## RECOMMENDATIONS

### China's Regional Activities

- The Commission recommends that Congress urge the Administration to seek direct dialogue and cooperation with China with regard to securing a resolution to the conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan that will halt the genocide occurring there and provide security and basic human rights for the affected population. Congress should instruct the Administration to report semiannually on China's actions in Sudan and any progress that has been made through dialogue with China.
- The Commission recommends that Congress encourage the Administration to intensify engagement with Latin American nations in light of expanding Chinese interests in the region.
- The Commission recommends that Congress encourage the Administration to seek observer status for the United States in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and that Congress also encourage the Administration to monitor closely Iran's participation in this organization.
- The Commission recommends that in response to China's efforts to isolate Taiwan, Congress encourage the Administration to implement a long-term policy to facilitate Taiwan's participation in international organizations and activities for which statehood is not a prerequisite, such as the World Health Organization, the Community of Democracy, the Proliferation Security Initiative, and other multilateral public health, counterproliferation, counterterror, and economic organizations as appropriate. Congress should instruct the Administration to report annually on its actions to ensure that Taiwan is not isolated in the world community.
- The Commission recommends that Members of Congress, when visiting mainland China, also visit Hong Kong, and that Congress encourage senior Administration officials, including the Secretary of State, to make visits to Hong Kong part of their travel to China.
- The Commission recommends that Congress extend the reporting requirements in Section 301 of the United States Hong Kong Policy Act of 1992, P.L. 107-115, 22 U.S.C. 5731, for five more years.

# China's Proliferation and Involvement in North Korea's and Iran's Nuclearization Activities

• The Commission recommends that Congress urge the Administration to seek high-level dialogue with China intended to obtain strengthened and expanded nonproliferation commitments and activities from China and, in particular, (1) to obtain China's agreement to participate in the Proliferation Security Initiative and the Illicit Activities Initiative; and (2) to strengthen its export controls and their enforcement. Toward this end, the Commission recommends that Congress—

• direct the Administration to provide increased export control technical assistance to China, and

- appropriate funds to support that increased assistance.
- The Commission recommends that Congress urge the Administration to seek agreement with China to carry out inspections at sea of ships bound to or from North Korean ports and establish a U.S.-China joint operation to inspect for contraband all shipping containers being moved to or from North Korea when they pass through Chinese ports, in fulfillment of the obligations under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1718 to prevent the sale or transfer of missiles, and nuclear and other weapons-related materials and technologies, to and from North Korea.
- The Commission recommends that current sanctions against Chinese companies that proliferate equipment and technology related to weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems be broadened and harmonized for increased effectiveness. The Commission recommends that Congress expand current sanctions regimes to extend penalties to the Chinese parent company of a subsidiary that engages in proliferation activities, regardless of the parent company's knowledge of or involvement in the problematic transaction. Access to U.S. markets (including capital markets), technology transfers, and U.S. government grants and loans should be restricted from proliferating companies and their Chinese parent companies and related subsidiaries irrespective of the related firms' knowledge of the transfers in question.
- The Commission recommends that Congress instruct the Administration to insist that China fulfill its obligations under U.N. Security Council Resolutions 1695 and 1718 and take more significant measures to denuclearize the Korean peninsula and counter North Korean proliferation activities. The Congress should further instruct the Administration to report semiannually about specific actions the Chinese government has taken in this regard.
- The Commission recommends that Congress instruct the Administration to engage in a strategic dialogue with China and report to Congress the specific actions that China is taking concerning (1) its past and current proliferation activities to Iran; (2) its public stance in support of Iran's nuclear energy program; and (3) the impact of Iran's secondary proliferating transfers, and to encourage Middle Eastern and European states to seek to persuade China's government to act more responsibly and diligently to curb Chinese proliferation to Iran.

### China's Energy Needs and Strategies

• The Commission recommends that Congress support the Administration's current policy dialogues and technical exchanges with China pertaining to energy, and urge the Administration to seek additional opportunities for the United States to assist China to increase energy efficiency, reduce pollution from energy consumption, and facilitate the use of alternative fuels. The Commission recommends that Congress obtain detailed information on the nature, specific sources, and extent of China's air pollution, and its detrimental effects both in China and in the rest of the world, with specific attention to the effects in the United States.

#### **ENDNOTES**

1. "Main characteristics of China's Foreign Policy," Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America. www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/ zgwjzc/t35077.htm.

2. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

3. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Watson, August 3, 2006

4. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Thomas J. Christensen, August 3, 2006. 5. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

6. Jonathan Katzenellenbogen, "Behind the Chinese Year of Africa," Business Day, June 21, 2006. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006. 7. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

 U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wil-son III, August 3, 2006.
 Craig Timberg, "In Africa, China Trade Brings Growth, Unease," Wash-ington Post, June 13, 2006.
 Peter Goodspeed, "'King Cobra' pits Zambia against China: Presidential elec-tion," National Post, September 27, 2006.
 Craig Timberg, "In Africa, China Trade Brings Growth, Unease," Wash-ington Post, June 13, 2006.
 Craig Timberg, "In Africa, China Trade Brings Growth, Unease," Wash-ington Post, June 13, 2006.
 Kent Ewing, "China mixes rice and neo-colonialism," Asia Times, October 6, 2006. 8. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

2006.

13. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Senator James M. Inhofe, August 3, 2006.

14. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

15. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

16. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

17. The five countries on the African continent that still recognize the Republic of China are Burkina Faso, Swaziland, Malawi, Gambia, and Sao Tome and Principe. "China, Chad resume diplomatic ties following Taiwan's break with African na-tions," Associated Press, August 7, 2006. 18. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

19. Josh Eisenman and Joshua Kurlantzick, "China's Africa Strategy," Current History, May 2006, p. 222.

20. Josh Eisenman and Joshua Kurlantzick, "China's Africa Strategy," Current History, May 2006, p. 223.

21. Quotas on textile exports under the Mutlifibre Agreement (MFA) protected nations' domestic industries from an influx of cheaper imports and promoted the development of an African textile industry, the expansion of production capacity, and

the increase of exports to the United States. In 1995, the Mutlifibre Agreement was replaced with the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing, in which countries agreed to a progressive elimination of quotas by 2005. In 2005, African exporters found that they could not compete with China's increased textile exports, and now this industry is facing severe challenges. "China's growing interest in Sub-Saharan Africa: The textile industry," *The Economist Intelligence Unit*, May 15, 2006. 22. "Senegal: China and Africa-For Better or for Worse" *Reuters AlertNet*, June 27, 2006. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on Chi*-

na's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

23. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

24. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ernest J. Wilson III, August 3, 2006.

25. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006.

26. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006.

27. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006.

28. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006.

29. "Chinese arms in Darfur: the twisted trail of weapons," Reuters, June 19, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006. U.N. experts responsible with monitoring the arms embargo in Darfur found no evidence that China violated the arms embargo, but added that weapons sold to the Sudanese government were likely to be used in Darfur.

30. Gillian Wong, "Amnesty International: China's arms exports are fueling conflicts in Sudan, Nepal," Associated Press, June 11, 2006.
 31. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006.

32. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006

33. "SUDAN: Security Council Approves U.N. Force for Darfur," IRIN, August 31, 2006.

34. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Eric Reeves, August 3, 2006.

35. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Thomas J. Christensen, August 3, 2006.

36. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Watson, August 3, 2006.

37. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Watson, August 3, 2006.

38. R. Evan Ellis, U.S. National Security Implications of Chinese Involvement in Latin America, (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA: June 2005), p. 3. 39. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

40. Kerry Dumbaugh, Mark P. Sullivan, "China's Growing Interest in Latin America," CRS Report to Congress (Washington, DC: April 20, 2005), p. 2.
 41. Kerry Dumbaugh, Mark P. Sullivan, "China's Growing Interest in Latin

America," CRS Report to Congress (Washington, DC: April 20, 2005), p. 1.

42. R. Evan Ellis, U.S. National Security Implications of Chinese Involvement in Latin America, (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA: June 2005), p. 5.

43. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Watson, August 3, 2006.

44. For examples of this concern, see Eduardo Lora, "Should Latin America Fear China?" Inter-American Development Bank, March 2006, p. 3. Jorge I. Dominguez, China's Relations with Latin America: Shared Gains, Asymmetric Hopes, Inter-America Dialogue Working Paper (June 2006), p. 12. Amy Guthrie and Susan H.

Preston, "Feeding a Dragon," *LatinFinance*, September 2006, p. 16. 45. Cynthia A. Watson, "A Panda in the Neighborhood: China's Evolving In-volvement in Latin America," draft presented at Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University 2006 Pacific Symposium on China's Global Activism, June 20, 2006, p. 12.

46. Cynthia A. Watson, "A Panda in the Neighborhood: China's Evolving In-volvement in Latin America," draft presented at Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University 2006 Pacific Symposium on China's Global Activism, June 20, 2006, p. 12.

47. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

48. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Watson, August 3, 2006.

49. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Wat-son, August 3, 2006. Jorge I. Dominguez, China's Relations with Latin America: Shared Gains, Asymmetric Hopes, Inter-America Dialogue Working Paper (June

2006), p. 16. 50. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Watson, August 3, 2006.

51. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Cynthia Watson, August 3, 2006.

52. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

53. China seals oil deal with Chavez," *BBC News*, August 25, 2006. 54. Christopher Palmeri and Geri Smith, "Chavez starts punishing America; Venezuela's President is cutting oil exports to the U.S. and selling off assets," *Busi*ness Week, September 25, 2006.

55. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

56. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

57. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

58. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

59. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

60. Jorge I. Dominguez, China Relations with Latin America: Shared Gains, Asymmetric Hopes, Inter-America Dialogue Working Paper (June 2006), p. 43. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of William Ratliff, August 3, 2006.

61. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

62. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

63. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006. Mamoun Fandy, "Energy Security: Implications for U.S.-China-Middle East Relations: China vs. US: A View from the Arab World," Paper prepared in conjunction with an energy conference sponsored by The Shanghai Institute for International Studies and the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy (July 18, 2005), p. 1.

64. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

65. Jin Liangxiang, "Energy First—China and the Middle East," *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 12. iss. 2 (Spring 2005).

66. Wu Lei, "China-Arab Energy Corporation: The Strategic Importance of Institutionalization," *Middle East Economic Survey*, Vol. XLIX, no. 3, 16 January 2006, as cited in John Keefer Douglas, Matthew B. Nelson, and Kevin Schwartz, *Fueling* the Dragon's Flame: How China's Energy Demands Affect its Relationships in the Middle East, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, September 14, 2006, p.5.

67. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

68. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ehsan Ahrari, September 14, 2006.

69. "RMRB Roundup of Second Ministerial meeting of China-Arab Cooperation Forum," *Beijing Renmin Ribao*, June 2, 2006. 70. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

70. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

71. "China, GCC conclude third round of FTA negotiation," *People's Daily Online*, January 23, 2006.

72. U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

73. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

74. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

75. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

76. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of John Calabrese, August 3, 2006.

77. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006. See also Yitzak Shichor, "Silent Partner: China and the Lebanon Crisis," China Brief, vol. 6, iss. 7, August 16, 2006, p. 2. 78. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and

78. Shirley A. Kan, *China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC: April 6, 2006), p. 16.

2006), p. 16. 79. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Martha Brill Olcott, August 4, 2006.

80. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Dru Gladney, August 3, 2006.

81. Adam Wolfe, "China's Xinjiang Region: An Area of Strategic Interest," *Power* and Interest News Report, September 16, 2004. www.pinr.com/report.php\_ac=view\_report&report\_id=209&language\_id=1.

82. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

83. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Dru Gladney, August 3, 2006.

84. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

85. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

86. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

87. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006. Daniel Kimmage, "Central Asia: Turkmenistan-China Pipeline Project Has Far-Reaching Implications," *Radio Free Europe*, April 10, 2006.

88. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Dru Gladney, August 3, 2006.

89. See the "Declaration of Heads of Member States of Shanghai Cooperation," July 5, 2005 for an example. This statement calls upon the United States and other coalition members to set a final timeline for their presence in Afghanistan. www.sectsco.org/html/00500.html.

90. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

91. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ehsan Ahrari, September 14, 2006.

92. Bruce Pannier, "Kyrgyzstan: Russian, U.S. Military Bases on Opposite Tracks," Radio Free Europe, February 18, 2006.
 93. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's
 12. Stehololder? testimony of Ariel Cohen,

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

94. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Martha Brill Olcott, August 4, 2006.

95. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

96. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Ariel Cohen, August 3, 2006.

97. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Michael McDevitt, August 3, 2006.

98. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

99. The Yasukuni shrine, built in 1869, honors the spirits of soldiers and others who died fighting on behalf of the Japanese emperor. Of the 2,466,532 men and women honored at the shrine, there are 1,068 identified as war criminals. Twelve of those war criminals were convicted of Class A war crimes after World War II. U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in* the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Michael McDevitt, August 3, 2006. 100. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Michael McDevitt, August 3, 2006.

"Abe arrives in Beijing for summit talks," Xinhua, October 18, 2006

102. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Michael McDevitt, August 3, 2006.

103. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Michael McDevitt, August 3, 2006.

104. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

105. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

106. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Karl D. Jackson, August 3, 2006.

107. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

108. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Karl D. Jackson, August 3, 2006.

109. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

110. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

111. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Michael McDevitt, August 3, 2006.

112. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

113. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006.

114. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006.

115. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006.

116. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006.

117. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006. See also Mark Barrett, Drugs and HIV/AIDS in South East Asia: A Review of Critical Geographic Areas of HIV/AIDS Infection among Injecting Drug Users and of National Programme Responses in Cambodia, China, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand and Viet Nam, (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: Pabricow 2004), 24 February 2004) p. 24.

118. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006. 119. "U.N. Votes to Put Burma on Agenda," *BBC News*, September 16, 2006.

120. Verna Yu, "China gives HK journalist five years for spying," Agence France Presse, August 31, 2006.

121. Article 45 of the Hong Kong Basic Law stipulates that "the ultimate aim is the selection of the Chief Executive by universal suffrage upon nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures,' ' although it mentions that the position can be appointed by the Chinese central government. Article 68 states that the Legislative Council may only be selected by election, with "the ultimate aim" of election of its members by universal suffrage. www.info.gov.hk/basic law/fulltext/

122. "Hong Kong government defeated on political reforms," Agence France Presse, December 21, 2005. 123. K.C. Ng, "Suffrage Timetable Left for Later," Washington Post, October 12,

2006.

124. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Thomas J. Christensen, August 3, 2006.

125. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

126. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Robert Sutter, August 3, 2006.

127. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

128. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

129. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

130. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), p. 17.

131. Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, "Status of Participation in the Chemical Weapons Convention" www.opcw.org/html/db/members\_ratifyer.html.

132. U.Š. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), p. 70.

133. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), p. 70.

134. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), p. 70.

135. Article 1, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. www.ctbto.org/treaty/ treatytext.tt.html.

136. Shirley A. Kan, *China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues*, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 1.

2006), p. 1. 137. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), p. 103.

138. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), p. 104.

139. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), p. 104.

140. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), pp. 18, 55, 72, 103–106.

141. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

142. Assistant Secretary DeSutter concurred in her testimony that Chinese companies and government organizations continue to transfer missile-related technology and material to missile programs of concern, namely to Iran and North Korea.

143. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

144. U.S. Department of State, Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, (Washington DC: August 2005), pp. 18, 54.

145. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006

146. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006

147. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006

148. Executive Order 13382 "Blocking Property of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferators and Their Supporters' was promulgated by President Bush in June 2005, in an attempt to penalize the property holdings of persons or companies who proliferate weapons of mass destruction and prevent any person or company in the United States from engaging in any transactions with any designated proliferator. The U.S. Department of the Treasury and Department of State can designate WMD proliferators under this Executive Order. www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/06/20050629.html.

149. U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nu-clear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

150. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

151. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

152. "Treasury Sanctions Singaporean-Chinese Cargo Airline Company," U.S. De-partment of State International Information Programs, August 28, 2006.

usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2006&m=August&x=20060828170426bpuh0.2782251. 153. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nu-clear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, Sep-tember 14, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testi-mony of Thomas J. Christensen, August 3, 2006. 154. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006

2006.

155. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

156. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

157. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of David Asher, September 14, 2006. 158. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and

Missiles: Policy Issues, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 19.

159. Director of Central Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass

Destruction and Advanced Conventional Munitions, 1 January -31 December 2004, p. 8.

160. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues," (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 20.

161. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues, Updated (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 20.

162. Larry A. Niksch, North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program, (Congressional

Research Service, Washington DC: May 25, 2006), p. 11. 163. Anthony Faiola and Robin Wright, "North Korea Vows to Conduct Nuclear Test," *The Washington Post*, October 3, 2006.

164. Robert Gallucci, email communication, October 21, 2005.

165. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006

166. U.S. Department of State, Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six-Party Talks Beijing, September 19, 2005. www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2005/53490.htm.

167. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Thomas J. Christensen, August 3, 2006.

168. Anna Fifield and Stephanie Kirchgassner, "China follows US in freezing N Korean accounts," Financial Times, July 26, 2006.

169. Choe Sang-Hun, "N. Korea ties talks to end of U.S. sanctions," *International Herald Tribune*, December 6, 2005. See also Anna Fifield and Stephanie Kirchgassner, "China follows US in freezing N Korean accounts," *Financial Times*,

July 26, 2006. 170. Edith M. Lederer, "China and Russia resist sanctions against North Korea over missile tests," Associated Press, July 6, 2006.

171. United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1695 (2006).

172. United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1695 (2006). 173. Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter specifies the powers of the U.N. Security Council to determine threats or breaches of peace and to initiate military and nonmilitary action to restore international peace. Among those powers, Article 41 de-scribes nonmilitary options available to the Security Council including, "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic rela-tions." If the U.N. Security Council determines that a breach of peace has occurred, and that it will adopt nonmilitary sanctions under Article 41 to restore international peace, then the Security Council can require U.N. Member states to implement these measures against the offending party notwithstanding their own laws. Thus, if Resolution 1695 included Chapter VII language, China would be granted no lati-tude with respect to implementing the Resolution's punitive sanctions against North Korea.

174. Warren Hoge, "U.N. resolution on missiles OK'd in weaker form," San Diego Union-Tribune, July 16, 2006.

175. David Lague and Warren Hoge, "Deal Nears on Sanctions for North Korea," The New York Times, October 13, 2006. 176. United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1718 (2006).

177. "ROK's Yonhap: China Agrees To Inspection of N.K. cargo But Not Interdic-tion," Yonhap, October 16, 2006.

178. John O'Neil and Norimitsu Onishi, "China Said to Start Enforcing North Korea Sanctions," *The New York Times*, October 16, 2006.

179. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Thomas J. Christensen, August 3, 2006.

180. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and

Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of David Asher, September 14, 2006. 181. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

182. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

183. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

184. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

185. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

186. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

187. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of David Asher, September 14, 2006.

188. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

189. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006

190. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

191. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of David Asher, September 14, 2006.

192. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.

193. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006

194. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and

Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of David Asher, September 14, 2006. 195. John Calabrese, "China and Iran: Mismatched Partners," The Jamestown Foundation Occasional Paper, August 2006, p. 4. jamestown.org/docs/Jamestown-ChinaIranMismatch.pdf.

196. John Calabrese, "China and Iran: Mismatched Partners," The Jamestown Foundation Occasional Paper, August 2006, p. 5. jamestown.org/docs/Jamestown-ChinaIranMismatch.pdf.

197. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and

Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006. 198. "Treasury Sanctions Singaporean-Chinese Cargo Airline Company," USINFO East Asia, U.S. State Department, August 29, 2006. lists.state.gov/SCRIPTS/WA-USIAINFO\_EXE?A2=ind0608e&L=us-china&D=1&H=1&O=D&P=75.

199. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006

200. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and

Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ehsan Ahrari, September 14, 2006. 201. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 20. 202. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and

Missiles: Policy Issues, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 20. 203. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and

Missiles: Policy Issues, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 19.

204. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006.

205. U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

206. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006.

207. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ehsan Ahrari, September 14, 2006.

208. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6,

2006), p. 10. 209. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations. testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

210. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ehsan Ahrari, September 14, 2006.

Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ehsan Ahrari, September 14, 2006.
211. Dingli Shen, "Iran's Nuclear Ambitions Test China's Wisdom," The Washington Quarterly, vol. 29, iss. 2, Spring 2006, p. 57.
212. Kenneth Katzman, Iran: U.S. Concerns and Policy Responses, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: July 13, 2006), p. 17.
213. Peter Spiegel, "Iran Rebuff of U.N. Likely, U.S. Official Says," Los Angeles Times, August 18, 2006.
214. "China calls for restraint on Iran nuclear issue," Reuters, August 1, 2006.
215. United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1696 (2006).
216. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of John Calabrese. September 14. Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of John Calabrese, September 14, 2006.

217. "China: Peace best Iran solution," ShanghaiDaily.com, August 23, 2006.

218. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006

219. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006. 220. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and

Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ehsan Ahrari, September 14, 2006. 221. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

222. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006.

223. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006. 224. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

224. U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006.

225. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006. 226. "By way of comparison, the robustness of the Chinese-Iranian energy rela-

226. "By way of comparison, the robustness of the Chinese-Iranian energy relationship is such that it's equivalent roughly to our relationship with Saudi Arabia, and it obviously wouldn't pass the laugh test if someone came to us and said next week, you will cease receiving oil supplies from Saudi Arabia." Following from this, Iran could rescind its contracts with China, including ceasing natural gas provisions. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations*, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006. 227. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

227. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

228. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006.

229. As the United States considers its options, experts agreed that Iran's nuclear ambitions and programs will continue unless there are explicit guarantees that the United States will not pursue regime change in Iran.

United States will not pursue regime change in Iran. 230. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations*, testimony of Ilan Berman, September 14, 2006.

231. Shirley A. Kan, China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues, (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC: April 6, 2006), p. 1.
232. In the wake of the September 11 attacks and the rising threat of weapons

232. In the wake of the September 11 attacks and the rising threat of weapons of mass destruction entering the hands of states and non-state actors, China issued new regulations governing export controls in 2002. These regulations do not ban the export of any items but require companies that sell controlled items to obtain a license and government approval for each sale, along with a guarantee from the purchaser that the item or technology will not be misused. Phillip P. Pan, "China Issues Rules on Missile Exports," *Washington Post*, August 26, 2002.

Rules on Missile Exports," Washington Post, August 26, 2002. 233. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

234. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Thomas J. Christensen, August 3, 2006.

235. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

236. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Aaron Friedberg, September 14, 2006.* 

237. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Peter W. Rodman, September 14, 2006.

238. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations*, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

239. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and

Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

240. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Proliferation to North Korea and Iran, and Its Role in Addressing the Nuclear and Missile Situations in Both Nations, testimony of Paula A. DeSutter, September 14, 2006.

241. Jin Liangxiang, "Energy First—China and the Middle East," Middle East, Quarterly, vol. 12, iss. 2 (Spring 2005). www.meforum.org/article/694.

242. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country Analysis Briefs: China*, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/Full.html.

emeu/cabs/China/Full.html. 243. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, Country Analysis Briefs: China, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/ emeu/cabs/China/Full.html. See also U.S. Congress, Energy Policy Act 2005, Section 1837: National Security Review of International Energy Requirements, report prepared by U.S. Department of Energy, (February 2006), p. 4. 244. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

244. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

245. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

246. Deng Zhenghong, Enterprise Manager, Sinopec, blog entry May 11, 2006. Accessed September 2006 at boraid.com/darticle3/list.asp?id=55007, as quoted in John Keefer Douglas, Matthew B. Nelson, and Kevin Schwartz, *Fueling the Drag*on's Flame: How China's Energy Demands Affect its Relationships in the Middle East, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, September 14, 2006, p.21.

Bass, presented to the 0.5. offina Bottomic and Section Review Commission in diffillment of contractual obligations, September 14, 2006, p.21.
247. Deng Zhenghong, Enterprise Manager, Sinopec, blog entry May 11, 2006.
Accessed October 2006 at boraid.com/darticle3/list.asp?id=55007.
248. "Oil security: A top priority for China," *People's Daily Online*, May 1, 2004.
240. U.S. China, Dengin and Security Deriver Deriver China," *China*, China, Ch

248. "Oil security: A top priority for China," *People's Daily Online*, May 1, 2004. 249. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

250. PFC Energy calculation.

251. "Oil security: A top priority for China," *People's Daily Online*, May 1, 2004. 252. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

253. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of David Gates, August 4, 2006. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

254. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 6.

ment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 6. 255. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

256. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Amy Jaffe, August 4, 2006. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 6.

fillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 6. 257. Eurasia Group, *China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production*, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 3. 258. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

258. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

259. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

260. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

261. U.S. Department of Defense, Annual Report to Congress on the Military

Power of the People's Republic of China, (Washington, DC: May 2006), p. 33. 262. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 8. 263. Wen Han, "Hu Jintao Urges Breakthrough in 'Malacca Dilemma,'" Wen Wei

Po, January 14, 2004.

264. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Military Modernization and U.S. Export Controls, testimony of Cortez Cooper, March 16, 2006.

265. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 8.

266. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country* Analysis Briefs: China, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/ emeu/cabs/China/Full.html.

267. "China needs more supertankers to ensure oil supply security: report," Xinhua News Agency, August 21, 2006.

268. U.S.-China Économic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

269. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

270. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Martha Brill Olcott, August 4, 2006.

271. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Martha Brill

Olcott, August 4, 2006. 272. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs,

August 4, 2006. 273. U.S. Congress, Energy Policy Act 2005, Section 1837: National Security Review of International Energy Requirements, report prepared by U.S. Department of Energy, (February 2006), p. 17. 274. Howard French, "20 Reported Killed as Chinese Unrest Escalates," *The New* 

*York Times,* December 9, 2005. See also Ching-Ching Ni, "Waves of Social Unrest Continues Across China," *Los Angeles Times,* August 10, 2006.

275. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

276. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006. 277. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann

Fredriksen, August 4, 2006. 278. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Amy Jaffe, August 4, 2006.

279. Keith Bradsher and David Barboza, "Pollution From Chinese Coal Casts a

Global Shadow," *The New York Times*, June 11, 2006. 280. Keith Bradsher and David Barboza, "Pollution From Chinese Coal Casts a Global Shadow," The New York Times, June 11, 2006.

281. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

282. Keith Bradsher and David Barboza, "Pollution from Chinese Coal Casts a Global Shadow," *The New York Times*, June 11, 2006.

283. Keith Bradsher and David Barboza, "Pollution from Chinese Coal Casts a

Global Shadow," The New York Times, June 11, 2006. 284. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

285. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

286. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

287. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.
288. U.S. Congress, Energy Policy Act 2005, Section 1837: National Security Review of International Energy Requirements, report prepared by U.S. Department of Energy, (February 2006), p. 4.
289. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's

289. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

290. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

291. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

292. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

293. Currently, China has both direct procurement and equity investments in Angola, but these equity blocks have not begun production. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country Analysis Briefs: China*, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/Full.html. See also Eurasia Group, *China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production*, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 23.

294. PFC Energy, personal communication, June 6, 2006.

295. PFC Energy, personal communication, June 6, 2006.

296. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country Analysis Briefs: China*, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/Full.html.

297. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

298. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, Country Analysis Briefs: China, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/ emeu/cabs/China/Full.html. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 21.

299. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

300. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country Analysis Briefs: China*, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/Full.html.

301. "China to Invest in Venezuela Oil Plans," Associated Press, August 28, 2006.

302. This agreement is representative of Iran's energy policy of "buy-back" contracts, in which foreign companies develop a field until it is ready to produce oil, and then return the field to Iran's national oil company. In return, the foreign company receives a return on investment, in the form of oil. In this case, China's return on the investment will occur in the form of natural gas. Patrick Clawson, "Influencing Iran's Nuclear Activities through Major Power Cooperation," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy: Policy Watch #936*, December 30, 2004. Eurasia Group, *China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production*, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 10.

303. "China's Sinopec in deal to explore Iran oil block," *Agence France Press*, June 21, 2006.

304. Eurasia Group, *China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production*, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 19.

305. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

306. Simon Henderson, "Chinese-Saudi Cooperation: Oil but also Missiles," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy: Policy Watch #1095, April 21, 2006. "PRC Article Reviews Efforts to Acquire African Oil." Guangzhou 21 Shiji Jingji Badao, May 8, 2006.

307. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country Analysis Briefs: China*, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/ emeu/cabs/China/Full.html.

308. "Angola's new oil refinery project to be completed by 2010," People's Daily Online, December 6, 2005. 309. "Iran signs 2.7 bln dlr refinery deal with China," Agence France Presse, July

31, 2006. 310. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

Adgust 4, 2000. 311. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfill-ment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 2. 312. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Martha Brill

Olcott, August 4, 2006. 313. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006. 314. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Martha Brill

Olcott, August 4, 2006. 315. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country Analysis Briefs: China*, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/ emeu/cabs/China/Full.html. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testi-

Trends, Issues, and Implications for the United States, (Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C.: April 4, 2006), p. 24.
317. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann

Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

318. David Winning, "China Must Spend \$7.5B To Match West On Oil Reserve-Exec," Dow Jones International News. Sentember 11 2006 See also "China're Exec," Dow Jones International News, September 11, 2006. See also "China's Sinopec says lack of fuel-price hike won't hurt results," MarketWatch, September 11, 2006

319. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

320. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

321. U.S. Congress, Energy Policy Act 2005, Section 1837: National Security Review of International Energy Requirements, report prepared by U.S. Department of Energy, (February 2006), p. 21. 322. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006. 323. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

324. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.

325. U.S. Congress, Energy Policy Act 2005, Section 1837: National Security Review of International Energy Requirements, report prepared by U.S. Department of Energy, (February 2006), p. 18.

326. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

327. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, *Country* Analysis Briefs: China, (Washington, DC: Updated August 2006). www.eia.doe.gov/ emeu/cabs/China/Full.html.

328. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs,

August 4, 2006. 329. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Jared Genser, August 3, 2006.

330. Erica S. Downs, "How Oil Fuels Sino-U.S. Fires," BusinessWeek, September 4, 2005

331. Quoted in John Keefer Douglas, Matthew B. Nelson, and Kevin Schwartz, Fueling the Dragon's Flame: How China's Energy Demands Affect its Relationships in the Middle East, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, September 14, 2006, p.8. 332. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's* 

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Katharine Ann Fredriksen, August 4, 2006.

333. PFĆ Energy calculation.

334. John Keefer Douglas, Matthew B. Nelson, and Kevin Schwartz, Fueling the Dragon's Flame: How China's Energy Demands Affect its Relationships in the Mid-dle East, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission

in fulfillment of contractual obligations, September 14, 2006, p.23. 335. U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?*, testimony of Erica Downs,

Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.
336. "China's 'Going-out' moved whose cheese?" 21 Shiji Jingji Baodao, June 23, 2006. big5.southen.com/gate/big5/www.southen.com/finance/nfcm/21sjijbd/200606230793.htm. See also U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Role in the World: Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?, testimony of Erica Downs, August 4, 2006.
337. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 3.
338. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 4.
339. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 4.
339. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 4.

339. Eurasia Group, China's Overseas Investments in Oil and Gas Production, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, October 16, 2006, p. 26.

340. John Keefer Douglas, Matthew B. Nelson, and Kevin Schwartz, Fueling the Dragon's Flame: How China's Energy Demands Affect its Relationships in the Mid-dle East, presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission in fulfillment of contractual obligations, September 14, 2006, p. 22.