Note: This presentation reflects the personal views of the author and not the official assessments of the U.S. Navy or any other entity of the U.S. Government.
碧海舞蛟龙
中国核潜艇的技术进步与展望

Technical Advances of and Prospects for Chinese Nuclear-powered Submarine

舰体中部舱段采用了全新设计，在耐压壳内并排设置了8具垂直发射管，可以兼容发射新一代远程对地巡航导弹或远程巡航弹道导弹。在不同的发射位置前提下使舰艇的导弹携带能力大大提升，并且装备了适

093G（改）攻击核潜艇设计图

093G的研制思路与091G的改进类似，即采用最新技术或第四代核潜艇技术对093型进行现代化改造，使其整体技术水平和作战性能达到或超过国外第三代攻击型核潜艇后期改进型，特别在攻击力、探测力、安静性等方面较993型有了很大的提高。不过，由于采用舰体设计、核反应堆设计水平及输出功率等方面的限制，093的这种改进并不能使其达到“跨代”的程度，相对“海狼”级、“弗吉尼亚”级、“亚森”级这些第四代攻击型核潜艇仍然存在着差距。国人期望着具备相当技术的国产第四代攻击型核潜艇早日问世。
“Cooperation Spirals”
- Gradualism
- Reciprocity
- Fairness
- Enforceability
A ‘Great Wall of Sand’ in the South China Sea
ARGUMENT

China Might Actually Seize Japan's Southern Islands

It's not as crazy as you think-- and here's how the United States and Japan can prevent it from happening.

BY JAMES HOLMES  APRIL 8, 2014
A Plan to Counter Chinese Aggression

The U.S. will have to do more than keep its policy on autopilot and hope for the region to push back against Beijing.

By ELY RATNER
June 10, 2014 1:09 p.m. ET

With China drilling for oil in contested waters off Vietnam and building artificial islands off the Philippines, U.S. policy clearly isn’t curbing Beijing’s ambitions to redraw Asia’s geographic boundaries. Restraining Chinese revisionism is no easy task, and the Obama administration can be applauded for enhancing the U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia and deepening engagement with Asia’s multilateral institutions. But these long-term shifts could be
How to Win a War with China

A blockade can work, if backed by the right diplomacy under the right circumstances.

Sean Mirski
October 16, 2014
"...the long-time imbalances in US-China trade have made it so that tensions in the US-China trading relationship are intensifying on a daily basis."

"...the US gains much more from trade imbalances than does China."

"When an I-pad is made in China, this is counted in Chinese exports to the US, but of the $150 that they cost to make, just $4 are China’s value-added ...."

"...the US obviously rejects the idea of inviting China to participate [in the Trans Pacific Partnership]."
“Today, no matter how many internal problems we must resolve, one still cannot escape the conclusion that, externally we confront a mighty opponent … The United States is directly seeking to constrain us.”

“… America does not want us to see clearly the enormous wealth that has been taken … The US is seeking to maintain its financial hegemony over other countries, especially over China …

“CHINA’S DECISION IN THE GREAT STRATEGIC BALANCE” – General QIAO Liang, PLA Air Force

“To serve the demands of the US market, we have exploited our resources, ruined our environment. Was that in our national interest?”

“… over the last twenty years, the US has fought four wars for the US dollar … and thus made the entire world the territory of the US financial empire …”
“International anti-China forces are still using the rivalry over the jurisdiction of maritime rights in the Spratly Islands to spoil our relations with neighboring states and further complicating the situation in the South China Sea. … the United States as the fundamental anti-Chinese force … may seek to precipitate a crisis, hoping that internal difficulties could facilitate foreign aggression, or that foreign aggression could cause internal anxiety.”

“With respect to activities in the South Sea … [we need to] build the legal basis for the use of non-peaceful means to resolve the rivalry over maritime rights. We are peace-loving … but we also need to make the appropriate plans and preparations.”
“Regarding the Huangyan Island issue, China has been patient not weak, but restrained. However, if there is someone who mistakes China’s good intentions for weakness ... viewing China as a ‘paper tiger’. Then, he is absolutely wrong.”

“China does not seek an incident, but also does not fear an incident. [China] is peace loving but also does not dread resorting to force.”
“THE HUANGYAN MODEL AND THE SHIFT OF CHINA’S MARITIME STRATEGY”– ZHANG Jie

“Before 2009 was the period of ‘keeping a low profile and biding our time’ … [but] the result was the significant weakening of foreign policy. [Chinese] foreign policy concessions did not yield regional stability, quite the contrary …”

“… with the military instrument as the background shield for the policy, there was a breakthrough in moving beyond the previous practice of using diplomacy as the only tool to resolve disputes.”

Apr 2013
Southeast Asian Studies

THE HUANGYAN MODEL AND THE SHIFT OF CHINA’S MARITIME STRATEGY

Zhang Jie

(Huangyan Model and the Shift of China’s Maritime Strategy)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC STUDIES

Keywords: Huangyan Model, Maritime Rights, South China Sea, Policy Changes

Abstract: With the military instrument as the background shield for the policy, there was a breakthrough in moving beyond the previous practice of using diplomacy as the only tool to resolve disputes.

Before 2009 was the period of ‘keeping a low profile and biding our time’ … but the result was the significant weakening of foreign policy. [Chinese] foreign policy concessions did not yield regional stability, quite the contrary …”
“... owing to the asymmetric nature of the combat theater, the Chinese Navy will undoubtedly possess a force structure advantage in the near seas of the Asia-Pacific, that will remedy the gap in quality. When one adds the enormous power of Chinese land-based air and missile forces, the balance of power will tilt in China’s favor.”

“Sino-U.S. Military Competition in the Western Pacific” – HU Bo
The Meaning of the Ukraine Events for the World and also their Warning to China
– ZHANG Wenmu

“Realizing unification with Taiwan ... Yes, we can. In the Ukraine Crisis, Putin was able to extend his security zone all the way to the south of Crimea, but NATO had no recourse, because [Crimea] lay beyond the reach of its power...."
“US Commander goes so far as to request that Japanese Self Defense Forces patrol the South China Sea.”

“The US desires to use Japan to fill a military capability gap.”

“Why is the US once again talking up the South China Sea issue?”

2 April 2015
Huanqiu Shixian
CCTV News 13
"The US military desires to station forces at eight Philippine bases?"
“... the supersonic missile then relies on high flight speed and strong penetration capability to severely curtail the adversary’s reaction time to make it difficult to organize an effective intercept.”
... in 2028, the [USN] force of nuclear attack submarines will fall from the current number of 55 down to 41 boats. Some are concerned about whether this force level can meet the requirements of the Asia-Pacific rebalance.
Iran’s effort to increase the indigenization of its anti-ship cruise missile arsenal has already achieved substantial progress. But whether imported or made in Iran, the existing arsenal are all subsonic anti-ship missiles. … Against the ‘Aegis’ [defense system] ... these weapons are lacking … In this situation, Iran needs to develop a heavy, 200-300km supersonic anti-ship cruise missile.
“THE LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE MARKET HAS GROWN TO A LARGE SIZE”

“The region of Latin America, situated in the US backyard, finds itself in a contradiction. [The countries] wish to stay close to the US, but they simultaneously desire to escape US control and infiltration.”

“Latin American countries are all ... continuously expanding their military expenditures ...”

“Argentina has the second largest economy behind Brazil, but the scale of its weapons imports is much lower than those of Venezuela, Chile, Brazil, Columbia, and Mexico.”
2014年12月22日上午，中国首个维和步兵营赴苏丹维和出征誓师大会在陆军第26集团军某摩步旅举行。

坚强的营指挥班子。

步兵营中编配一个13人的女子步兵班。这是中国执行维和任务的第一个女子步兵班。
吴胜利在大会上发言
“Now in our country there is a belief that border questions can only be resolved through war, and there is the related idea that the country must make strong demands. But these ideas have a mistaken understanding of history … The press and some scholars insist on the use of ‘force’ … resulting in the worship of the “hardliners” from the past, and criticism of current “weakness.” This approach neither corresponds to the facts, nor can it assist the comprehensive resolution of these problems.
"The ‘island dispute’ is not the sum total of China-Japan relations."

"... many people only examine one dimension of domestic factors behind the China-Japan frictions. In only discussing the Japanese situation, they neglect to talk about China’s internal situation."
On Sino-US Global Strategic Interest Compatibility and Their Cooperation in the Middle East

ZHAO Baomin

Abstract: In the twenty years of the so-called uni-polar period, under the nuclear equilibrium, Sino-US competition is characterized by manifest strategic compatibility. The United States contests itself with political and military supremacy, while China focuses on economic expansion. Through the twenty years of peaceful economic development, China has hasted itself towards the risky situation of imminent military pressure, and enters into a new phase in its peaceful rise. Overseas interest is now part of China's national interest. China is contiguous to Middle East by land and sea, while for the United States, hegemonic power in the region is one of the pillars of its global dominance. The Sino-US strategic competition in the region should continue the mode of strategic compatibility in the past 20 years. The transfer of power will be conducted smoothly as what is going on the global level up to now.

Key Words: Sino-US Strategic Compatibility; China's Peaceful Rise; Middle East Policy of Big Powers; Sino-US Relations; Strategic Interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategic Objective</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>US</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintain Middle East balance</td>
<td>Support</td>
<td>Support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maintain political stability of oil producers</td>
<td>Support</td>
<td>Support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assist local states to improve living standards</td>
<td>Support</td>
<td>Support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Push forward the Middle East peace process</td>
<td>Support</td>
<td>Support</td>
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</tbody>
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| Traditional Security | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| To maintain Middle East security | China | US |
| To maintain oil producers | Support | Support |

| Traditional Security | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| To promote Middle East political stability | China | US |
| To promote oil producers | Support | Support |

| Non-Traditional Security Cooperation | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Support against terrorism | China | US |
| Support against war | Support | Support |

| Non-Traditional Security Cooperation | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Support against piracy | China | US |
| Support against drug trafficking | Support | Support |

| Non-Traditional Security Cooperation | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Support against proliferation | China | US |
| Support against weapons | Support | Support |
At least in the opinion of this writer, while the last decade has seen some aid and extensive commercial cooperation, there has not been sufficient provision of public goods ...

"... we must seek to correct the unflattering international view that China is a 'lame colossus' (possessing economic, financial and resources capabilities, but lacking in the political and security domains – even causing harm) ..."
今年，“雾霾”危机下的各项控煤减排措施开始在市场上显现力量。进口煤竞争、国内新增产能的陆续释放、经济增长的放缓等因素共同叠加，使得供大于求的局面进一步恶化。
Support global climate change treaty with strict and intrusive verification procedures

Support global climate change treaty under principle of per capita emissions

Develop and institutionalize green corporate scorecard

Vast expansion of high-speed rail network, drawing on Chinese technical experience

Agree to the principle of a legally binding climate agreement

Agree to bifurcation of climate change responsibilities
Initiate substantive joint development under the principle of equality

Clarify U-shaped claim and make consistent with UN Law of the Sea

Endorse China as claimant and support bilateral negotiations

Reduce surveillance missions in northern part of South China Sea

Open Hainan Island–Yalong Bay naval complex to annual visit by ASEAN states
Figure 9.1 Cooperation Spiral: The United States–Japan–China Triangle 合作螺旋：美日中三边关系

Support Japan’s membership in the UN Security Council:
支持日本加入联合安理

Allow constitutional reform
允许日本修宪

Accept median line settlement in the East China Sea
接受东海中间线原则

Restructure United States–Japan Alliance:
调整日美联盟

Promote joint Senkaku/Diaoyu administration
支持中日共同管辖

Persuade Japanese prime minister to visit Nanjing Massacre Museum
说服日本首相参观
"THE US AND JAPAN UNITE TO HEM IN CHINA'S SUBMARINES"
Figure 12.1 Cooperation Spiral: The Larger Strategic Relationship

Institutionalize military budgeting transparency

Appoint civilian defense minister

Limit growth of submarine force

Amend legislation on security cooperation

Initiate substantive space cooperation

Reduce size of aircraft carrier forces
Time to Rebalance the Rebalance?

• Is China more assertive?
• Has the rebalance stabilized the maritime disputes?
• Are we creating what we are seeking to avoid by intensifying Chinese anxieties?
• Does the “demand signal” from allies/partners = U.S. national interest?
• Are U.S. credibility and the global balance of power at stake over a cluster of rocks and reefs?
• Is it sustainable (affordable)?
• What are the opportunity costs?
• Does “forward” = good military strategy?
• Are we “speaking loudly and carrying a small stick”?
• Is there a mechanism to control US-China rivalry?
‘What the hell are the unequal treaties, anyway?’ Wilsey said once.
‘They give us our treaty rights,’ Ellis said. ‘We got to stand up for our rights.’
‘What the hell are our rights?’
‘I don’t know. I guess the officers know,’ Ellis said.
... Crosley aimed an imaginary gun at the line of students. ‘Boy oh boy, just like ducks in a row!’ ... ‘Bet you they’d knock off that sign crap, quick enough.’ (336)

‘Slopeheads just ain’t Americans and by law they can’t ever be Americans,’ Bronson said.
“You mean being fair only counts between Americans?”
“Well, white men.” Bronson shifted in his chair. “I mean, fair’s different with slopeheads. They’re sneaky. They lie and steal. They’re dirty. Their yellow goes clear to the bone. There ain’t one in all China with guts enough to stand up and fight like a man.” (223-224)
Note: This presentation reflects the personal views of the author and not the official assessments of the U.S. Navy or any other entity of the U.S. Government.
BACKUP
CS 3.1
Taiwan

Figure 3.1 Cooperation Spiral: Taiwan

1. PRC 1: Initiate military exchanges with Taiwan without preconditions
   与台湾建立无条件的军事交流

2. US 2: Limited reduction of Guam forces
   减少驻关岛部队

3. US 3: Halt arms sales of new-type weapons
   停止向台出售新型武器

4. US 4: Accept treaty negotiations on final status and pressure Taipei to begin
   接受两岸关于台湾最终地位谈判，施压台湾谈判

5. PRC 5: Halt all weapons sales
   停止所有武器销售

6. PRC 4: Restrict PLA development of amphibious capabilities
   限制解放军两栖作战能力的发展

7. PRC 3: Endorse more robust Taiwan international presence
   接受台湾争取更多国际空间

8. US 5: Halt final status negotiations
   停止最终地位谈判

9. PRC: Undertake final status negotiations, including provisions for no use of force, as well as no PLA and no CCP personnel on Taiwan
   最终地位谈判要包括禁止动武，禁止解放军人员和共产党员驻台湾

10. US: Pull missiles back from East China area
    撤走部署于中国东部的导弹

11. PRC: Close American Institute in Taiwan military office
    关闭驻美台北经济文化办事处武官办公室
Figure 4.1 Cooperation Spiral: Economic Relations  合作螺旋: 经济关系

- Allow free float for RMB
  让人民币完全自由浮动
- Legalize nongovernmental labor unions
  合法化非政府性质工会
- Corporate transparency initiative
  制定政策提高中国企业的透明度
- Strictly enforce intellectual property rights laws
  严格保护知识产权
- Encourage major investment in US economy
  鼓励中国公司在美国大量投资
- Ease restrictions on high-technology transfer
  放宽对高端技术转移的政策
- Negotiate plan for China’s entry into Trans-Pacific Partnership
  为中国加入跨太平洋伙伴关系贸易协议进行谈判
- Provide incentives for Americans to increase savings rate
  激励美国人提高储蓄率
- Further ease travel restrictions
  进一步简化赴美手续
- Decrease barriers to purchase of US companies
  放宽中国公司收购美国公司的政策
Figure 5.1 Cooperation Spiral: Environment and Climate Change

Support global climate change treaty with strict and intrusive verification procedures

Support global climate change treaty under principle of per capita emissions

Develop and institutionalize green corporate scorecard

Vast expansion of high-speed rail network, drawing on Chinese technical experience

Agree to the principle of a legally binding climate agreement

Agree to bifurcation of climate change responsibilities

Undertake profit-sharing initiative in foreign dam building

Curtail embassy air quality reporting in China

Vastly increase scale of State Environmental Protection Agency

Propose bilateral emergency spill mitigation cooperation

在气候变化问题上,接受法律约束力原则

在气候变化问题上接受共同但有区别的责任原则

外建坝工程要改成利润共享模式

大使馆停止提供中国的空气质量数据

扩大国家环境保护总局的执法范围

建立美中应急石油溢出合作
Figure 6.1 Cooperation Spiral: The Developing World

- Increase aid transparency
  提高中国对外援助的透明度
- Limit arms sales to Latin America
  限制向南美出售武器
- Initiate United States–China–Africa Dialogue
  建立中美非洲对话
- Promote African Union institutionalization
  积极支持非洲的体制化
- Propose African Medical Initiative
  建立援非医疗项目
- Close US Africa Command
  关闭美国非洲司令部
- Promote Chinese leadership at World Bank
  支持中国公民成为世界银行行长
- Increase commitment to UN peacekeeping
  进一步支持联合国维和行动
- Propose Africa Joint Fisheries Patrol
  提出中美两国非洲联合护渔巡逻
- Propose Joint Africa Military Medical Mission
  提出中美两军建立援非联合医疗项目
Figure 7.1 Cooperation Spiral: The Middle East 合作螺旋：中东问题

Pressure Iran to recognize Israel
施压伊朗承认以色列

Pressure Iran for compliance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty
施压伊朗遵守核不扩散条约

Agree to coax Iran to cease arming Hezbollah
积极劝导伊朗停止向真主党提供武器

Offer regular naval patrol of Strait of Hormuz
提出中国海军霍尔木兹海峡巡逻

Agree to Joint Counterterrorism Center
同意建立中美联合反恐中心

Pressure Israel for Non-Proliferation Treaty compliance
施压以色列遵守核不扩散条约

Decrease US Fifth Fleet forces
减少第五舰队规模

Drop sanctions on Iran
停止制裁伊朗

Pledge not to seek regime change in Tehran
承诺不推翻伊朗政权

Agree to major Chinese purchase of US gas and transfer of fracking technology
让中国买大量美国煤气，转让水力压裂技术
Figure 8.1 Cooperation Spiral: The Korean Peninsula

1. Propose Four-Power Yellow Sea Patrol
2. Reinvigorate 1961 treaty and deploy symbolic troop presence into North Korea
3. Freeze North Korean nuclear programs and initiate proliferation safeguard system
4. Institutionalize military transparency system with South Korea
5. Complete and verifiable North Korean nuclear disarmament

PRC 1
PRC 2
PRC 3
PRC 4
PRC 5

US 1
US 2
US 3
US 4
US 5

Propose bilateral military study of the Korean War
Symbolic withdrawal of combat personnel
Undertake direct negotiations with North Korea
Initiate diplomatic relations with North Korea
Initiate significant troop withdrawal

Proposed Action:
- Propose Four-Power Yellow Sea Patrol
- Reinvigorate 1961 treaty and deploy symbolic troop presence into North Korea
- Freeze North Korean nuclear programs and initiate proliferation safeguard system
- Institutionalize military transparency system with South Korea
- Complete and verifiable North Korean nuclear disarmament
CS 9.1  
Japan-China-US Triangle

Figure 9.1 Cooperation Spiral: The United States–Japan–China Triangle 合作螺旋：美日中三边关系

1. Reduce Marines in Okinawa  
（减少驻冲绳岛海军陆战队）

2. Accept trilateral negotiations process  
（接受三边谈判架构）

3. Accept median line settlement in the East China Sea  
（接受东海中间线原则）

4. Undertake rare earths commitment  
（承诺不改变稀土金属出口政策）

5. Support Japan’s membership in the UN Security Council:  
（支持日本加入联合国安理会）

6. Restructure United States–Japan Alliance:  
（调整日美联盟）

7. Promote joint Senkaku/Diaoyu administration  
（支持中日共同管辖钓鱼岛/尖阁诸岛）

8. Persuade Japanese prime minister to visit Nanjing Massacre Museum  
（说服日本首相参观南京大屠杀纪念馆）

（提出日中联合亚丁湾反海盗巡逻）
Figure 10.1 Cooperation Spiral: Southeast Asia

- End active military cooperation with the Philippines and Indonesia
- Initiate substantive joint development under the principle of equality
- Clarify U-shaped claim and make consistent with UN Law of the Sea
- Open Hainan Island–Yalong Bay naval complex to annual visit by ASEAN states
- Propose joint counterpiracy patrol in Malacca Strait area
- Welcome major Chinese military presence at CARAT exercise

- End active military cooperation with Vietnam
- Endorse China as claimant and support bilateral negotiations
- Reduce surveillance missions in northern part of South China Sea
- Propose Southeast Asia Coast Guard Forum

Southeast Asia
Figure 11.1 Cooperation Spiral: The United States–India–China Triangle

Support India’s membership in the UN Security Council

Develop road project for Afghanistan and Shanghai Cooperation Organization contingency planning

Promote joint China–India transportation initiative

Create secular education fund for Pakistan and pledge not to build military bases in Pakistan

Institutionalize naval deployment notification

Urge Indian restraint regarding South China Sea

Facilitate India/China border settlement

Halt drone attacks in Pakistan

Stop visitation with Dalai Lama

Continue to reduce military footprint in Central Asia

Officially stop meetings with the Dalai Lama

Institutionalize naval deployment notification

Create secular education fund for Pakistan and pledge not to build military bases in Pakistan

Promote joint China–India transportation initiative

Develop road project for Afghanistan and Shanghai Cooperation Organization contingency planning

Support India’s membership in the UN Security Council
Figure 12.1 Cooperation Spiral: The Larger Strategic Relationship

Institutionalize military budgeting transparency

 Amend legislation on security cooperation

 Appoint civilian defense minister

 Initiate substantive space cooperation

 Limit growth of submarine force

 Reduce size of aircraft carrier forces

 Limit development of antiship ballistic missile and antisatellite weaponry

 Limit development of Prompt Global Strike

 Review policies toward North Korea and Iran

 Undertake a bottom-up review of Taiwan policy
"Near Seas Early Warning Sensor Network System"

"Air-based sensors"

"Sea-based sensors"
ADS is now being researched by the USN as a rapidly deployable, highly capable, undersea surveillance system ... and can be extremely effective against either nuclear submarines or very quiet diesel submarines.

China’s fixed type undersea surveillance system is also continuously developing ... since 1996. ... In 2005 near Qingdao a comprehensive undersea surveillance system was tested.

“... the waters off of the Sanya base are deep and enemy submarines can employ towed arrays to detect Chinese submarines leaving port at a distance of several tens of nautical miles...”