



The Hague Centre
for Strategic Studies

China's Military Rise

and the Implications for European Security

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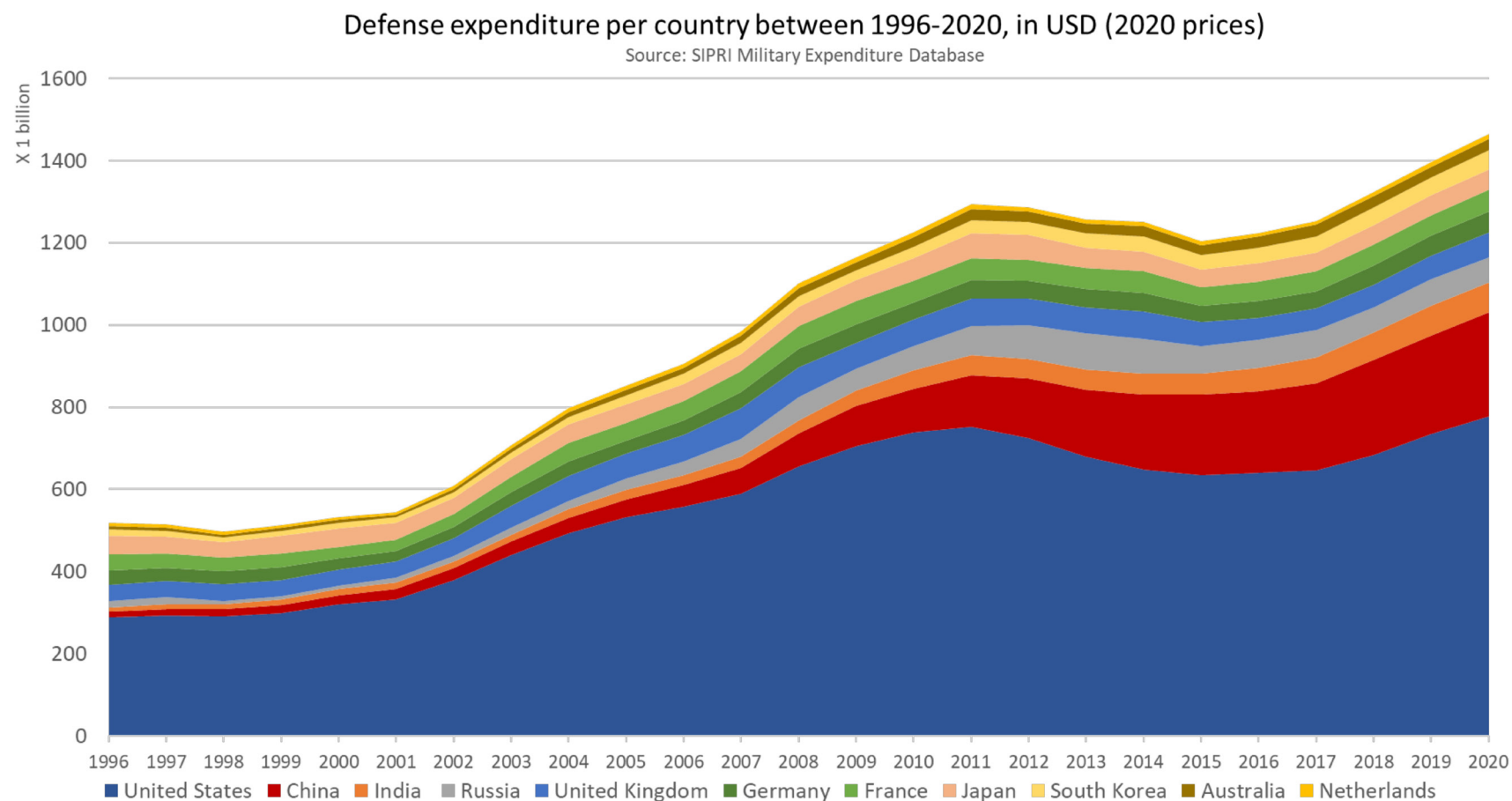
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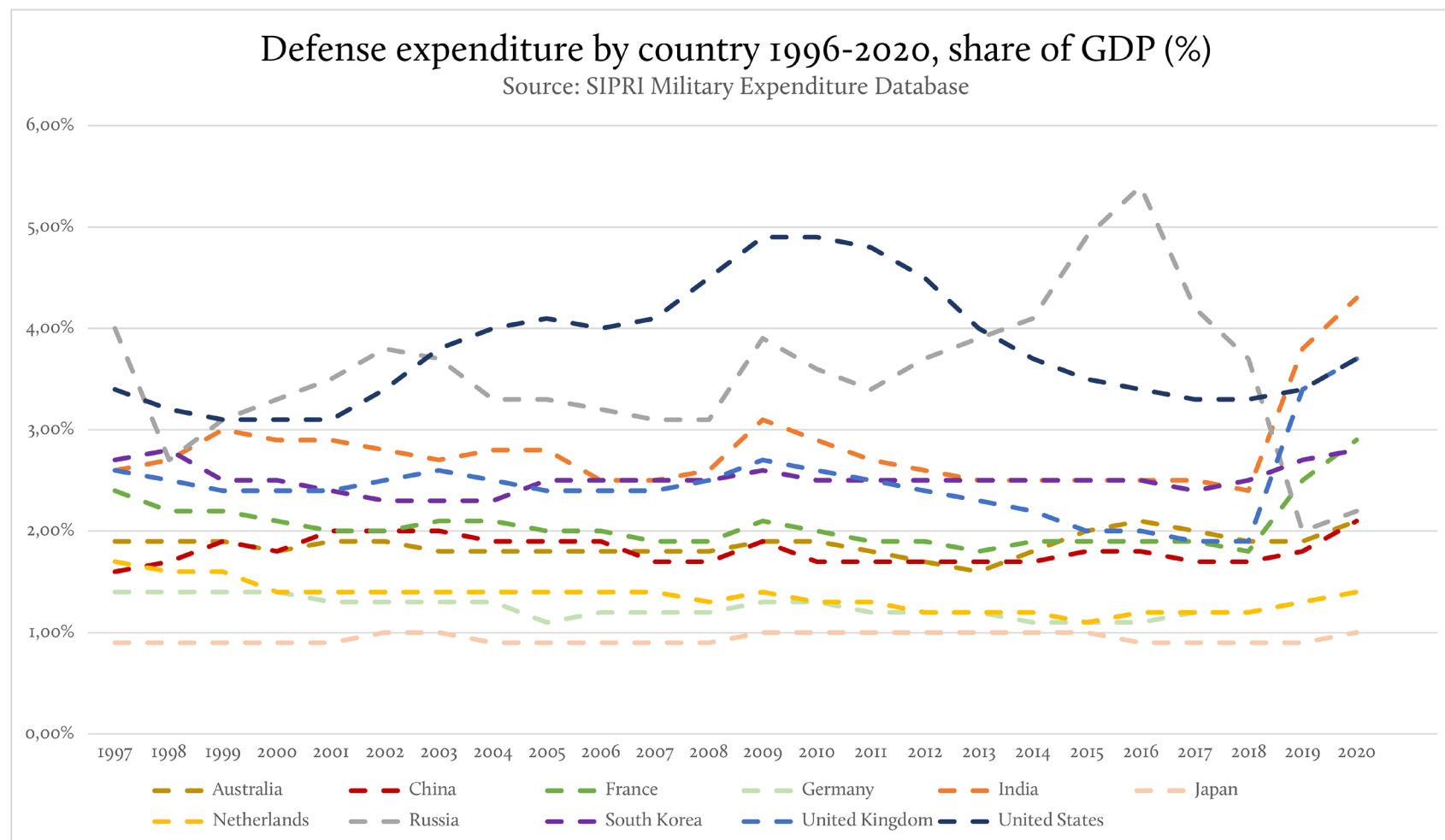
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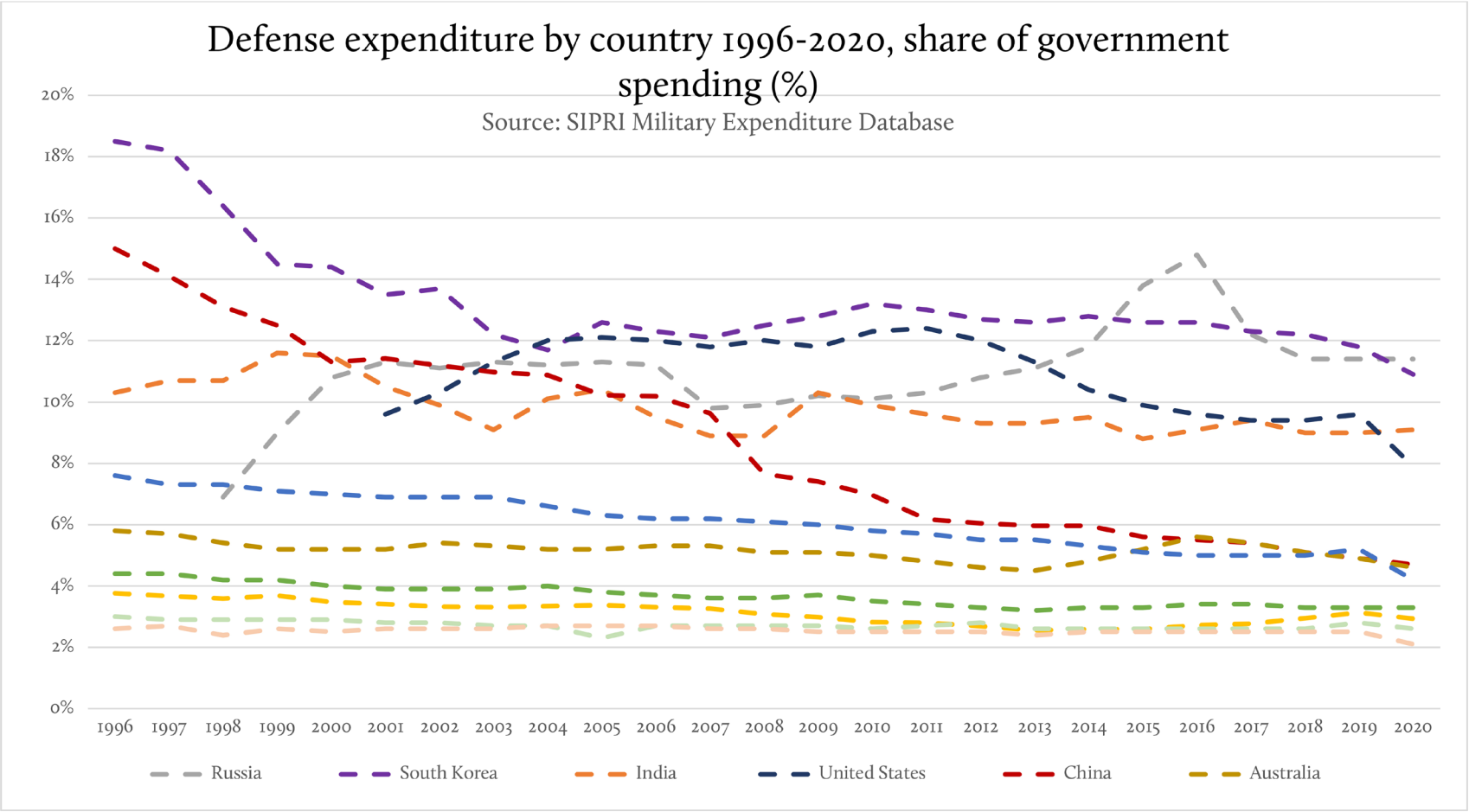
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Appendix 1 **Defense expenditure by country 1996-2020, absolute**



Appendix 2 Relative defense expenditure by country 1996-2020, share of GDP and share of government spending (%)





Appendix 3 Major power military capabilities overview: China and its potential adversaries¹

Capability type	China	Main challengers			Potential Additional Challengers		
Surface ships with VLS cells (in 2021)	China	USA	India	Australia	Japan	United Kingdom	France
Surface ships with multi-mission VLS	15	90	6	11	30	6	9
Total VLS Cells	1.008	9.044	48	208	1.164	288	320
Aircraft carriers (in 2021) ²	China	U.S.	India	Australia	Japan	United Kingdom	France
In-use carriers	Two	Eleven	One ³	Zero	Zero	Two	One
Most sophisticated-carrier	<i>Shandong</i>	<i>USS Gerald R. Ford</i>	<i>INS Vikramaditya</i>	N/A	N/A	<i>HMS Queen Elizabeth⁴</i>	<i>Charles de Gaulle⁵</i>
Year operational	2021	2022	2013	N/A	N/A	2017	2001
Propulsion	Conventional	Nuclear	Conventional	N/A	N/A	Conventional	Nuclear
Tonnage	66-70.000	110.000	45.000	N/A	N/A	65.000	42.000
Launch/recovery system	STOBAR/Ski-jump	CATOBAR	STOBAR/Ski-jump	N/A	N/A	STOVL/Ski-jump	CATOBAR
Ability to launch heavy, propeller- aircraft (e.g. for EW)	No	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	No	Yes
Aircraft	44-52	75+	30	N/A	N/A	40	24 +/-
Indigenously built	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	Yes	Yes
Surface Support Ships (in 2020) ⁶	China	U.S.	India	Australia	Japan	United Kingdom	France
Cruisers	1	24	0	0	2	0	0
Destroyers	28	67	13	2	34	6	11
Frigates	52	19	13	8	11	13	11

¹ The numbers presented in these tables are cited from five editions (i.e. 1996, 2006, 2016, 2020 and 2021) of the annually published and widely-cited *Military Balance*, of the *International Institute of Strategic Studies* (IISS). Additionally, overviews of IISS estimates presented in publications of the *China Power Project* of the *Center for Strategic & International Studies* (CSIS). were consulted. The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), "East Asia and Australasia," in *The Military Balance 1996*, vol. 96, 1996, 170–201, 10.1080/04597229608460097.; The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), "East Asia and Australasia," in *The Military Balance 2005-2006* (Routledge, 2005), 259–314.; The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), "The Military Balance 2016," *The Military Balance* 116, no. 1 (January 2016): 501, <https://doi.org/10.1080/04597222.2016.1127558>.; The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance 2020* (Routledge, 2020).; The International Institute for Strategic Studies IISS, *The Military Balance 2021*, 1st edition (Routledge, 2021).

² Additional sources on the characteristics of the listed aircraft-carriers are provided in the sub-section (REFERENCE SUBSECTION AIRCRAFT-CARRIERS).

³ Shamseer Mambra, "INS Vikramaditya – The New Air Craft Carrier of Indian Navy," *Marine Insight*, February 28, 2019, <https://www.marineinsight.com/types-of-ships/ins-vikramaditya---the-new-air-craft-carrier-of-indian-navy/>.

⁴ Michael John Williams, "New British Carriers Can Transform Europe's NATO Naval Capabilities," *Atlantic Council* (blog), April 7, 2020, <https://www.atlantic-council.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/new-british-carriers-can-transform-europes-nato-naval-capabilities/>.

⁵ Christina Mackenzie, "Macron Kicks off French Race to Build a New Nuclear-Powered Aircraft Carrier," *Defense News*, December 8, 2020, <https://www.defensenews.com/global/europe/2020/12/08/macron-kicks-off-french-race-to-build-a-new-nuclear-powered-aircraft-carrier/>.

⁶ The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance 2020*.; China Power Team, "How Is China Modernizing Its Navy?," *ChinaPower Project* (blog), August 25, 2020, <http://chinapower.csis.org/china-naval-modernization/>.

Capability type	China	Main challengers		Potential Additional Challengers			
Attack submarines (in 2020) ⁷	China	U.S.	India	Australia	Japan	United Kingdom	France
Total	54	53	16	6	21	6	5
Nuclear-Powered Cruise Missile Submarines (SSGN)	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
Nuclear-Powered Attack Submarines (SSN)	6	3	1	0	0	6	5
Diesel-Electric Attack Submarines (SSK)	48	0	15	6	21	0	0
Military Satellites (in 2021) ⁸	China	U.S.	India	Australia	Japan	United Kingdom	France
Total	132	141	21	1	11	8	7
Communications	9	46	2	1	2	8	3
Navigation/positioning timing	45	31	7	0	0	0	0
Meteorology/Oceanography	8	6	0	0	0	0	0
ISR	29	17	11	0	9	0	4
ELINT/SIGINT ⁹	41	27	1	0	0	0	0
Space Surveillance	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
Early Warning	0	8	0	0	0	0	0

⁷ The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance 2020*.; China Power Team, "How Is China Modernizing Its Navy?"

⁸ IISS, *The Military Balance 2021*.

⁹ ELINT means "Electronic Intelligence". SIGINT stands for "Signals Intelligence".

Appendix 4 Development of China's Military Capabilities since the Third Taiwan Strait Crisis (1996)¹⁰

Capability type	Year							
	1996	2006	2016	2020	2021 (Feb)	2021 (April)	2021 (May)	2021+ launched
Cruisers								
Total	0	0	0	1	1		3	8
<i>Renhai</i> Type055 (Newest)	0	0	0	1	1		3	8
Older	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Destroyers								
Total	18	21	19	28	31			N.A.
<i>Luyang III</i> Type-052D (Newest)	0	0	2	11	14			25
Older	18	21	17	17	17			N.A.
Frigates								
Total	36	42	54	52	46			
<i>Jiangkai II</i> Type054A (Newest)	0	0	20	30	30			
Older	36	42	34	22	16			
Attack Submarines								
Total	61	67	56	54	52			
Type093(A) Shang I/II Newest (nuclear-powered)	0	0	2	3	6			
Type039 Newest (diesel-electric powered)	0	0	27	30	30			
Older (nuclear-powered)	5	5	3	0 (3 in reserve)	0 (3 in reserve)			
Older (diesel-powered)	55	61	24	18	16			
Amphibious Assault Capabilities								
Total ACSs	0	0	3	6	6	7		9
<i>Yushen</i> -Type075 (Newest)	0	0	0	0	0	1		3
<i>Yuzhao</i> -Type071 (Second newest)	0	0	3	6	6	6		6
Older	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Transport Ships¹¹	56	50	47	49	49	N/A		N/A
Landing ship tank (LST)	24	19	16	28	28	N/A		N/A
Landing ship medium (LSM)	32	31	31	21	21	N/A		N/A
Corvettes								

¹⁰ The numbers presented in these tables are cited from five editions (i.e. 1996, 2006, 2016, 2020 and 2021) of the annually published and widely-cited *Military Balance*, of the *International Institute of Strategic Studies* (IISS). Additionally, overviews of IISS estimates presented in publications of the *China Power Project* of the *Center for Strategic & International Studies* (CSIS), were consulted. The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), "East Asia and Australasia," 1996.; The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), "East Asia and Australasia," 2005.; The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), "The Military Balance 2016.," The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance 2020.*; IISS, *The Military Balance 2021.*

¹¹ This table does not consider the smaller transport ships (i.e. landing crafts) that the PLAN and other PLA department also employ.

Capability type	Year							
	1996	2006	2016	2020	2021 (Feb)	2021 (April)	2021 (May)	2021 + launched
Total	0	0	22	43	55			
Jiangdao-II Type-056A (Newest)	0	0	4	22	33			
Older	0	0	18	21	22			
Naval Aviation								
Total (Fighter/Ground Attack)	40	274	254	139	153			
J-15 <i>Flanker</i> (Newest/carrier-based fighter)	0	0	14	20	34			
Older	40	274	240	119	119			
Total (Bomber)	146	68	30	35	45			
H-6G/G mod (provides target data to GLCMs)	0	0	30	27	27			
Airforce (PLAAF)								
Total (Fighter/Ground Attack)	400	1169	626	794	866			
J-20A <i>Flanker</i> (Next-Generation Fighter/Newest)	0	0	0	22+	24+			
J-10A <i>Firebird</i> (Most-generic)	0	0	144	220	220+			
Total (Bomber)	420+	222	120	176	176			
H-6A (Nuclear bomber)	0	0	0	12	12			
H-6K (Most generic/ carries YJ-12 anti-ship missiles or 6x CJ-10/CJ-20 CMs)	0	0	50	100	100			
H-6N (Newest/believed to carry ballistic missile)	0	0	0	4+	4+			
Total (fighters)	4000	1252	842	759	517			
J-11 (Newest)	0	0	95	95	95			
J-7 Fishcan/J-7 ^E /J-7G	500	756	528	512	340			
Military Satellites								
Total	0	0	77	117	132			
Communications	0	0	5	9	9			
Navigation/positioning timing	0	0	18	34	45			
Meteorology/Oceanography	0	0	N/A	8	8			
ISR ¹²	0	0	39	25	29			
ELINT/SIGINT	0	0	15	41	41			
Missiles								
Total (IRBM, 3.000-5.000 km)	0	0	16	72	110+			
DF-26 (dual-cap)	0	0	16	72	110+			
Total (MRBM, 1.000-3.000 km)	10	33	N/A	94	106			
DF-21C (land attack)	N/A	N/A	36	24	24			
DF-21D (anti-ship)	0	0	18	30	30			
DF-17 (land attack; HGV)	0	0	0	16	16			
Total (GLCM, 1.500 km)	0	0	54	70	108			
CJ-100 (anti-ship)	0	0	0	16	54			

12 None of the 39 ISR satellites that China had in use in 2016, namely the 1 Haiyang 2a; the 36 Yaogan Weixing (remote sensing); The 2 Zhangguo Ziyuan (ZY-2 remote sensing) are still listed as part of the 29 ISR-satellites active in 2021, which are the 2 Jianbing-5; 4 Jianbing-6; 3 Jianbing-7; 5 Jianbing-9; 4 Jianbing-10; 3 Jianbing-11/-12; 4 LKW; 2 Tianhui-2; 2 ZY-1; 2 Jianbing-10; 3 Jianbing-11/-12; 4 LKW; and 2 Tianhui-2; 1 ZY-1. XYZ Annex/IISS database

Appendix 5 Sample of major power military facilities bordering Indian Ocean or adjacent waters

Location	Name	Air/land based	Specifications	Region
France				
Djibouti	Les forces françaises stationnées à Djibouti (FFDj) ¹³	Airbasis		East Africa
La Réunion et Mayotte	Port des Galets (Part of Les forces armées dans la zone Sud de l'Océan Indien (FAZSOI)) ¹⁴	Naval basis		South Asia
Mayotte	Dzaoudzi (Part of Les forces armées dans la zone Sud de l'Océan Indien (FAZSOI)) ¹⁵	Naval basis		South Asia
UAE	Forces de presence aux Emirates Arabes Unis ("Peace Camp") ¹⁶	Naval air station		Middle East
United Kingdom				
Bahrain	HMS Jufair Naval Support Facility (NSF) ¹⁷	Naval basis	Supposedly the biggest UK navy outside the UK	Middle East
Qatar	RAF Al Udeid (Abu Nakhlah Airport) ¹⁸	Air basis		Middle East
Iraq, Al Anbar	Al Asad Air base ¹⁹	Main air force base	Used by both UK and US	Middle East
Oman	UK Joint Logistics Support Base (UKJLSB) ²⁰	Naval	"Duqm Port is the only port designed to support the RN's Queen Elizabeth-class aircraft carriers in the Gulf region which is witnessing a more permanent return of UK forces."	Middle East
Oman	Al Musannah Air Base ²¹	Air base		Middle East
United Arab Emirates	Minhad Air Force Base ²²	Military Air base		Middle East
Singapore	British Defence Singapore Support Unit ²³	Naval basis		South East Asia
British Indian Ocean Territory	Naval Support Facility Diego Garcia ²⁴	Naval basis	2 500 personnel. Used by both US and UK.	South Asia
Kenya	British Army Training Unit ²⁵	Armed Forces		East Africa

13 "Les forces françaises stationnées à Djibouti," Ministère Des Armee, 2020, <https://www.defense.gouv.fr/operations/afrique/afrique-de-l-est/djibouti/dossier/les-forces-francaises-stationnees-a-djibouti>.

14 "Les Forces armées dans la zone sud de l'Océan Indien," Ministère des Armee, 2019, <https://www.defense.gouv.fr/operations/territoire-national/forces-de-souverainete/la-reunion-mayotte/dossier/les-forces-armees-dans-la-zone-sud-de-l-ocean-indien>.

15 "Les Forces armées dans la zone sud de l'Océan Indien."

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17 Shirley Swain, "Inside The Biggest Royal Navy Base Outside The UK," Forces Network, April 6, 2016, <https://www.forces.net/services/navy/inside-biggest-royal-navy-base-outside-uk>.

18 "Al Udeid Air Force Base in Doha, Qatar," *Military Bases* (blog), accessed March 19, 2021, <https://militarybases.com/overseas/qatar/al-udeid/>.

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20 David Oliver, "UK Establishes New Joint Support Base in Oman," *Armada International* (blog), November 27, 2018, <https://armadainternational.com/2018/11/uk-establishes-new-joint-support-base-in-oman/>.

21 "83 Expeditionary Air Group - 902 EAW," Royal Air Force, accessed March 19, 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150516164719/http://www.raf.mod.uk/83eag/902eaw>.

22 "83 Expeditionary Air Group - 906 EAW," Royal Air Force, accessed March 19, 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150516114334/http://www.raf.mod.uk/83eag/906eaw>.

23 "Naval Party 1022," The Future of the British Armed Forces, accessed March 22, 2021, <https://britisharmedforcesreview.wordpress.com/tag/naval-party-1022/>.

24 "Naval Support Facility Diego Garcia," Naval Technology, accessed March 18, 2021, <https://www.naval-technology.com/projects/diego-garcia/>.

25 David Graham, "Increasing Training Capabilities for the British Army Training Unit Kenya - Inside DIO," Gov.uk, March 3, 2021, <https://insideDIO.blog.gov.uk/2021/03/03/increasing-training-capabilities-for-the-british-army-training-unit-kenya/>.

Location	Name	Air/land based	Specifications	Region
Russia				
Mozambique	Confirmed to start building ²⁶			East Africa
Eritrea	Confirmed to start building ²⁷			East Africa
Sudan	Confirmed to start building ²⁸			East Africa
Madagascar	Confirmed to start building ²⁹			East Africa
China				
Djibouti	Port of Doraleh	Port and military facilities ³⁰	Currently has ability to host aircraft carrier	East Africa
United States				
Australia	Joint Defense Facility Pine Gap (JDFGP)		"Pine Gap is perhaps the most important United States intelligence facility outside that country, playing a vital role in the collection of a very wide range of signals intelligence" ³¹	Oceania
Australia	Naval Communication Station Harold E. ³²			Oceania
Australia	Robertson Barracks ³³	Land basis		Oceania
Australia	Australian Defence Satellite Communications Station (ADSCS) ³⁴	Land basis for satellites		
Bahrain	Naval Support Activity Bahrain ³⁵	Naval basis		Middle East
Bahrain	Isa Air Base ³⁶	Air basis		Middle East
British Indian Ocean Territory	Naval Support Facility Diego Garcia ³⁷	Naval basis	2 500 personnel. Used by both US and UK.	South Asia
Djibouti	Camp Lemonnier ³⁸	Expeditionary base	About 3 000 personnel	Middle East
Kuwait³⁹	Ali Al Salem Air Base	Air basis		Middle East
Kuwait	Camp Arifjan	Land basis		Middle East
Kuwait	Camp Buehring	Land basis		Middle East
Kuwait	Kuwait Naval Base	Naval basis		Middle East

26 Steve Balestrieri, "Russian Military Expands in Africa by Building Bases in Six Countries," SOFREP, August 10, 2020, <https://sofrep.com/news/russian-military-expands-in-africa-by-building-bases-in-six-countries/>.

27 Balestrieri.

28 Balestrieri.

29 Balestrieri.

30 "How Is China Influencing Global Maritime Connectivity?," *ChinaPower Project* (blog), April 30, 2021, <https://chinapower.csis.org/china-ports-connectivity/>.

31 "Pine Gap – an Introduction," Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability, December 19, 2011, <https://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/defence-facilities/pine-gap/pine-gap-intro/>.

32 "Naval Communication Station Harold E. Holt (North West Cape)," Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability, December 19, 2011, <https://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/defence-facilities/naval-communication-station-harold-e-holt-north-west-cape/>.

33 "LAND 155 - Enhanced Gap Crossing Capability Facilities Project," Australian Government Department of Defence, accessed September 3, 2021, <https://www.defence.gov.au/id/LAND155/Robertson.asp>.

34 "Australia and United States Defence Satellite Communications Cooperation at Geraldton," Australian Department of Defense, July 21, 2001, <https://www.defence-aerospace.com/article-view/release/96421/us-to-build-defense-satellite-station-in-australia.html>.

35 "Ranking of Countries by the Number of Military Bases Abroad in 2015" (Basel Institute of Commons and Economics, 2015), http://commons.ch/wp-content/uploads/Ranking_of_countries_by_the_number_of_military_bases_abroad.pdf.

36 "Ranking of Countries by the Number of Military Bases Abroad in 2015."

37 "Naval Support Facility Diego Garcia."

38 "Camp Lemonnier," Naval Technology, accessed September 3, 2021, <https://www.naval-technology.com/projects/camplemonnier/>.

39 "Ranking of Countries by the Number of Military Bases Abroad in 2015." These and following bases in Kuwait on p. 2.

Location	Name	Air/land based	Specifications	Region
United States (cont.)				
Oman	RAFO Masirah ⁴⁰	Air basis		Middle East
Oman	RAFOThumrait ⁴¹	Air basis		Middle East
Qatar⁴²	Al Udeid Air Base	Air basis		Middle East
Saudi Arabia	64 th Air Expeditionary Group ⁴³	Air basis		Middle East
Seychelles	United States Drone Base in the Seychelles ⁴⁴	Drone base		East Africa
Singapore	Paya Lebar Air Base ⁴⁵	Air Base		South East Asia
United Arab Emirates	Al Dhafra Air Bases ⁴⁶	Air base		Middle East
United Arab Emirates	Port of Jebel Ali	Naval Base		Middle East
United Arab Emirates	Fujairah Naval Base	Naval Base		Middle East

40 "Agreement Between the United States of America and Oman" (Department of State, September 18, 2008), <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/08-919-Oman-Defense-Assist.pdf>.

41 "Agreement Between the United States of America and Oman."

42 "Ranking of Countries by the Number of Military Bases Abroad in 2015."

43 "About: 64th Air Expeditionary Group," DBpedia, accessed September 3, 2021, https://dbpedia.org/page/64th_Air_Expeditionary_Group.

44 "U.S. Military Drone Crashes in Seychelles," Washington Post, December 13, 2011, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/gdpr-consent/>.

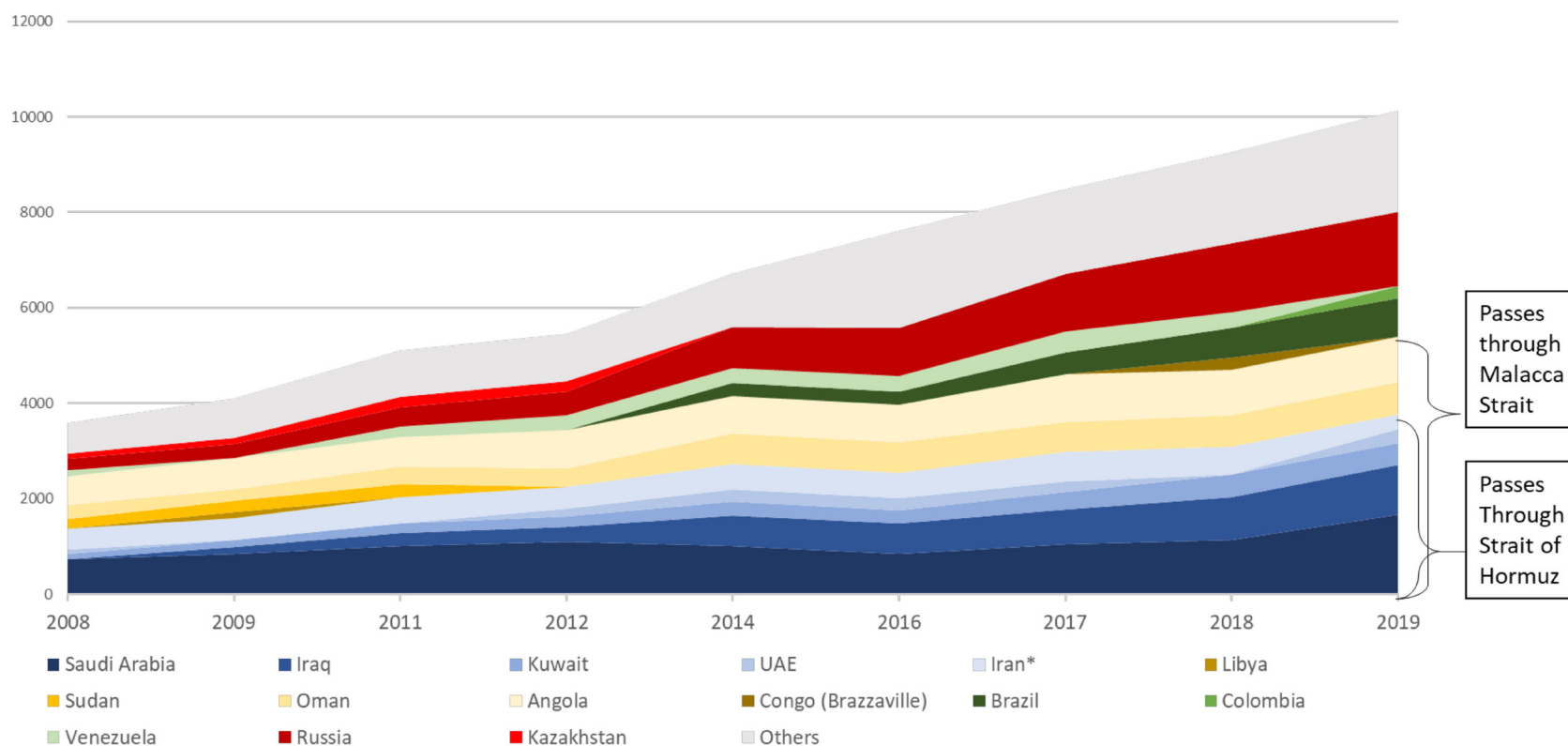
45 "Paya Lebar Air Base," Urban Development Authority, accessed September 3, 2021, <https://www.urda.gov.sg/Corporate/Planning/Master-Plan/Urban-Transformations/Paya-Lebar-Airbase>.

46 "Ranking of Countries by the Number of Military Bases Abroad in 2015."

Appendix 6 Chinese oil imports in 2008, 2016 and 2019 by top ten suppliers, share of total (%)

Chinese oil imports per country, 2008-2019, barrels/day (x1000)

Source: Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China (2009-2020)

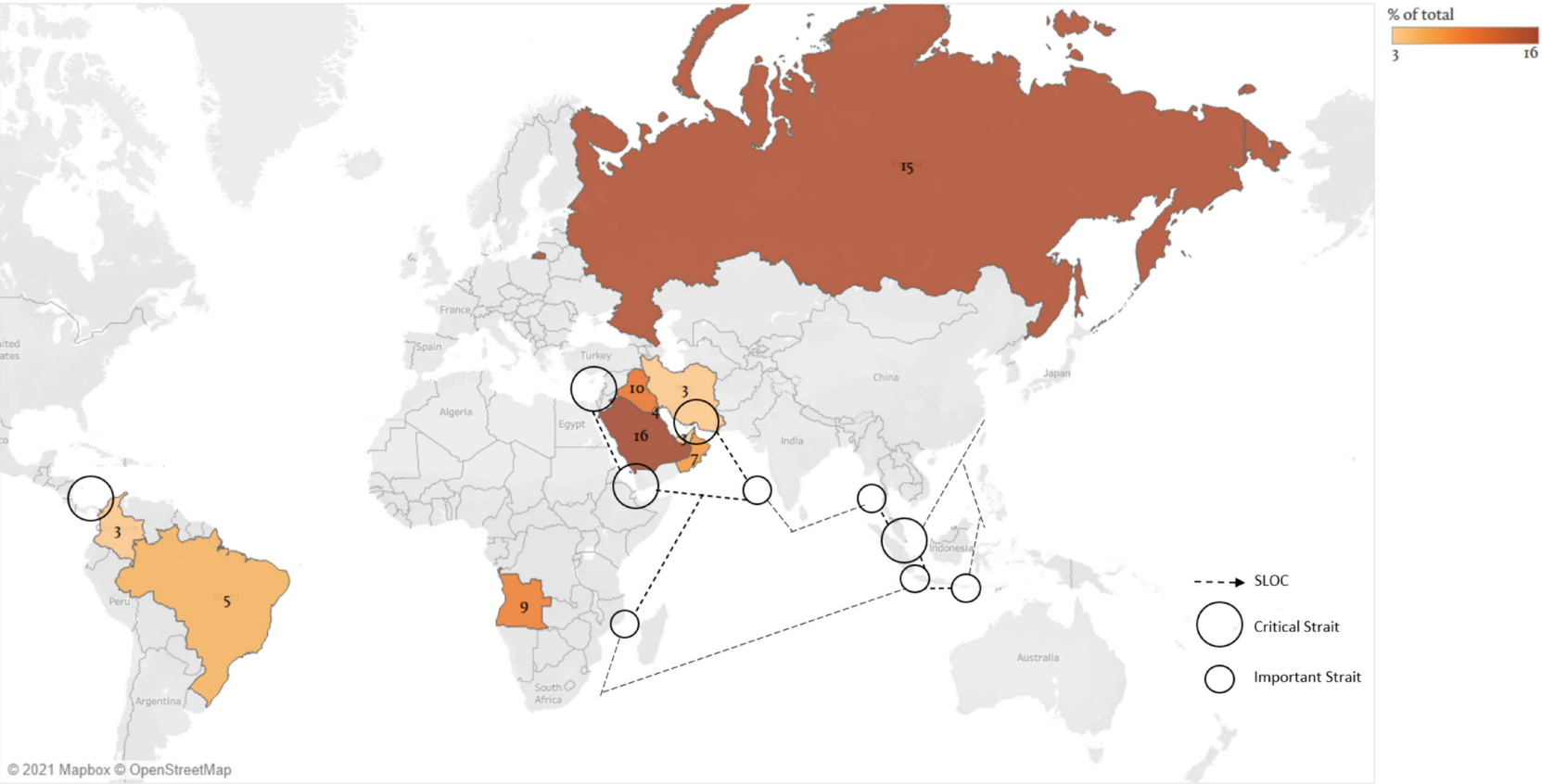


47

47 In reality, an even larger part of China's crude may pass through the Strait of Hormuz and the Malacca Strait than is indicated with "Passes through Strait of Hormuz" and "Passes through Malacca Strait", as some countries in the category "other" depend on Malacca and Hormuz.

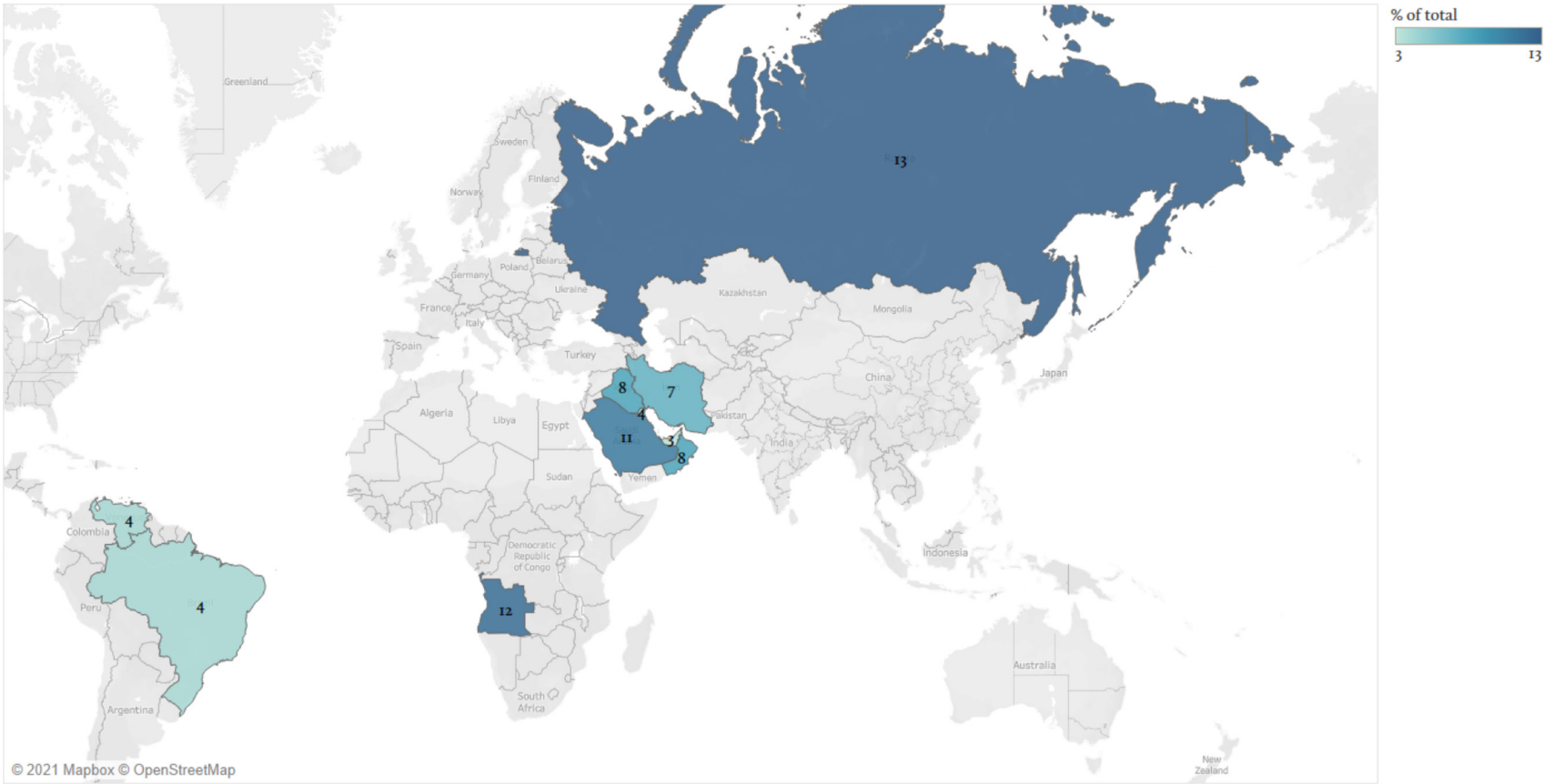
Top 10 sources of Chinese crude oil imports in 2019, share of total (%)

Source: Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China, 2020



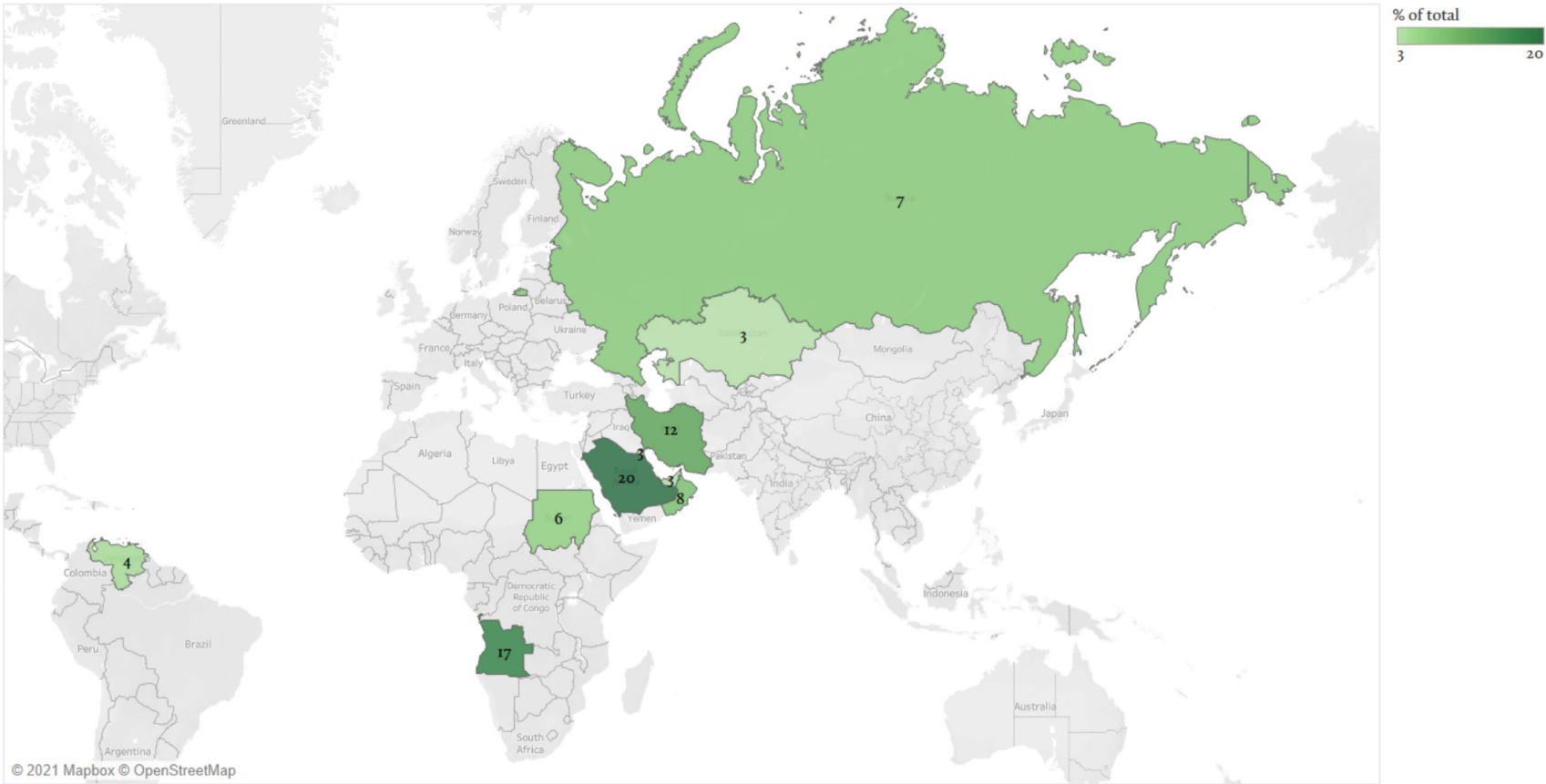
Top 10 sources of Chinese crude oil imports in 2016, share of total (%)

Source: Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China, 2017



Top 10 sources of Chinese crude oil imports in 2008, share of total (%)

Source: Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China, 2010

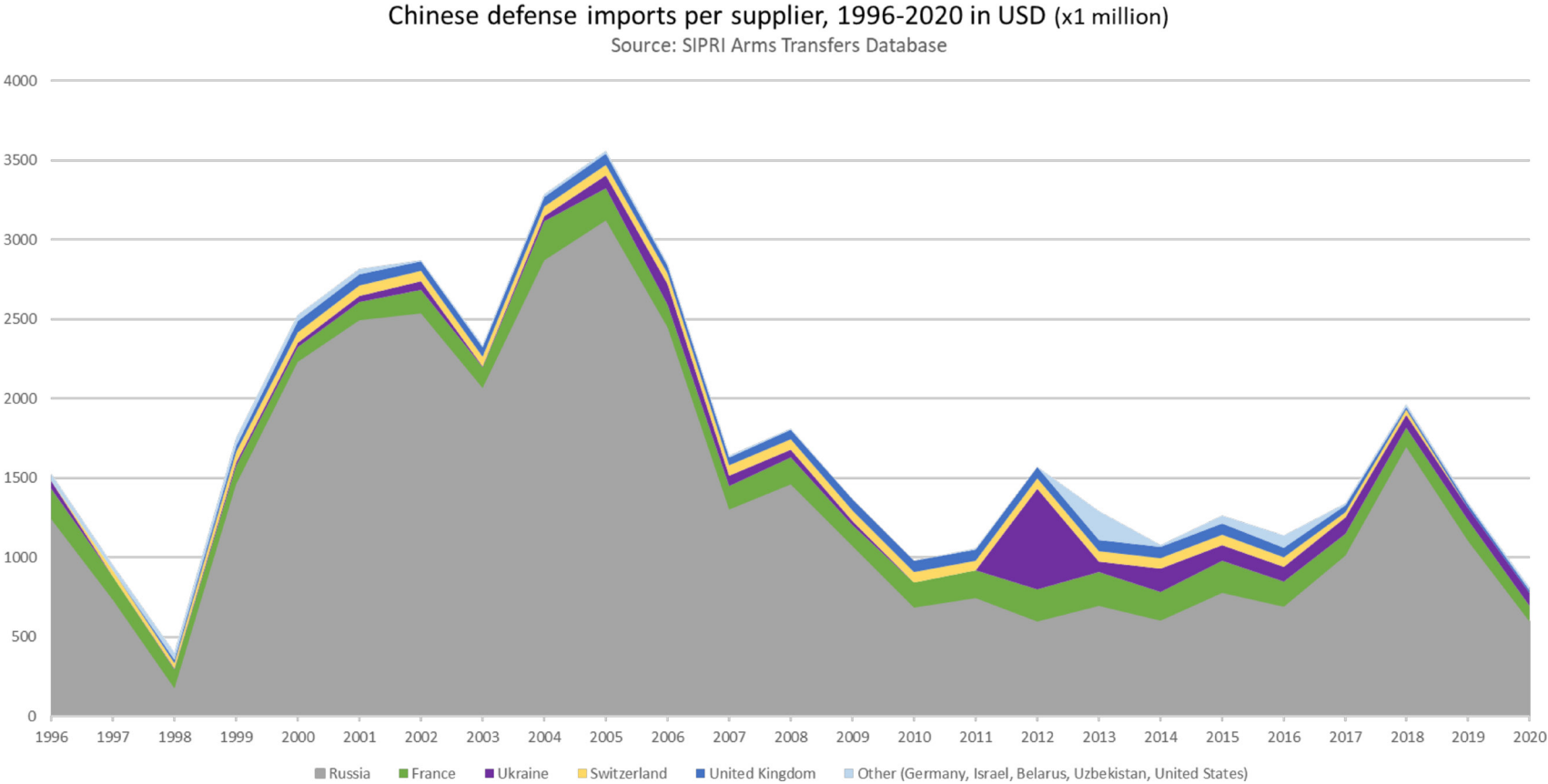


Appendix 7 China's developing defense industry and dependence on Russian arms: a comparison with India

Russian arms transfers to China and India 1996-2020, in USD (x1 million)

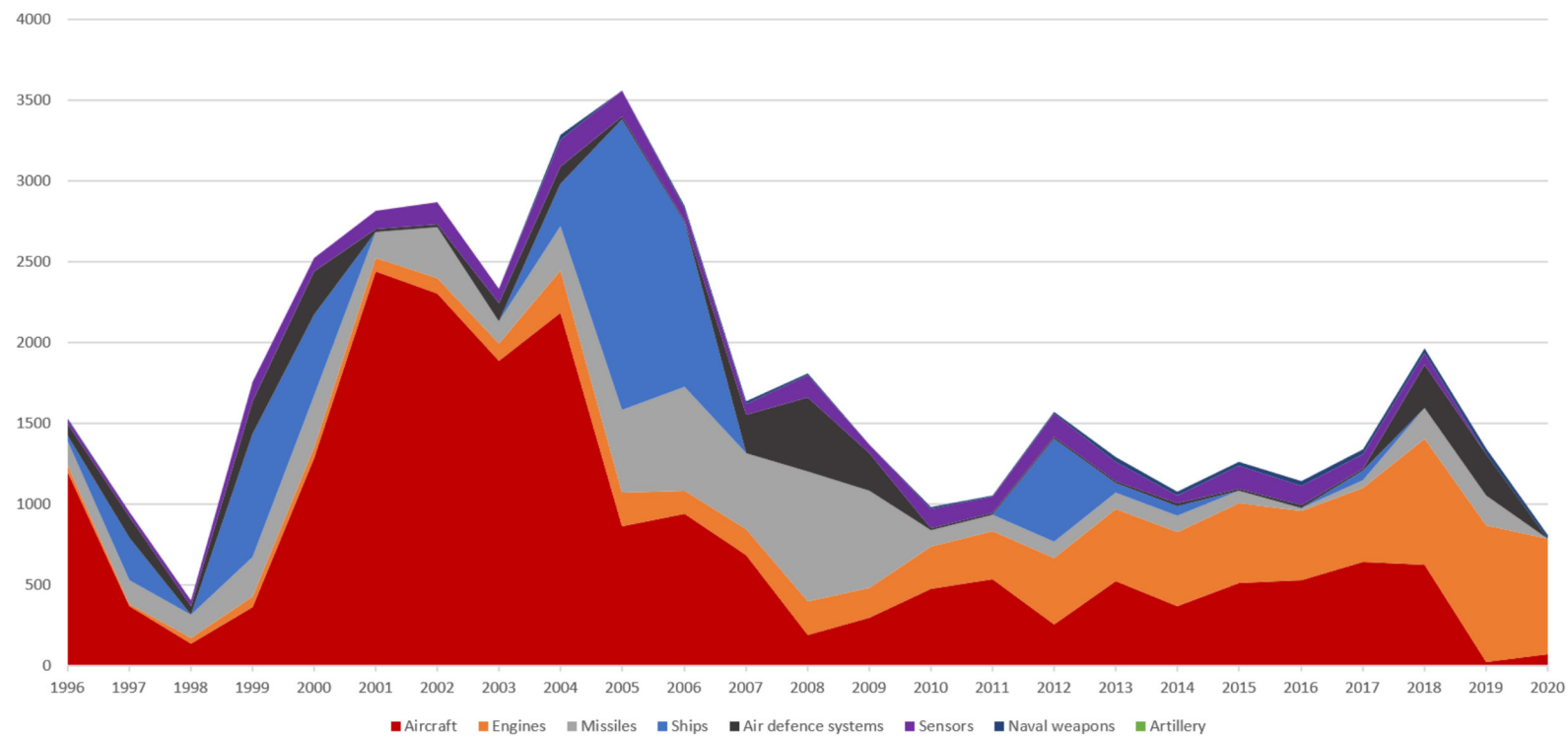
Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database

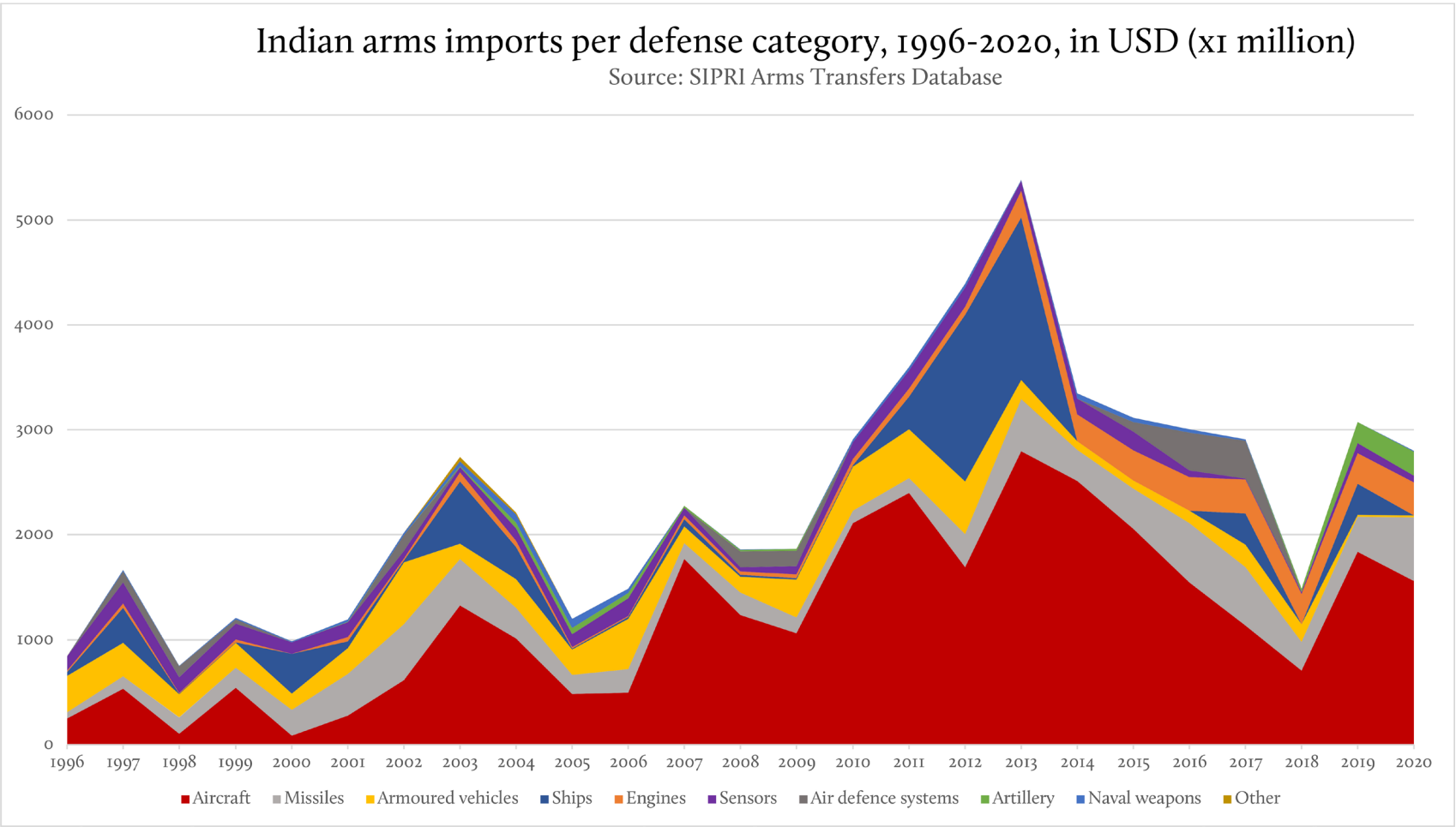




China defense import per category 1996-2020, in USD (x1 million)

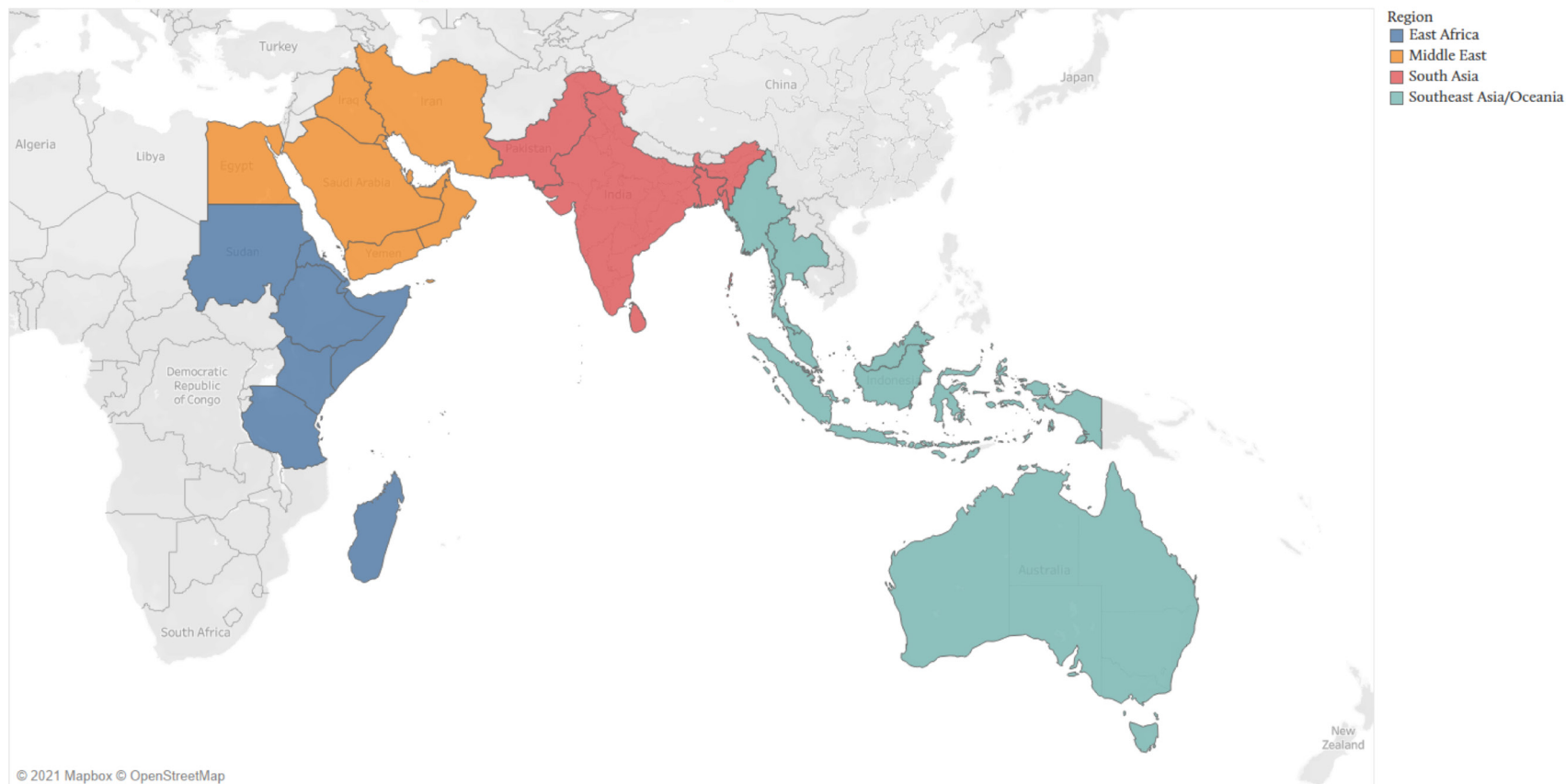
Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database





Appendix 8 Chinese alliances

Who to ally? 30 countries bordering the Indian Ocean and adjacent waters



8a. China's diplomacy: A sample of partnerships around the Indian Ocean and adjacent waters

	Country	Partnership	Year
1	Australia	Comprehensive strategic partnership	2014
2	Indonesia	Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	2013
3	Singapore	"All-Round Cooperative Partnership Progressing with the Times"	2015
4	Malaysia	Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	2013
5	Thailand	Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership	2012
6	Myanmar	Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership	2013
8	Pakistan	"All-weather strategic partnership"	
9	Sri Lanka	Comprehensive Partnership, Strategic Cooperative Partnership	2005; 2013
9	Iran	Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	2016
10	Iraq	Strategic Partnership	2015
11	Kuwait	Strategic Partnership	2018
12	Saudi Arabia	Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	2016
13	Qatar	Strategic Partnership	2014
14	UAE	Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	2018
15	Oman	Strategic Partnership	2014
16	Egypt	Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	2014
17	Sudan	Strategic Partnership	2015
18	Djibouti	Strategic Partnership	2017

Table 1: China's partnership diplomacy: Selected partnerships around the Indian Ocean and adjacent waters⁴⁸

	Partnership	Content
1	Comprehensive strategic co-operative partnership	Highest level of partnership
2	Comprehensive Strategic Partnership	Full pursuit of cooperation and development on regional and international affairs.
3	Strategic Partnership	Co-ordinate more closely on regional and international affairs, including military ones.
4	Comprehensive Cooperative Partnership	Maintain sound momentum of high-level exchanges, enhanced contacts at various levels, and increased mutual understanding.
5	Cooperative Partnership	Strengthen cooperation on bilateral issues, based on mutual respect and mutual benefit

Table 2: Not "allies" but "partners": an overview of China's levels in diplomatic relations⁴⁹

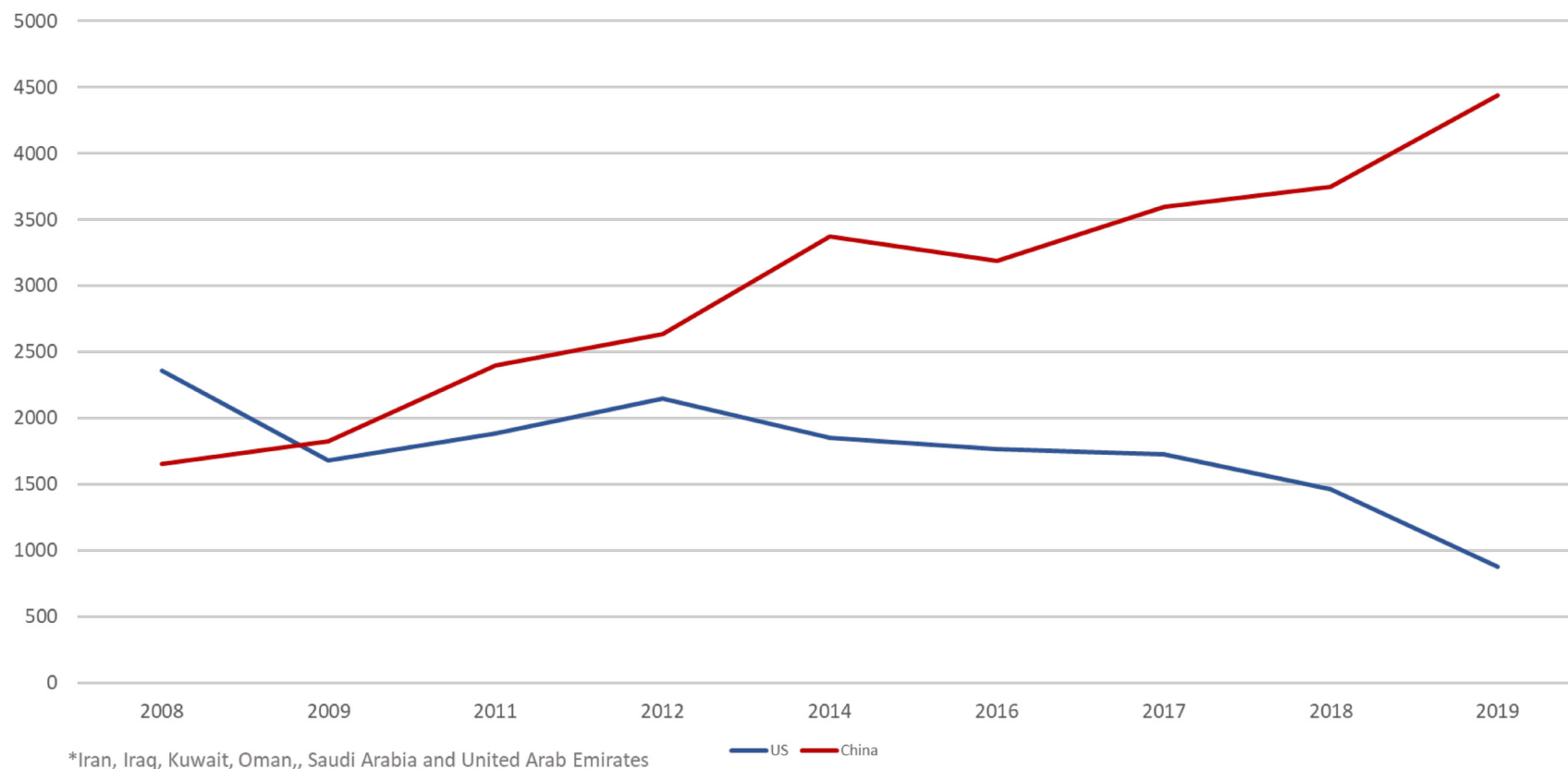
- 48 For Singapore: <https://www.mfa.gov.sg/SINGAPORES-FOREIGN-POLICY/Countries-and-Regions/Northeast-Asia/Peoples-Republic-of-China>
 For Malaysia see: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/yzs_663350/gjlb_663354/2732_663468/
 For Indonesia see: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/yzs_663350/gjlb_663354/2716_663436/
 For Pakistan see: http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/history/PDF-FILES/9-%20PC%20Umbreen%20Javaid_52-1-15.pdf
 For Thailand see: http://www.china.org.cn/world/2012-04/19/content_25188715.htm
 For Myanmar see: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/yzs_663350/gjlb_663354/2747_663498/#:::text=In%202013%2C%20China%20and%20Myanmar,were%20frequent%20high%2Dlevel%20visits.
 For Sri Lanka see: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/yzs_663350/gjlb_663354/2782_663558/
 An overview of China's partnership diplomacy in the Middle East, North Africa, Djibouti and Sudan is presented by Degang Sun, "China's Partnership Diplomacy in the Middle East," *Asia Dialogue* (blog), March 24, 2020, <https://theasiadialogue.com/2020/03/24/chinas-partnership-diplomacy-in-the-middle-east/>.
- 49 SCMP Reporter, "Quick Guide to China's Diplomatic Levels," *South China Morning Post*, January 20, 2016, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1903455/quick-guide-chinas-diplomatic-levels>; cited by Jonathan Fulton, "Friends with Benefits: China's Partnership Diplomacy in the Gulf," 2019.

8b. Trading places: the Persian Gulf's key crude oil export destinations

China and U.S. oil imports from selected Persian Gulf countries* 2008-2019, barrels/day (x1000)

Sources: Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China, (2009 - 2020)

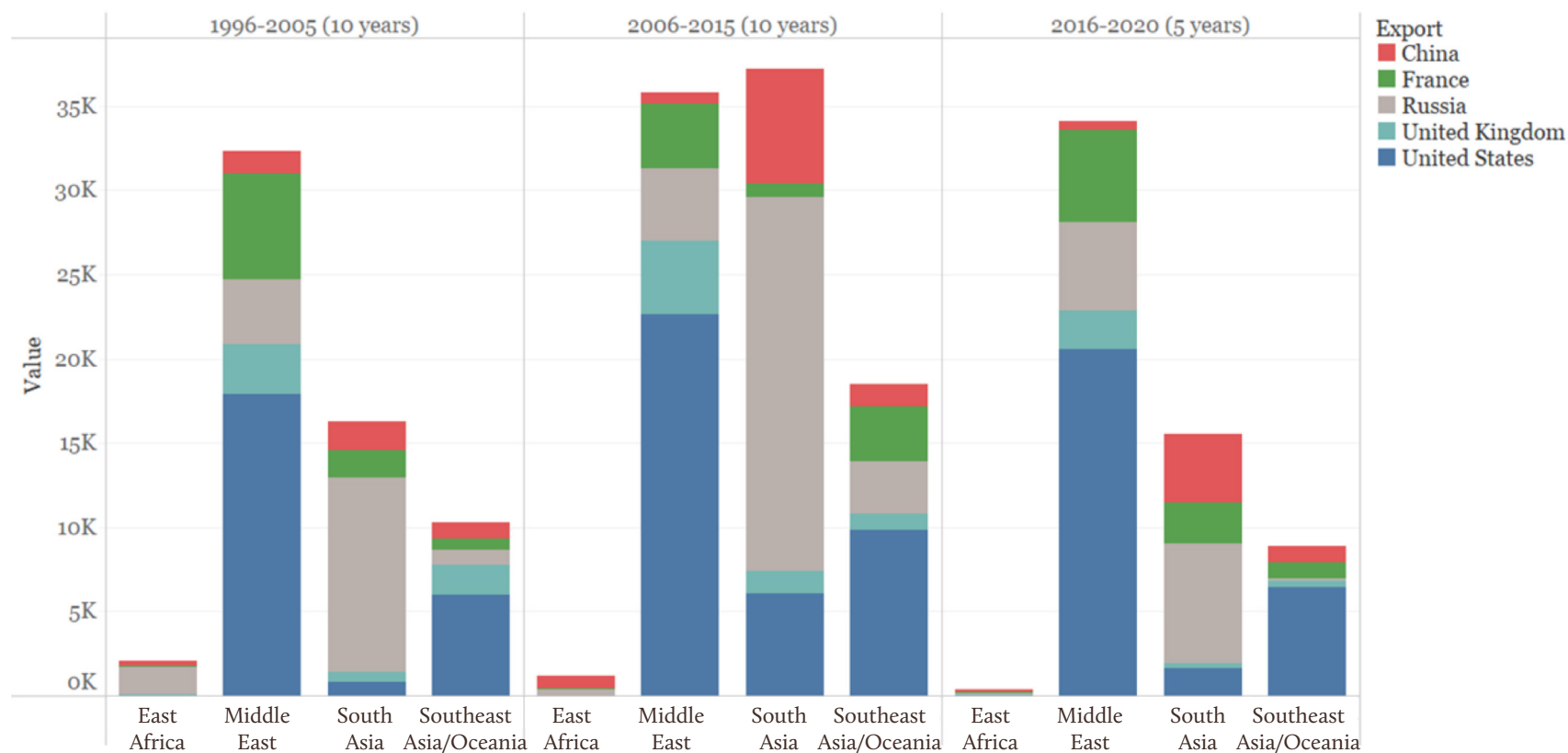
U.S. Energy Information Administration



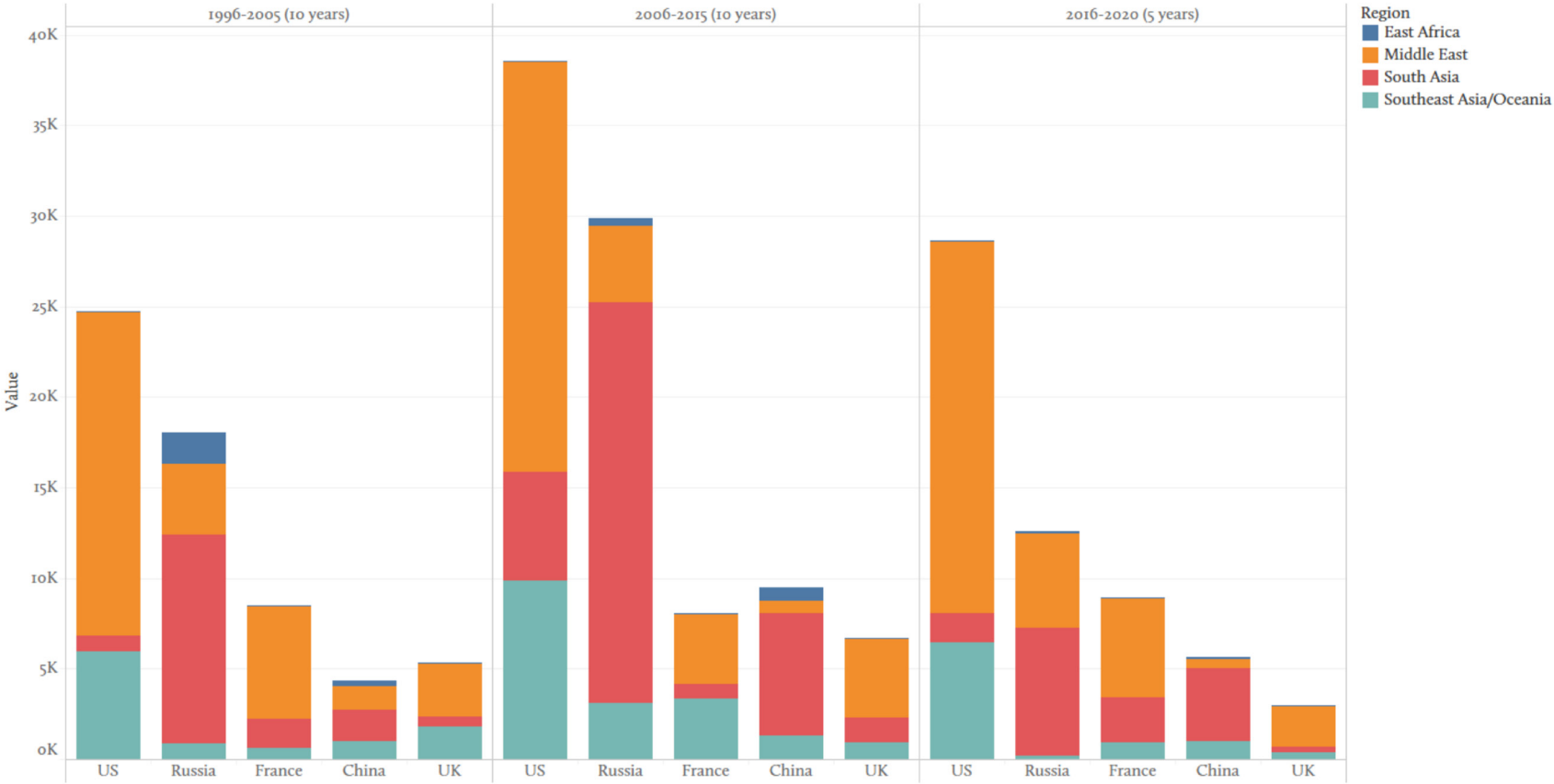
Appendix 9 Arms Exports to 30 selected countries around the Indian Ocean by major arms supplier (1996-2005; 2006-2015; 2016-2020)

Arms transfers: Major weapon exporters to 30 countries bordering the Indian Ocean and adjacent waters 1996-2020, in USD (x1 million)

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfer Database

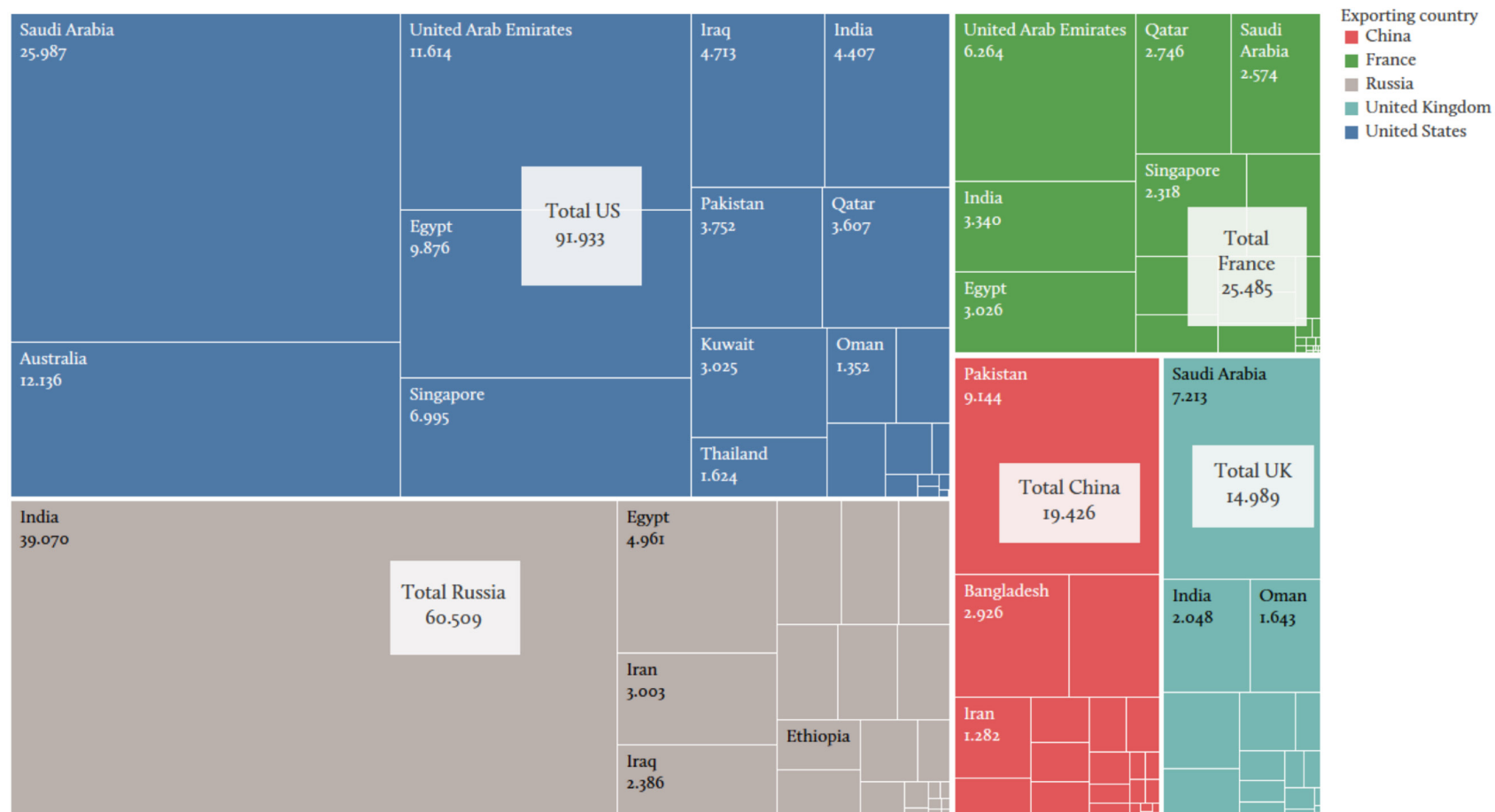


Arms transfers: Major weapon exporters to 30 countries bordering the Indian Oceans and adjacent waters
1996-2020, in USD (x1 million)
Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database



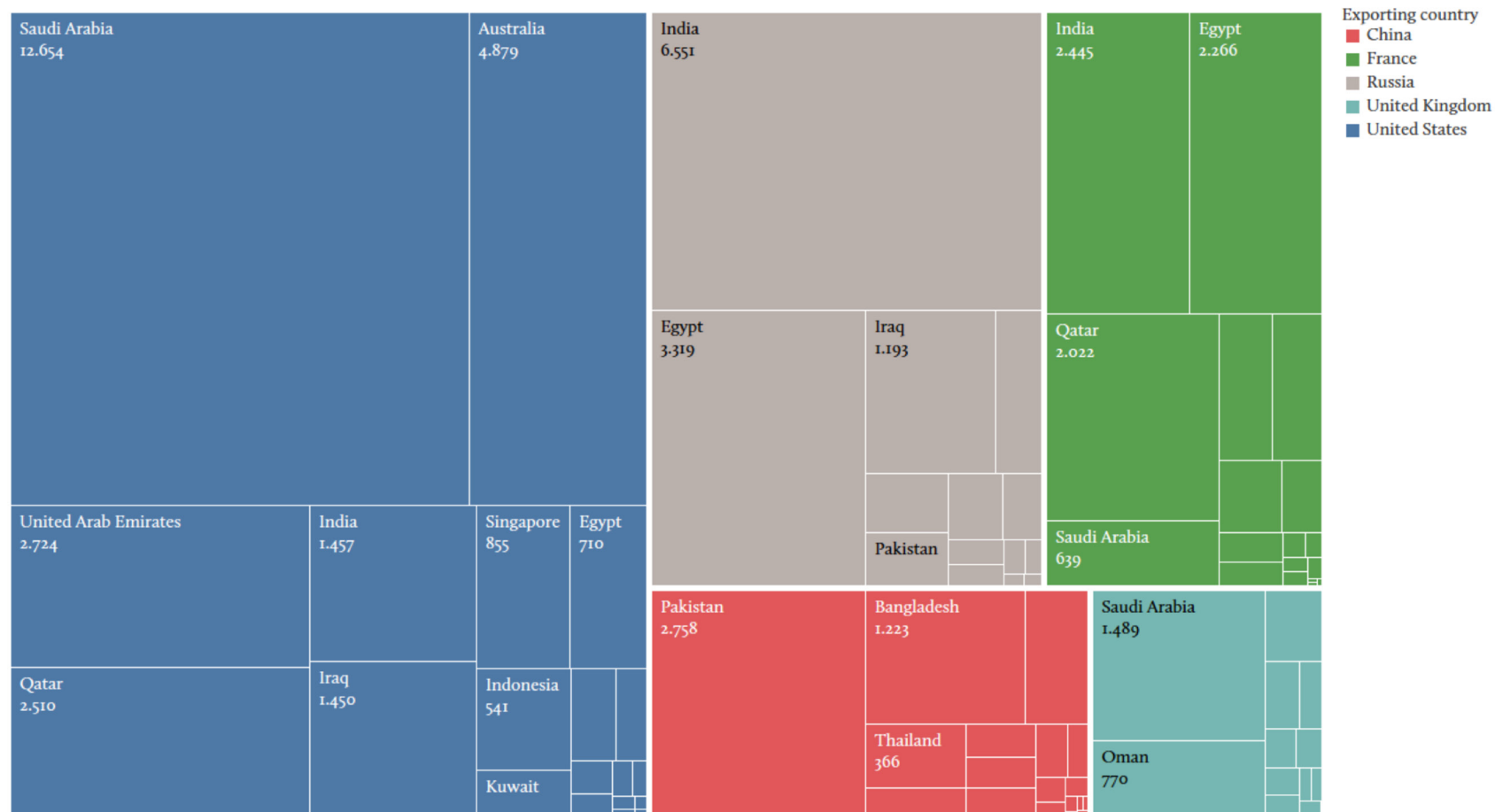
Arms transfers: Major weapon exporters to 30 countries bordering the Indian Oceans and adjacent waters 1996-2020, in USD (x1 million)

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database



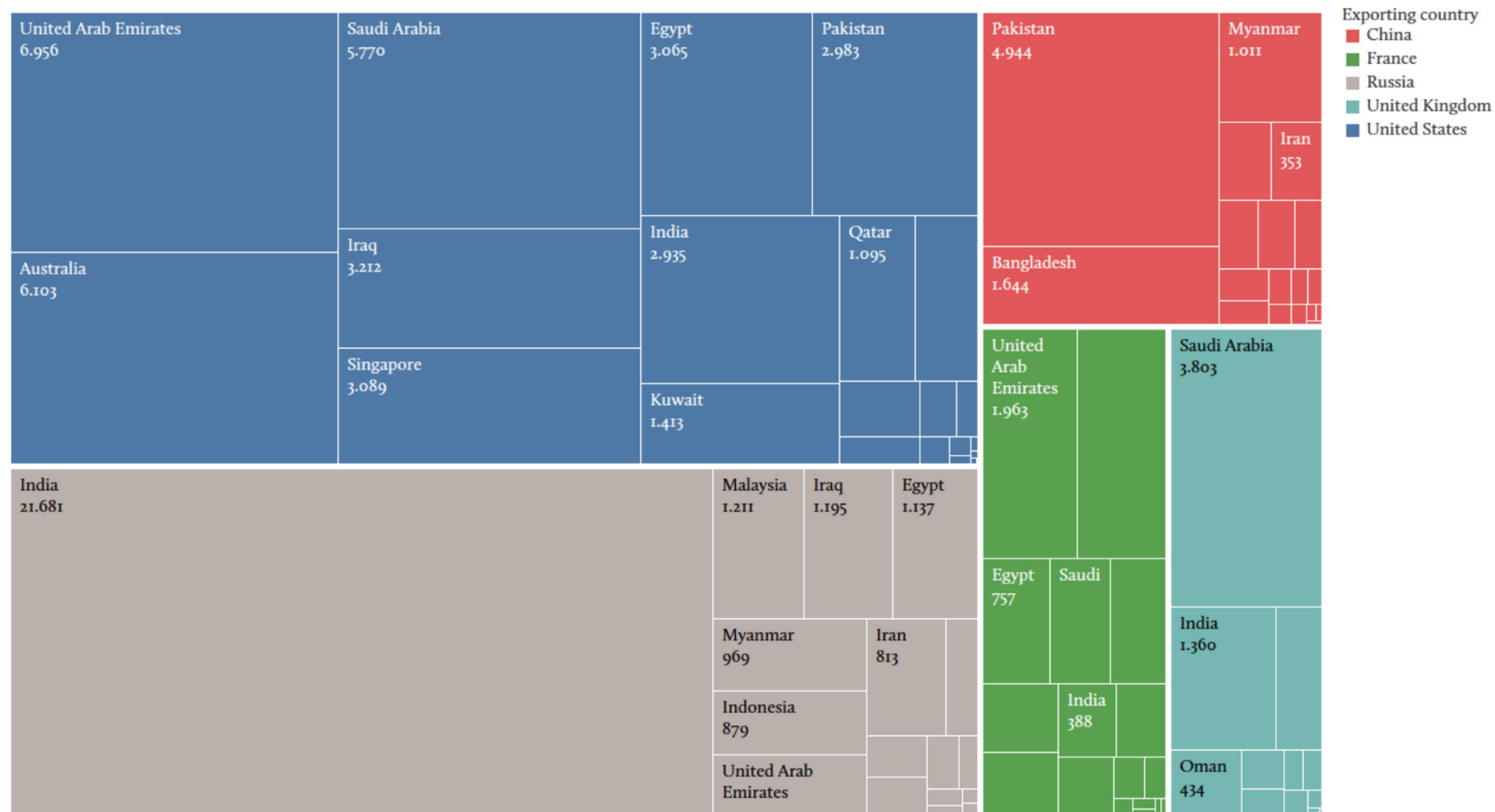
Arms transfers: Major weapon exporters to 30 countries bordering the Indian Oceans and adjacent waters 2016-2020, in USD (x1 million)

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database



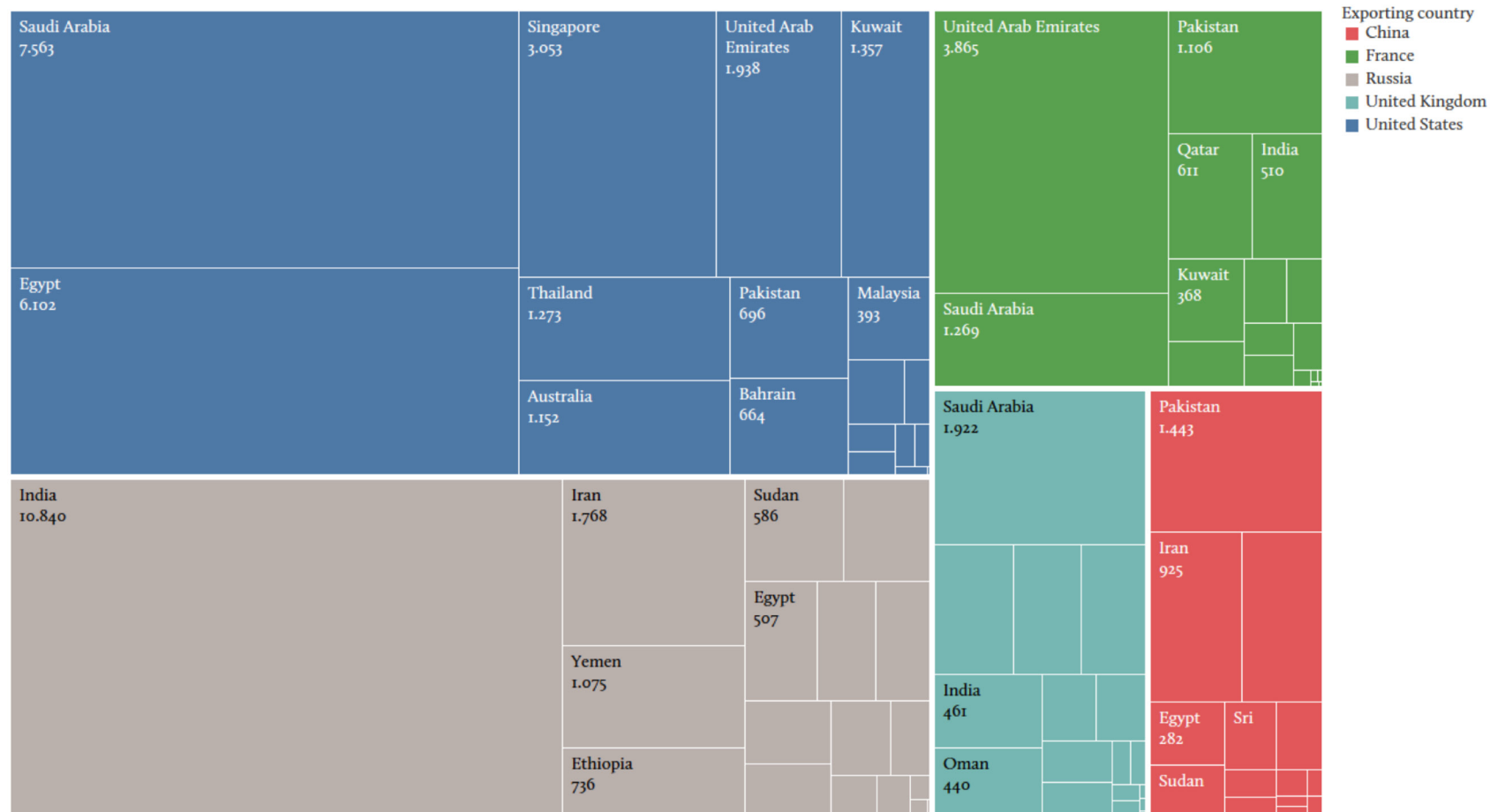
Arms transfers: Major weapon exporters to 30 countries bordering the Indian Oceans and adjacent waters 2006-2015, in USD (x1 million)

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database



Arms transfers: Major weapon exporters to 30 countries bordering the Indian Oceans and adjacent waters 1996-2005, in USD (x1 million)

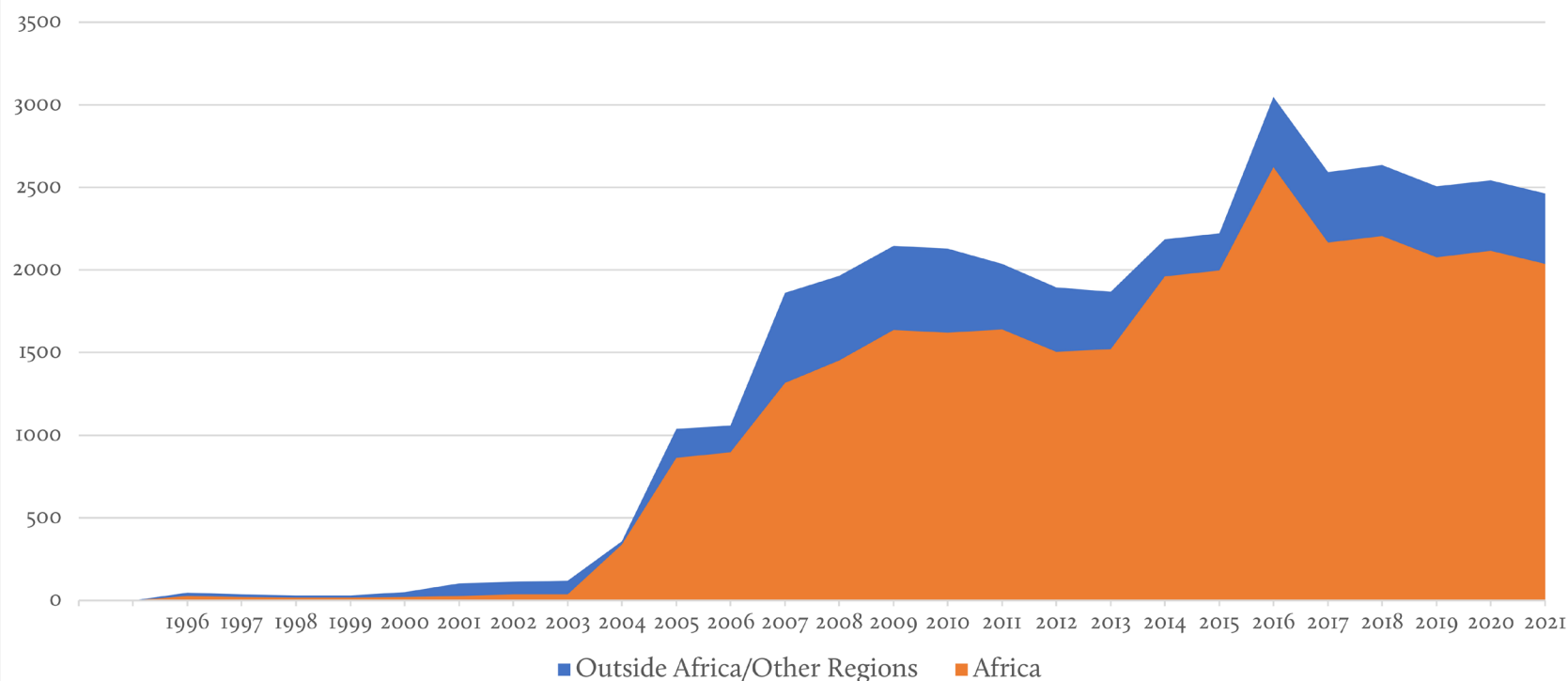
Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database



Appendix 10 China's military activities

China's contribution to UN Peacekeeping Missions 1996-2021, number of peace-keepers

Source: United Nations Peacekeeping Data: Troop and Police Contributors, Country Contributions Detailed by Mission 1996-2021





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