issues in China. His current research includes a study of China’s intellectual property strategy and an examination of the changing nature of China’s innovation system. His interests in the role of science and technology in China-US relations, the role of technical standards in China's technology policy, and Chinese approaches to the management of technological risks have led to the following recent publications: “From Cold War Science Diplomacy to Partnering in a Networked World: 30 Years of Sino-US Relations in Science and Technology”, Journal of Science and Technology Policy in China, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2010; “The Sixth Modernization?” China, Safety, and the Management of Risks.” Asia Policy 6 (June, 2008); “State, Self-Organization, and Identity in the Building of Sin-US Cooperation in Science and Technology.” Asian Perspective 32, 1, 2008; and Standards, Stakeholders, and Innovation: China’s Evolving Role in the Global Knowledge Economy. (with Scott Kennedy and Jun Su). National Bureau of Asian Research. September, 2008. These and other recent papers are available at http://china-us.uoregon.edu/papers.php.