American economic security	China
American perspectives on 63–6,	access to American, subject to
102–6	controls 112–13
American way of 157–8	pursuing autonomy 98
China factor in 67–71	threats to boycott American 54
and globalization 66–7	complete autonomy as ideal 63
landscape 55–62	comprehensive economic security
referents of 62–3	107
and Sino-American structural	and DoD 61
integration 138–9	and industrial isolationism 21
see also United States	and Japan 66–7
American economic security policy	national economic security 101
contributing actors 56	and PLA 39, 52, 95, 98, 119
daunting policy dilemmas 155-6	reliance on foreign industry for
decentralized community 55	components 75
factor imposing constraints on 61	sensitive technologies 111
as inter-agency process 58	shared space permitting 31
need for adaptability to evolving	SOEs 41
requirements 73	spiralling development costs 57, 104
need for more careful balancing of	structural integration 147
objectives 161	sustainability in times of conflict 78
noteworthy features 71–2	technology transfers 72, 105, 107–9,
practice under Trump 158	111–12, 116
representing balancing act 156	unauthorized use of parts triggering
resting on Cold War foundations	investigations 93
72–3	United States
some continuity in 62	Chinese-controlled firms in,
American perspectives	contributing to 77
on China 68, 105	engaging in economic statecraft
on economic security	97
requirements of 63–6	export of components 94
and technology 102-6	firms banned from using
Arms Export Control Act (AECA) 108	Chinese components
arms production	85, 88

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation	China
(APEC) 5, 8, 50, 72	economic security 44-8
Asian Financial Crisis 3, 45, 47, 50–51,	with Chinese characteristics
66, 72	43–4
Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank	Chinese way of 159–60
(AIIB) 25, 54	factor in American 67–71
Association of Southeast Asian Nations	national/comprehensive nexus
(ASEAN) 152	47–8
autonomy	pursuit of national and
China	comprehensive 160–163
defence-industrial base 43, 95,	and technology, perspectives on
98–9, 147, 159	102–3, 117–22
industrial enterprises 40	United States in considerations
production processes 96	of 51–3
strategic 'pillar' industries 151	economic security policy
as critical issue for national	daunting policy dilemmas
economic security 2, 6, 21,	155–6
28, 31, 98	developments in 53-4
globalization generating concern	globalization reinforcing
over industrial 50, 67	transformation of 28
import substitution practised in	need for more careful balancing
interest of defence-industrial	of objectives 161
98–9	perspectives on 53
production of arms	representing balancing act 156
America 63	threat to key feature of 48
China 98	as 'opening in all directions' 48-51
technological 117, 120, 127	policy landscape 36-43, 133
Aviation Industry Corporation of China	production relations
(AVIC) 40, 132	with United States 94–100
	United States with 78–94
Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) 25, 54,	structural integration
152–3, 159–60	and development 142-53
bilateral engagement 5	with United States 143–53
bilateral investment treaty (BIT) 141,	United States with 134–41
150–151	technology relations
bilateralism 30, 158	critical technology 127-8
Bretton Woods 25, 33, 69, 71, 152	with United States 122–7
Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS)	United States with 106–16
108	see also Sino-American relations
Bush, George W. 5, 56, 108	China Communications Standards
Buy American Act (BAA) 59, 61, 78, 85	Association (CCSA) 125
	China Development Bank (CDB) 43

(0): 0 1: 1105	
'China Green Line' 105	continuing importance of 9
China National Aero-Technology Import	critical issues for 26
and Export Corporation (CATIC)	driving economic internationalism 1
136	and globalization 29, 67
Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS)	importance attached to in China
41–2	45–6, 156
Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 43–4,	inclusivity of 21–2
48	and industrial integration 6, 129–30,
civil-military integration (CMI) 97, 118,	134–41, 143, 146–51, 153
142–3, 146	nature of threats 23–4
Clinton, Bill 56, 64, 103	policy 24–6, 34
Commerce Control List (CCL) 108	and production relations 74–5, 78,
Commercial Aircraft Corporation of	80, 82–5, 87–8, 93–4, 96–8,
China (COMAC) 40	100
commercial off-the-shelf (COTS) 93	pursuit of, in United States and
Commission of Science, Technology and	China 160–63
Industry for National Defence	referent objects of 22-3
(COSTIND) 149	and technology relations 101,
Committee on Foreign Investment in the	103–14, 117–19, 121–2,
United States (CFIUS) 58, 62, 88,	126–8
115, 136–41, 144–5	see also national/comprehensive
competitiveness	economic security nexus
of American firms 64, 88	'comprehensive security' 22, 45, 57
of American industry 63-8, 83, 92,	Coordinating Committee for Multilateral
103–4, 113	Export Controls (COCOM) 105,
of Chinese firms 49–50, 78	107, 113
of Chinese industry 87, 96, 125, 131	Critical Technologies Plan (CTP) 104
close association with industry	critical technology 127–8
success 25–6	cyber espionage 106
and comprehensive economic	
security 4, 28, 31, 161	Defense Advanced Research Projects
global innovation networks crucial	Agency (DARPA) 103
to 28	Defense Production Act (DPA) 89, 138
increasing tensions 4, 128, 156, 160	Defense Technology and Trade Initiative
quest for 27	(DTTI) 90–91
structural integration contributing to	Deng Xiaoping 44, 48–9, 117, 121
129–30	Department of Commerce (DoC) 57–8,
technological progress as crucial to	70, 108–9, 115, 140
103, 118	Department of Defense (DoD)
comprehensive economic security	attention to issue of counterfeit parts
and competitiveness 4, 28, 31, 161	82.
conceptualization of 21–2	and Buy American Act 59, 61
conceptualization of 21 2	and Day I morroun 1100 57, 01

developing closer functional complexity of environment 33 relations with industry 61 'comprehensive' approach to 22 FDI pursuit of 7–9 concern over Chinese 135 requirements of national 33 in US defence sector 132-3 transformation of landscape 163 interests and focus 57 globalization in 27, 29, 33 in managing production relations high-technology industry with China 85-9, 92-3 collaboration 162 more restrictive approach to implications for economic technology transfers 58 multilateralism 163 opposition to efforts to strengthen importance of industrial ties to national defence-industrial United States and China 134. base 140 importance of political environment potential to deny export licences 115 production of Critical Technologies Plan 104 as important site of Sino-American recognition of US and China sharing engagement 32 regional environment 7-9, 63, 162 common ground 70 REEs as issue of concern 81 technological collaborations with 76 122 views on globalization 67 Department of Homeland Security economic globalization America countering de-politicizing (DHS) 58, 80, 85, 91-2 tendencies of 83 Department of State (DoS) 57, 70, 108, as cause of concern for United 115 States 55, 62, 79 DoD see Department of Defense (DoD) China embracing processes of 49 East Asia America and Asian Financial Crisis familiarity with 7 as 'double-edged sword' in Asia 50 in East Asia 33 American openness to industry-led economic regionalization and economic security 26-30 impact on American 66–7 in 63 eroding distinction between defence China and America as important and civil industrial activities actors in 162 China's capacity for political 65-6structural transformation in form leverage 69 of 102. China's concerns about American security policy in 52 economic security challenges 2, 4, 6–7, 36, 151, 159 concern over competition from 103 changing regional context of 32-4 economic coercion against 160 economic competition from 64 China 44-8 economic security

with Chinese characteristics 43–4	Chinese 37–8, 42, 48, 53–4, 156, 161
Chinese way of 159–60	comprehensive 24–6
factor in American 67–71	dilemma 2, 155–6
and technology, perspectives on	lineage of concept 17
102–3, 117–22	national 20–21
United States in considerations	economic statecraft
of 51–3	China's use of 45, 53–4
common and uncommon ground in	and globalization 29–30
pursuit of 155–60	and national economic security
conceptualization of 16–18	20–21
concerns lying at heart of	as prominent feature of American
Sino-American relations 1–7	policy 72
of East Asia 7–9, 22, 33, 163	propensity of America to engage
and economic globalization 26–30	in 97
and production relations 74–5	economic strength
technology requirements 101–3	complementary 4
terminology 17	enhancing national 20
United States	importance as basis for military
China factor in 67–71	power 45
in Chinese considerations 51–3	Export Administration Act (EAA) 108
and globalization 66–7	((
landscape 55–62	foreign direct investment (FDI)
perspectives on 63–6, 102–6	Chinese 135, 143
pursuit of national and	DoD report on 132–3
comprehensive 160–163	US more open to 131
referents of 62–3	foreign owned, controlled or influenced
and Sino-American structural	(FOCI) 133, 140
integration 138–9	free trade agreements (FTAs) 113, 152
way of 157–8	Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific
see also comprehensive economic	(FTAAP) 152
security; national/	
comprehensive economic	Global Financial Crisis 3, 65, 68
security nexus; national	global innovation networks (GINs) 27-8,
economic security	102
'economic security dilemma' 26	global production networks (GPNs) 27-8
economic security policy	Global Program Authority (GPA) 104
American 55–6, 58, 61–2, 71–3,	globalization see economic globalization
156, 158, 161	'Going Out'/'Going Global' policy
analysing 6, 34-5	49–50, 143–4
challenges 6–7	'Great Leap Outward' 48

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution inter-state collaboration 21, 25, 29, 127, (GPCR) 21, 45 163 International Intellectual Property high-performing economies (HPEs) 8, Association (IIPA) 60 32, 162 International Traffic in Arms Regulations High-Technology Development Zones (ITAR) 113 (HTDZs) 123 internationalization 27 Huawei Technologies 41, 49, 115, 124, Joint Commission on Commerce and 131-2, 135, 137, 139, 141 Trade (JCCT) 5, 126 IBM (International Business Machines Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) 57, 104 ioint ventures (JVs) 13, 49, 97, 99, 104, Corporation) 135, 137 ICT (information and communications technology) 10, 124 industrial espionage 106, 110-11, 126 managing industrial integration globalization 29-30 production relations accelerating pace of 26 with China 83-94 basic dimension of 13 with United States 97-100 concerns about transnational 50 deepening Sino-American 101, 116, Sino-American industrial integration 127, 156-7 136-41, 163 structural integration 148, 150-51 difficulties 6, 66, 107, 127 manufacturing security see production DoD's position on 57 of East Asia 7-8 relations Mao Zedong 37, 44, 48 importance to American high-technology industry 84 mergers and acquisitions of American high-technology firms importance to comprehensive 115, 124, 132 economic security 14-15 managing Sino-American 136–41, American interest in monitoring 61 blocked Chinese 144 163 as poorly supported by state-to-state of Chinese high-technology enterprises 147 engagement 5 Chinese seeking control of uneven landscape of Sino-American American firms through 134 132 - 3emergence of more flexible position see also structural integration industrial nationalism 19 on 145 of firms in defence field 149 integrated circuits (ICs) 86 intellectual property (IP) 103-4, 106, regulatory and surveillance 110, 113, 116, 122, 126, 139 measures 141 intellectual property rights (IPR) 3, 68, in Sino-American industrial

103-6, 110, 113, 123, 127

integration 136–41 and structural integration 130

as vehicles of technology diffusion	producing complex policy
124, 132	agendas 16
Ministry of Commerce (MOC/	in United States 63–6
MOFCOM) 38, 39, 99, 148	National Development and Reform
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) 38–9,	Commission (NDRC) 39, 119,
49, 144–5	148
Ministry of Industry and Information	National Economic Council (NEC) 64,
Technology (MIIT) 38	103, 115
Ministry of Science and Technology	national economic security
(MOST) 38, 98, 119	autonomy as critical for 2, 6, 21, 28,
Missile Technology Control Regime	31, 98
(MTCR) 112, 113	concern over
most-favoured nation (MFN) 52, 56, 60,	in China 45, 48, 155–6
70–71	in United States 4, 62, 65–6, 68,
multinational enterprises (MNEs)	155–8, 160
American-based 27	critical issues for 21
China with growing number of 48	driving economic nationalism 1
Chinese exports derived from 76	in East Asia 33–4
local production by foreign-based 97	heightened attention to requirements
	of
national/comprehensive economic	in China 37
security nexus	in United States 53, 58, 63–4,
balance 2, 129, 151, 153-4	155, 157
in China 47–8	history and terminology 18
crucial distinction 17–18	implications of economic
eroding divide 161	globalization 28-9, 55, 67
main policy differences 31	importance attached to in China 45
nature of 30–31	and industrial integration 6, 9,
points of contact between 31	129–30, 132–7, 139–43,
pursuit of both in tandem	145–53
challenges to 32, 155-6	national defence-industrial base
interest in China 47–8	holding advantages for 57
priority in both states 156	nature of threats 19
some scope for 31	PLA's strong focus on 38–9
striking balance 160-63	policy 20–21
structural integration between 153-4	and production relations 74-5,
tensions between	78–80, 82–5, 87, 89–91,
complicating pursuit of	93–6, 98
economic security 9, 155	pursuit of, in United States and
concerns greater in United	China 160–63
States 11–12	referent objects of 19
conflicting demands of 2	

and technology relations 101-5, comprehensive economic security 107-9, 112-14, 117, 126 24-6, 34 see also national/comprehensive effect of globalization in economic security nexus constraining options 29-30 National Indigenous Innovation Product national economic security 20-21 (NIIP) 125 see also economic security policy 'national resilience' 29 production relations China with United States 94-100 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 71, 86, 90, 141 and economic security 74-5 'normalization' of Sino-American Sino-American 76-8 relations 2, 5, 11, 15, 49, 105, United States with China 78-94 121, 132 R&D (research and development) China Obama, Barack 52, 56, 106, 111, 122 Office of Science and Technology Policy developing capacity to (OSTP) 85-6, 103, 115, 152 contribute to 157 firms' contributions to 41–2. Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) 49, 77-8 having little incentive to limit One Belt, One Road (OBOR) 152 'Open Door Policy' 48-9 state and private investment in 118-19 People's Liberation Army (PLA) technology relations with Chinese authorities determined to transform 119 United States 122-7 close relation to globalization of concerns about American security policy 52 production 27-8 East Asia's dense network of links to espionage 111 arrangements 7 and private sector defence R&D 42 production relations with United restrictions on collaborative 2 Sino-American industrial integration States 92, 94-6, 98 129-31, 136, 143, 148-50 as significant defence-industrial actor 38-9 and 'technology security' 102 tensions over 39 strong support for modernization United States China's technology relations tensions with civilian ministries 39 with 159 permanent normal trade relations driven to accept collaborative (PNTR) 60 'pillar' industries 43, 61, 98, 151 programmes 104, 106 firms' Chinese subsidiaries 115 PLA see People's Liberation Army limited capacity to address (PLA) policy concerns over 114-15, China's landscape 36-43, 133 157

restricting inter-firm collaboration 108	'normalization' of 2, 5, 11, 15, 49, 105, 121, 132
rare earth elements (REEs) 59, 77,	production 76–8
80-81, 84-5, 88-9, 91, 99	special economic zones (SEZs) 48-9, 76
REEs see rare earth elements (REEs)	State Administration for Science,
Regional Comprehensive Economic	Technology and Industry for
Partnership (RCEP) 152	National Defence (SASTIND)
regional context of economic security	38, 99
32–4	State-owned Assets Supervision and
regional environment of East Asia 7-9,	Administration Commission
63, 162	(SASAC) 40, 43, 147–9
regional implications of China's	state-owned enterprises (SOEs)
development 69, 152	in Chinese policy landscape 38–43
Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)	as contributors to national and
38, 63	comprehensive economic
,	security 32
science and technology (S&T) 13, 117	defence-oriented 38, 41–2, 127,
security competition 70	142–3
Semiconductor Manufacturing	dominant role in defence production
International Corporation (SMIC)	96
92	engagement of foreign industry 49
Semiconductor Manufacturing	Huawei as quasi-SOE 137
Technology (SEMATECH) 103	industrial reforms driving
semiconductors	competitiveness in 131
American industry	investment in R&D 118
establishment of rival 60	mergers and acquisitions 124
supplanted by competitors 64	public welfare or profit
threats to 103	considerations 98
China	in relations with United States 126,
appetite for foreign-produced	135, 141, 143–7, 149
96	state dominating production
establishing standards for 99	processes through 82
tax rebate initiative 93	State Science and Technology
globalization of production 27	Commission (SSTC) 123
Sino-American relations	state socialism 25
as approaching crossroads 1	Strategic and Economic Dialogue
economic security	(S&ED)
balancing act between 155-63	meeting 125, 135, 144, 150
concerns lying at heart of 1–7	process 72, 110, 122, 141
'honeymoon' of 3	renaming 5
managing industrial integration	Strategic Economic Dialogue (SED) 5
136–41, 163	'strategic industries' 43, 61, 98, 151

structural integration	economic security
China with United States 143-53	China factor in 67–71
and development; China constructs	in Chinese considerations of
142–53	51–3
between industry and state 129-34	and globalization 66–7
between national and comprehensive	landscape 55–62
economic security 153–4	perspectives on 63-6, 102-6
United States with China 134-41	pursuit of national and
study approach 10-12	comprehensive 160–63
study objective 9	referents of 62–3
supply chain security (SCS) 80, 84–5,	and Sino-American structural
88, 91–2	integration 138–9
supply chains	way of 157–8
adherence to guidelines as	production relations
intermittent 92–3	with China 78–94
concerns over integrity of 92	China with 94–100
defence 105	structural integration
establishing robust 143	with China 134–41
global 27	China with 143–53
knowledge of contributors to 87	technology
problems when subject to multiple	critical 127–8
regulatory systems 29	perspectives on 102–6
and production security 79–80	technology relations
structural integration developing	with China 106–16
through 130	China with 122–7
	see also American economic
'techno-nationalism' 20	security policy;
American perspectives on 103–6	Sino-American relations
Chinese perspectives on 117–22	United States Trade Representative
technology requirements 101–3	(USTR) 56–7, 110
technology, critical 127–8	U.SChina Economic and Security
technology relations	Review Commission (USCC)
China with United States 122–7	59–60, 80–81, 88
United States with China 106–16	US Munitions List (USML) 108
Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Property Rights (TRIPS)	Wassenaar Arrangement on Export
agreement 105, 110, 113	Controls for Conventional
Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) 152, 158	Arms and Dual-Use Goods and
Trump, Donald 56, 70, 97, 141, 150–51,	Technologies (WA) 113
153, 158–9	World Trade Organization (WTO)
,	America's recourse to 111, 158
United States	China engaging US in 126–7

China joining 50
China's commitment to standards of behaviours 54
China's obligations 37, 57, 124–5, 134, 152
Congress and China 60
as multilateral forum 5
reducing international trade barriers 28
ruling on China's export policy 81, 91

ruling on tax rebate on semiconductors 93 terms of engagement restricting states 30 TRIPS administered by 105

Xi Jinping 5, 45, 111, 120, 146, 160

Zhongxing Telecommunications Equipment (ZTE) 124