

*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 and
The U.S. Army War College*

**Right-Sizing the People's Liberation Army:
Exploring the Contours of China's Military**

Monday, September 24, 2007
1:30 pm – 3:30 pm

Falk Auditorium, The Brookings Institution

1:30 – 1:50

WELCOMING REMARKS

Richard Bush, *The Brookings Institution*

William Braun, *Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College*

Roy Kamphausen, *The National Bureau of Asian Research*

Patrick Hughes, *L-3 Communications*

1:50 – 2:40

PRESENTATIONS

A "Right-sizing" Overview

Andrew Scobell, *The Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University*

China's National Military Strategy Revisited

David Finkelstein, *China Studies Center, The CNA Corporation*

Future Force Structure of the Chinese Air Force

Phillip Saunders, *Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University*

"Preserving the State": Modernizing and Task-Organizing a "Hybrid" PLA Ground Force
Cortez Cooper, *Hicks and Associates*

Commentary

Jing Huang, *The Brookings Institution*

2:40 – 3:25

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

RICHARD BUSH

Dr. Richard Bush is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and Director of its Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies. Dr. Bush came to Brookings in July 2002, after serving almost five years as the Chairman and Managing Director of the American Institute in Taiwan. Previously, he worked at the China Council of The Asia Society (1977-1983); and the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and also for the full Committee (1983-1995). In July 1995, he became National Intelligence Officer for East Asia and a member of the National Intelligence Council. He is author of a number of articles on U.S. relations with China and Taiwan; of *At Cross Purposes* (M.E. Sharpe, 2004), a book of essays on the history of America's relations with Taiwan; and of *Untying the Knot* (Brookings Institution Press, 2005), a book on cross-Strait political relations. 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. He did his graduate work in political science at Columbia University, getting an M.A. in 1973 and his Ph.D. in 1978.

WILLIAM BRAUN

Colonel William Braun is the Deputy Director of the SSI and chairman of its Art of War Department. His area of expertise is force management, particularly joint and Army requirements generation. His current research focus is U.S. Army involvement in interagency and humanitarian assistance operations. He came to SSI from the Pentagon where he served as Director of Requirements, Deputy Chief of Staff G3, HQDA. Previous assignments include Battalion Commander, 1-228th Aviation Battalion (USARSO), Soto Cano Air Base, Honduras; operational assignments at Ft. Bragg NC, Camp Casey Korea, Ft. Campbell KY; and previous institutional support assignments at the Pentagon and Ft. Rucker, AL. Colonel Braun holds a Masters in Strategic Studies from the Army War College, a Masters in Military Science from the Command and General Staff School, a Master of Arts in Business from Webster University, and a Bachelor of Arts in Athletic Training and Coaching from Alfred University.

ROY D. KAMPHAUSEN

Roy Kamphausen is Vice President for Political and Security Affairs and Director of NBR's D.C. Office. As Vice President for Political and Security Affairs at The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR)—a nonprofit, nonpartisan institution whose mission is to inform and strengthen Asia-Pacific policy—Mr. Kamphausen is integral to NBR endeavors involving U.S. national security interests in Asia. Prior to joining NBR, he served as a U.S. Army officer—a career that concluded with an assignment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) as Country Director for China-Taiwan-Mongolia Affairs. Prior postings included positions on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, first as an intelligence analyst and, later, as China Branch Chief in the Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy (J5). A fluent Chinese (Mandarin) linguist and Army China Foreign Area Officer (FAO), he served two tours at the Defense Attaché Office of the U.S. Embassy in the People's Republic of China. Mr. Kamphausen's 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. He received a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Wheaton College and holds a Master's in International Affairs from Columbia University. He studied Chinese at the Defense Language Institute and Beijing's Capital Normal University. He is married to Arminda (née Armitage) Kamphausen and together they have three children—Abigail, Hudson, and Delaney.

PATRICK M. HUGHES

Lieutenant General Patrick Hughes, U.S. Army (Retired), is the Corporate Vice President for Intelligence and Counterterrorism, L-3 Communications, Inc. He retired from the U.S. Army on 1 October 1999 after more than 35 years of military service. Major assignments included Director, Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA); Director of Intelligence (J-2), Joint Staff; Director of Intelligence (J-2), U.S. Central Command; Commanding General, U.S. Army Intelligence Agency; and Commander, 501st Military Intelligence Brigade. Immediately following military service, he was the President of PMH Enterprises LLC, a private consulting firm specializing in intelligence, national security and international relations. Lieutenant General Hughes last served in the government as Assistant Secretary for Information Analysis at the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Lieutenant General Hughes began his military service as an enlisted soldier and led troops at the squad, platoon, detachment, battalion, brigade, and separate Army and Joint Agency level. He served twice in Vietnam, one tour in Korea, and participated in U.S. military operations in the Middle East, and in Somalia. He also spent time in Bosnia and other strife-torn locales. He has visited 126 nations and was trained in the Vietnamese and Korean languages. He has been awarded the Combat Infantry Badge, several awards for valor, and the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal.

ANDREW SCOBELL

Dr. Andrew Scobell is Associate Professor of International Affairs at the Bush School of Government and Public Affairs at Texas A&M University. 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. He 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. His teaching and research interests are in Asia-Pacific politics and security affairs with a particular focus on China and Northeast Asia, strategy, civil-military relations, comparative communism and post-communism.

DAVID M. FINKELSTEIN

Dr. David Finkelstein is the Director of the China Studies Center and *Project Asia* at The CNA Corporation in Alexandria, Virginia. He received his Ph.D. in Chinese History from Princeton University and studied Mandarin at Nankai University in Tianjin. A long-time student of Chinese security affairs, he is co-editor of *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea* (ME Sharpe, 2007), *China's Leadership in the 21st Century: The Rise of the Fourth Generation* (ME Sharpe, 2003), *Evolving Trends in the Operational Art in of the Chinese People's Liberation Army* (Washington, DC, 2005), and *Chinese Warfighting: The PLA Experience Since 1949* (ME Sharpe, 2003). His historical study, *From Abandonment to Salvation: Washington's Taiwan Dilemma, 1949-50* (GMU 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." A retired U.S. Army Officer, Dr. Finkelstein is a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, the Command & General Staff College, and the Army War College. While on active duty he held various command and staff positions in tactical field units, to include service with the 11th Signal Brigade and the Joint Security Force in Panmunjom Korea. He also held significant positions as a U.S. Army China Foreign Area Officer on the Joint Staff as Director for Asian Studies (J-8) for the Chairman, and as Assistant Defense Intelligence Officer for East Asia and the Pacific for the Secretary of Defense. He also served on the faculty at West Point where he taught Chinese history.

PHILLIP C. SAUNDERS

Dr. Phillip Saunders is a Senior Research Fellow at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies. He previously worked at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, where he served as Director of the East Asia Nonproliferation Program from 1999-2003 and taught courses on Chinese politics, Chinese foreign policy, and East Asian security. Dr. Saunders has conducted research and consulted on East Asian security issues for Princeton University, the Council on Foreign Relations, and RAND, and worked on Asia policy issues as an Officer in the United States Air Force. Dr. Saunders has published numerous articles on China and Asian security; his recent publications include the monograph *China's Global Activism: Strategy, Drivers, and Tools* and "Visions of Order: Japan and China in U.S. Strategy." Dr. Saunders attended Harvard College and received his MPA and Ph.D. in International Relations from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University.

CORTEZ A. COOPER III

Cortez Cooper is the Director of the East Asia Studies Center at Hicks and Associates, Inc. He joined Hicks and Associates, Inc. in August 2005, and serves as the Director for the East Asia Studies Center. Since joining Hicks, he has supplied policy, intelligence, and operational community clients with strategic forecasts of security challenges across political, military, economic, cultural, and informational landscapes. Prior to joining Hicks and Associates, he served in the U.S. Navy Executive Service as the Senior Analyst for the Joint Intelligence Center Pacific, U.S. Pacific Command. He was the Senior Intelligence Analyst and Asia Regional Specialist in the Pacific Theater, advising PACOM leadership on trends and developments in the Command's area of responsibility. Before his Hawaii assignment, he was a Senior Analyst with CENTRA Technology, Inc., specializing in Asia-Pacific political-military affairs. Mr. Cooper's 20 years of military service included assignments as both an Army Signal Corps Officer and a China Foreign Area Officer. In addition to numerous military decorations, the Secretary of Defense awarded Mr. Cooper with the Exceptional Civilian Service Award in 2001.

JING HUANG

Dr. Jing Huang is a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies program at the Brookings Institution. At Brookings, Dr. Huang plays a major role in the Trilateral (China-Japan-US) Track II Meeting project, China's Energy project, the Asian Regionalization project, and the Sino-India Relations project. He is the author of the forthcoming *Inseparable Separation: The Making of China's Taiwan Policy* (Brookings Institution Press, 2008); *U.S.-China Relations, 1989-1993* (Beijing, zhongyang wen xian chuban she, 2003); and *Factionalism in Chinese Communist Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), which won the prestigious Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize. He has published numerous articles and book chapters on Chinese politics, China's development strategy, foreign policy, the military and its political role in China, U.S.-China relations, and security issues in the Asian Pacific region. He is now at work on *Civil-Military Relations in China: A Long March Towards Institutionalization*. Dr. Huang received his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University; M.A. in History from Fudan University; and B.A. in English Literature from Sichuan University.