

***The Brookings Institution's
Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies and
John L. Thornton China Center***

in cooperation with

***The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR),
the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) of the U.S. Army War College and
the Texas A&M University's Bush School of Government and Public Affairs***

Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions Other Than Taiwan

Thursday, April 16, 2009

2:00 – 4:15 p.m.

Falk Auditorium, The Brookings Institution

WELCOME REMARKS

Richard Bush, Senior Fellow and CNAPS Director, The Brookings Institution
Steven Metz, Chairman, Regional Strategy & Planning Department, SSI, U.S. Army War College
Andrew Scobell, Associate Professor, Texas A&M University

PANEL PRESENTATIONS

Panel Chair and Overview

Roy Kamphausen, The National Bureau of Asian Research

How China Manages Internal Security Challenges and its Impact on PLA Missions

Murray Scot Tanner, The CNA Corporation

PLA Missions in Frontier Security and Counterterrorism

Robert Modarelli, The National Center for APEC

Prospects for China's Military Space Efforts

Dean Cheng, The CNA Corporation

China's Regional Power Projection: Prospects for Future Missions in the South and East China Seas

Mark Cozad, U.S. Government

PLA 'Joint' Operational Contingencies in South Asia, Central Asia, and Korea

Larry Wortzel, Colonel (Ret.), U.S. Army

COMMENTARY

David Lai, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College
Dennis Wilder, John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings Institution

CLOSING REMARKS

Richard Bush, Senior Fellow and CNAPS Director, The Brookings Institution

Biographical Information

Richard C. Bush is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and Director of its Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies. CNAPS is a center for research, analysis, and debate to enhance policy development on the pressing political, economic, and security issues facing Northeast Asia and U.S. interests in the region. Richard Bush came to Brookings in July 2002, after serving almost five years as the Chairman and Managing Director of the American Institute in Taiwan, the mechanism through which the United States Government conducts substantive relations with Taiwan in the absence of diplomatic relations. Dr. Bush began his professional career in 1977 with the China Council of The Asia Society. In July 1983 he became a staff consultant on the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. In January 1993 he moved up to the full committee, where he worked on Asia issues and served as liaison with Democratic Members. In July 1995, he became National Intelligence Officer for East Asia and a member of the National Intelligence Council, which coordinates the analytic work of the intelligence community. He left the NIC in September 1997 to become head of AIT. Richard Bush received his undergraduate education at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin. He did his graduate work in political science at Columbia University, getting an M.A. in 1973 and his Ph.D. in 1978. He is author of a number of articles on U.S. relations with China and Taiwan; of *At Cross Purposes*, a book of essays on the history of America's relations with Taiwan published in March 2004 by M.E. Sharpe; and of *Untying the Knot*, a book on cross-Strait political relations published by the Brookings Institution Press in July 2005. Dr. Bush's latest book, *A War Like No Other: The Truth About China's Challenge to America* (Wiley, 2007), is co-written with Brookings scholar Michael O'Hanlon and examines the challenges that the United States faces in avoiding conflict and developing its relationship with China. He is currently working on a book examining structural factors in the U.S.-Japan-China trilateral relationship.

Dean Cheng is a Senior Asia Analyst at CNA, a not-for-profit think-tank, where he specializes in Chinese military issues, with an emphasis on China's space program. He has spent over a decade studying Chinese and Asian security and economic issues. Dr. Cheng has written a number of papers and book chapters examining the military and technological implications of the Chinese space program, including its relationship with Chinese military doctrine.

Mark Cozad is the Defense Intelligence Officer for East Asia at the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). He is a career intelligence officer having served in both the U.S. Air Force and as a civilian analyst with DIA. Most of his career has been spent working in analytic positions focusing on East Asian military issues, particularly China and Korea. He received his bachelor's degree in Political Science from the U.S. Air Force Academy and his master's degree in Strategic Intelligence from the National Defense Intelligence College.

Roy D. Kamphausen is Vice President for Political and Security Affairs and Director, Washington D.C. Office, The National Bureau of Asian Research. A retired U.S. Army China Foreign Area Officer, Mr. Kamphausen served the China Country Director in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, China Branch Chief in the Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Defense Attaché Office of the U.S. Embassy in the People's Republic of China. He has served as a consultant for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of State and other U.S. government agencies. His areas of professional expertise include China's Peoples Liberation Army (PLA,) U.S.-China defense relations, U.S. defense and security policy toward Asia, and East Asian security issues. Mr. Kamphausen co-authored the chapter, "Military Modernization in Taiwan," in *Strategic Asia 2005-06: Military Modernization in and Era of Uncertainty*, with Michael Swain; wrote the chapter "PLA Power Projection: Current Realities and Emerging Trends," in *Assessing the Threat: The Chinese Military and Taiwan's Security* (2007) with Justin Liang; edited the volume *Right-Sizing the People's Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China's Military* (2007), with Andrew Scobell; and edited the volume, *The "People" in the PLA: Recruitment, Training, and Education in China's Military* (2008), with Andrew Scobell and Travis Tanner.

David Lai joined the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) as a Research Professor of Asian Security Studies. Before assuming this new position, he was on the faculty of the International Security Studies Department at the U.S. Air War College. He taught the National Strategy and Decision Making and Global Security core courses and engaged students and faculty on pressing issues in U.S.-China and U.S.-Asia relations. In addition, Dr. Lai also taught the Air War College Regional and Cultural Studies (RCS) program and made many field-study trips to Asian nations such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, and Malaysia. Dr. Lai holds a bachelor's degree from China and a Master's degree and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Colorado.

Steven Metz is Chairman of the Regional Strategy and Planning Department and Research Professor of National Security Affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute. He has been with SSI since 1993, previously serving as Henry L. Stimson Professor of Military Studies and SSI's Director of Research. Dr. Metz has also been on the faculty of the Air War College, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and several universities. He has been an advisor to political campaigns and elements of the intelligence community; served on national security policy task forces; testified in both houses of Congress; and spoken on military and security issues around the world. He is the author of more than 100 publications including articles in journals such as *Washington Quarterly*, *Joint Force Quarterly*, *The National Interest*, *Defence Studies*, and *Current History*. Dr. Metz's research has taken him to 30 countries, including Iraq immediately after the collapse of the Hussein regime. He currently serves on the RAND Corporation Insurgency Board. He is the author of "Iraq and the Evolution of American Strategy" and is working on a book entitled "Strategic Shock: Eight Events That Changed American Security." Dr. Metz holds a Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University.

Robert O. Modarelli III is currently Policy Director for the U.S. National Center for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in Seattle. His responsibilities include development and oversight of strategic planning for the National Center's activities in support of U.S. private sector interests in the APEC process, as well directing the Center's coordination with U.S. government agencies in the APEC policy process. His current work in Asia-Pacific policy is focused on regional economic integration, multilateral trade and economic policy dynamics, and regional security as relates to the regional economic environment. Prior to joining the National Center he completed a 20-year career in the U.S. Army as an armor officer, Foreign Area Officer and Asia-Pacific policy specialist. His assignments included 4 years as Chief of the Asia-Pacific Branch in Army International Affairs at Headquarters, Department of the Army; 3 years as U.S. Army Attaché at the U.S. Consulate-General in Hong Kong, and 18 months in training at the Defense Attaché office, U.S. Embassy, Beijing, China. He earned a Masters Degree in East Asian Regional Studies from Harvard University and is fluent in Mandarin Chinese.

Andrew Scobell is Associate Professor of International Affairs at the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University located in College Station, Texas. From August 1999 until August 2007, he was Associate Research Professor in the Strategic Studies Institute at the U.S. Army War College and Adjunct Professor of Political Science at Dickinson College both located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Scobell earned a Ph.D in political science from Columbia University. He is the author of *China's Use of Military Force: Beyond the Great Wall and the Long March* (Cambridge University Press, 2003) and other publications.

Murray Scot Tanner joined CNA's China Team as a China Security Analyst in 2008. He has published extensively on China, in particular its internal security, policy and intelligence systems, trends in social order, challenges of reforming the legal system and strengthening human rights, as well as China-North Korea relations and China-Taiwan economic relations. Prior to joining CNA, Dr. Tanner worked for the U.S. Senate, the RAND Corporation, and as a professor of political science at Western Michigan University. Among his publications are "Principals and Secret Agents: Central vs. Local Control of Policing in China," *The China Quarterly*, September 2007; "China Rethinks Unrest," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2004; and *Chinese Economic Coercion Against Taiwan: A Tricky Weapon to Use* (RAND, 2007). Dr. Tanner holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Michigan.

Dennis C. Wilder is a Visiting Fellow at the John L. Thornton China Center in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. Mr. Wilder served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for East Asian Affairs on the National Security Council from December 2005 until January 2009. Mr. Wilder has had a distinguished career in the United States Government helping to shape U.S. policy toward China and East Asia. He joined the Central Intelligence Agency in 1980 as a China military analyst in the Directorate of Intelligence. From 1995 until 2005, Mr. Wilder served as the Chief of the China analytic studies in Directorate of Intelligence, Office of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. As deputy chief of the CIA Task Force, he was a major player supporting U.S. policy makers as they responded to the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. In 1996, he was appointed by Director of Central Intelligence John Deutch to lead the Interagency Taiwan Strait Task Force dealing with the Taiwan Strait missile crisis. He also played a leading role in the analytic support to policy makers on the accidental bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade in 1999, the downing of a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft on Hainan Island in 2001, and the SARs epidemic in 2003. In July 2005, Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet awarded Mr. Wilder the highly prestigious Director's Medal for his leadership in building up the Intelligence Community's China analytic and collection capabilities. Mr. Wilder joined the National Security Council as the China Director in August 2004 and was subsequently promoted to the post of Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for East Asian Affairs. During his White House tenure, Mr. Wilder organized the President Bush's visits to Asia in 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008, including the President's visit to Beijing for the 2008 Summer Olympics. Dennis C. Wilder has had a life long association with East Asia. He was born in Singapore and raised in Malaysia. He received a B.A. from Kalamazoo College in Michigan and spent his junior year studying Mandarin Chinese at the Yale-in-China Program at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He received his Master of Science in Foreign Service degree from Georgetown University. Mr. Wilder served overseas in the U.S. Consulate-General in Hong Kong from 1992-1995.

Larry M. Wortzel is a retired U.S. Army colonel who spent 12 of his 32-year military career in the Asia-Pacific region, including two tours of duty as a military attaché at the American Embassy in China, 1988-1990 and 1995-1997. He served as professor of Asian Studies and director of the Strategic Studies Institute at the U.S. Army War College from 1997-1999, and Asian studies director and then vice president for foreign policy and defense studies at The Heritage Foundation. At present he is one of 12 commissioners appointed by the leadership of Congress to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, where he currently serves as chairman of the Commission for the 2008 reporting year. He has written or edited ten books about China as well as numerous policy papers and journal articles. A graduate of the Armed Forces Staff College and the U.S. Army War College, Wortzel is a graduate of Infantry Candidate School as well as both Airborne and Ranger schools. He earned his B.A. from Columbus College, Georgia, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Hawaii.