

---

# Index

---

- A2/AD (Anti-Access/Area Denial)  
as challenge to US 17, 164, 393  
countering risk of US military intervention 435  
as ‘counterintervention strategy’ label 362  
as emphasis of Chinese weapons systems 327  
focus on 332, 362  
in future war scenario 430–31  
likelihood of China using 369  
as PLA strategy 383–90  
potential power of 379–80  
US alternatives to 370–73  
US response to 15–16, 366–7, 390–94, 408–9, 445–7  
what China seeks to achieve through 438
- Acheson, Dean 47, 201
- Active Defence 430–31, 434–5
- ADIZ *see* Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ)
- AIIB *see* Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)
- Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) 15, 213, 233, 235, 278, 295, 302
- air power (China) 343–4
- AirSea Battle (ASB) concept  
attributed to ONA 331  
China’s concern over 327  
criticisms of 369–70  
definition of 407  
as emphasizing pre-emptive and deep strikes against China 230, 298–9  
‘lines of effort’ for US forces 367  
proposals on use in future US–China conflict 367–9  
as response to China’s A2/AD 16, 214, 327, 390–92, 398–400, 407–9, 445–7  
as restoring dominance 366–7  
as update of Cold War era AirLand Battle doctrine 323, 331–2  
US embrace of 410
- allegiances, global 480–84
- anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons 211, 348, 384, 386, 389, 401, 436, 445–6
- ARF *see* ASEAN Regional Forum
- ASEAN Plus Three (APT) 37–8
- ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)  
China’s behavior in South China Sea 226, 310–11  
Hillary Clinton at meeting of 226, 258, 311–13  
Japan’s promotion of 259  
John Kerry at meeting of 314  
underwhelming record of achievement 39
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 36–7, 69, 88, 105, 112, 150, 226, 258, 433, 485
- Asia-Pacific region  
China’s insecure position in 463–5  
determinants of US strength and influence in  
contingency planning 470  
economic 469  
government engagement 469–70  
non-government engagement and immigration 470  
security 469  
drivers of US undertaking leadership responsibility 468–9  
high stakes and substantial risks in 174  
more assertive Chinese foreign policy 171–3  
PLA Navy and US Navy in 398–400  
US rebalancing strategy 169–70

- US weaknesses in 468
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) 35, 37, 87, 127, 149, 167–68, 187, 275–6, 325, 480
- Australia
  - APEC initiated by 36
  - China
    - countries protecting against 466
    - decline of influence in 468
    - as largest trading partner of 181, 481
    - new trade deals with 483
    - reaching free trade agreement with 141, 162
  - ‘hub and spokes’ alliance network 29
  - increasing regional security 246
  - as intermediate zone between superpowers 52
  - joining AIIB 35, 149
  - as not subject to Chinese dominance 467
  - Obama’s visits to 13–14, 173, 283
  - occupying middle ground 370
  - ‘security partnership’ with Japan 254, 259
- US
  - deployment of 2,500 Marines in 169, 296, 406
  - military forces in 188
  - stationing troops in 14
  - strategic ties with 37–8
  - strengthening alliance with 127, 150, 184, 201–2, 230
  - US–China relations and 481–2
- Beijing Consensus 6–7, 17, 186–7
- Beijing–Shanghai High-Speed Railway (HSR) 147
- Berlin Wall 200, 207–8
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew 74, 206
- Bush, George H.W.
  - accusation of coddling ‘Beijing Butcher’ 68
  - administration (1989–93)
    - balancing act 64–5, 207
    - fluctuating relations 65–7
    - reaction to China’s copyright infringement 145
    - sale of aircraft to Taiwan 171, 289
    - sanctions against China 64, 68
    - Tiananmen Square crackdown 63–4
    - China’s preference for 63
    - remarkable China-related credentials 207
    - seeking to engage post-Tiananmen China 103
- Bush, George W.
  - administration (2001–09)
    - abandoned frameworks 456
    - global ‘war on terror’ during 226–7, 229
    - origin of period of moderation 471
    - period of constructive interaction 457–8
    - policy to isolate DPRK 270–71
    - Sino–US relations 71–3
    - unilateralism to US actions 257–8
    - unpopularity of foreign policies 468
    - US–Japan relationship 257
    - welcoming China’s help after terrorist attacks 71–2, 293, 486
  - China as competitor assessment 71, 210
  - common counter-terrorism interests 210
  - relations with Taiwan 293–4
  - unpopular wars started by 225, 479
- C4ISR (command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance) 349, 367–9, 387, 435–6, 445
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 270, 323–4, 330, 332, 335
- ‘carrier killer’ *see* DF-21D anti-ship ballistic missile (ASBM)
- Carter, Ashton 82, 85–6, 89, 92, 199–200, 333, 407
- Carter, Jimmy 56, 205–6, 287

- CCP *see* Communist Party of China (CCP)
- Centre for National Defence Policy (CNDP) 325
- Chairman Mao *see* Mao Zedong
- Chen Guangcheng 105–6, 487–8
- Chen Shui-bian era 72, 291–3, 482
- China  
 constraining 460, 460–61  
 domestic preoccupations 460–63  
 evaluating global leadership 182–7, 194  
 foreign policy 171–3, 231–3, 455, 458–9  
 global challenge to US 180–81, 194–5  
 global influence 167–8, 194–5  
 insecure position in Asia-Pacific 463–5  
 limitations of military power 287–91, 194–5  
 maritime disputes *see* Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands; South China Sea  
 measuring relationships of 465–6  
 military modernization efforts  
 background and effects 400–402  
 concern among Asia-Pacific countries 409–10  
 investment in 409  
 main features of 379, 381–2  
 military strategic guidelines 433–5, 440  
 perceptions of US  
 as conspiratorial 118–20  
 defining conspiracy theory 120–22, 129  
 interpreting suspicions 122–6, 129  
 and US–China relations 126–30  
 preparing for future warfare 380–83  
 shortcomings in economic influence 466–8  
 soft power 165–7, 191–4, 323, 326, 328, 335–6
- China Coast Guard (CCG) 405–6
- ‘China Dream’ 92, 107–10, 232, 359, 364, 439, 459, 471, 483
- China Dream* (book) 12, 182, 485
- ‘China threat’ 10–11, 161, 238, 252, 290, 293, 481
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP) *see* Communist Party of China (CCP)
- Chinese embassy bombing 11–12, 70, 118, 122–3, 209, 455, 477
- Chinese Nationalism, rise of 11–12, 125
- Chinese Nationalist Party *see* Kuomintang (KMT)
- Chinese People’s Volunteer Army (CPVA) 46
- climate change  
 as area for further cooperation 150, 457
- China acquiring foreign technologies 146–7
- China standing their ground on 486
- China’s belief that it is making constructive contributions to 148
- example of improved relations over 168, 485
- media coverage 112
- US hopes for China’s support on 13
- Clinton, Hillary  
 ARF meetings 311–13  
 China–Japan territorial dispute 306–7  
 description of China’s challenge 3  
 devotion of chapter of book to Chen Guangcheng case 105  
 hints of strategic readjustment 199  
 and notion of ‘pivot’ 479  
 on opportunities to work together 73, 211  
 questioning what happens ‘when an established power and a rising power meet’ xvii, 4  
 references to ‘smart power’ 326  
 on South China Sea 212, 226, 312–13  
 statements from *America’s Pacific century* article 225–6  
 US as ‘indispensable nation’ 475  
 US ‘not ceding the Pacific to anyone’ 13  
 visit to Asia-Pacific region 169  
 visit to Japan 258
- Clinton, William Jefferson (Bill)  
 administration (1993–2000)  
 abandoned framework 456

- ‘comprehensive engagement’/ ‘engagement plus’ strategy 208, 222, 477
- imposition of military sanctions 104
- involvement in Taiwan Strait crisis 289–90
- Lee Teng-hui’s visit to US 289–90
- Sino–US relations 67–70
- agreement to re-establish communications 69
- and China’s human rights record 68–9, 73, 104, 477
- engagement ‘standing on right side of history’ 477
- lack of experience in foreign affairs 67–8
- as lacking clear grasp of US interests in Sino–US relations 67
- re-emergence of mutual suspicion 70
- refusal to ‘coddle dictators’ 68
- supporting China’s entry into WTO 290–91
- Cold War
  - China’s relations with Korea following 268–9, 274–5
  - and division of Korea 267–8
  - impact
    - of intensification of 28–9
    - of outbreak 183
    - of thaw in 31–2
  - origins of US alliance system in Asia 201–2
  - Taiwan Strait crisis following 288–90, 298
- US–China relations after
  - under Bush (G.H.W.) administration 63–7
  - under Bush (G.W.) administration 71–3
  - challenges facing both countries 62–3, 74–6
  - under Clinton administration 67–70
  - ‘engage but hedge’ policy 224
  - ‘grand bifurcation’ 208–10
  - under Obama administration 73–4
  - return of net assessment 329–35
  - and Tiananmen massacre 9–11
  - US Cold War mentality 413
- US–China relations during
  - Chinese perceptions of 44–5
  - early 1950s 46–51
  - early 1960s 51–4
  - period of normalization 54–8
  - rapprochement 45–6
  - Taiwan problem 285–6, 298
  - two phases 44
  - US perceptions of 45
  - and World War II 8–9
- US entrenching divisions of 39
- Communist Party of China (CCP)
  - during Bush (G.H.W.) administration 63–7
  - and capitalist free-market economy 5
  - ‘China Dream’ as goal 108
  - Civil War victory 283
  - during Clinton administration 70
  - doubts about US intentions 75
  - in early 1950s 49–50
  - in early 1960s 51–2
  - establishment of National Security Commission 233
  - future military intentions 380
  - as guardian of national unity and strength 488
  - Mao as undisputed leader of 48
  - during Nixon administration 55–7
  - and Taiwan 284, 290–92
  - and Tiananmen incident 65
  - US perceptions of 83–6, 93
- competition
  - and cooperation 3–4, 224, 227, 234–5, 239
  - cyberwar 17
  - hacking 423–4
  - increasing 126, 162–3, 168, 173–4
  - in Japan–China relations 254
  - managing 232–3, 227, 235, 239
  - military 214
  - for regional leadership 112–13
  - security 200–201, 210, 214, 216, 365, 398, 410
  - strategic 330–31, 335, 435

- zero-sum 86
- Comprehensive National Power (CNP)
  - as Chinese attempt to assess US power 323
  - concept of 324
  - limitations of 328, 335–6
  - methodology of 324–5
- conspiracy theory
  - defining 120–22, 129
  - impact on US–China relations 126–40
  - interpreting suspicions of China 122–6, 129
  - US as conspiratorial 118–20
- constructivism
  - as prominent approach in international relations 101–2
- cooperation
  - advocacy of new model for long-term 148
  - bilateral 62–3, 65, 73–4, 174, 207
  - collapse of 225
  - and competition 3–4, 224, 227, 234–5, 239
  - cyber-crime 413, 418–19
  - economic 68, 88, 134, 261, 272, 276, 295
  - essential for global economic recovery 211
  - global
    - China for 151
    - study of IPR as field for 142–3
    - on trans-border issues 134–5
  - Japan's security 259–60
  - military 165, 169, 314
  - pragmatic 457–8
  - Sino–Russian 344
  - trilateral 273, 277
  - US–Japan 245–7, 258, 260–61
  - win-win 223, 234
  - wisdom of seeking more modest expectations of 256–7
- counter-intervention capabilities *see* A2/AD (Anti-Access/Area Denial)
- cyberwar
  - China's cyber power 349–51, 382
  - competition 17
  - cyberattacks
    - alleged modus operandi of Chinese hackers 421–2
    - broader institutional environment and China's concerns 422–4, 426
    - China's response to US allegations 413, 418–20
    - potential for, in future wars 436–7
    - sources of, targeting China 420–21
    - US allegations regarding China as origin of 412–18, 424–5
  - cybercrime 17, 350–51, 413, 418–20, 425
  - cyberespionage 17, 91, 162, 350, 490
  - cybersecurity 165, 412–13, 437, 486
  - cybertheft 148, 455, 458
  - definitions 413–14
- declinism 333–5
- Deng Xiaoping 5, 56, 58, 63–6, 103, 135, 144, 169, 223, 232, 268, 324–5, 465, 476, 482
- Desert Storm 380–81
- détente 55–8, 210–14
- DF-21D anti-ship ballistic missile (ASBM) 346, 361, 388–9, 405, 444, 446
- Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands
  - China
    - challenge to Japanese security 251–2
    - creating new status quo over 172
    - declaring ADIZ around 15, 213, 233, 340
    - erecting structures near 315
    - and Japan both claiming sovereignty over 303–4
  - US
    - in Japan-China security dilemma 74, 254–5, 305–9
    - perceived to be at blame for 127
- see also* East China Sea
- distant blockade strategy 368, 370–73, 408, 440
- domino theory 28–9
- East Asia Summit (EAS) 36–8, 312

- East China Sea
- China
- aggressive actions in 166
  - arguments used to boost claims to 304
  - countries in dispute with 303
  - establishment of ADIZ 213, 233, 278, 295, 308
  - expanded sovereignty 184
  - increasing assertiveness in 13, 295, 383
  - locking fire-control radar on MSDF vessels in 252
  - refusal to back away from interests in 236
  - strategic importance for maritime strategy 232
- Nanji Island 315
- possible ‘distant blockade’ 370–71
- US
- reasons for concern about China in 315–16
  - recommendations for preventing conflict 316–17
  - role in China’s disputes 304–9
  - see also* Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands
- economic cooperation 68, 88, 134, 261, 272, 276, 295
- Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) 141, 295
- economic rise of China
- and bilateral economic relationship 10, 17
  - as challenge to US 25–7, 10
  - economic indicators depicting 180
  - as economic opportunity for South Korea 265, 276
  - as fueling increases in China’s military 251
  - future scenario 133
  - as global economic power 181
  - growing military budget 181–2
  - leading to change in US perceptions 295
  - shortcomings in economic influence 466–8
  - as stalling 334
  - US perspectives on 86–9, 93
  - viewing 484–5
- economic US–China relations
- China’s export trade 135–40, 149, 151–2
  - economic power, strategic rivalry over 161–3
  - intellectual property rights 142–7
  - interaction approaches 134–41, 150–51
  - overcoming geopolitics 147–50
  - US export trade 137–9, 147
- EEZs (Exclusive Economic Zones) 13–14, 277–8, 295, 305–6, 310–11, 315
- Eisenhower, Dwight 47, 49, 51, 57, 285–6
- electromagnetic (EM) spectrum 340, 362, 384, 400, 431, 433, 435–7, 438
- Fanell, James 82, 92, 303
- financial crisis
- as catalyst for China’s increased participation in global governance 167
  - China’s economic rise amidst 295
  - effect on US–China economic relations 141
  - impact of China’s currency manipulations 89
  - impact on US 6, 181, 478
  - role of Wall Street traders’ secret discussions 122, 129
  - and spread of US conspiracy theories 118
- US–China relations
- entering new era 75
  - and US resilience 325
- Ford, Gerald 56, 205
- free trade agreements 141, 163, 191, 295, 298
- Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) 148
- future war
- analysis of 431–8
  - China’s role in 438–44
  - prospect of 430–31
  - US response to China 445–7

- geopolitics 39, 147–50, 216, 476  
 global influence 162–3, 194–5  
 grand strategy 38, 360, 364–6, 374  
 Gulf of Aden 440, 442–3
- hegemony  
 China's claim to never seek 7, 184, 213  
 Japan shattering Chinese 265  
 of Moscow, concerns over 45  
 paradoxes of 33–4, 38  
 regional, China as likely to establish 7, 10–11  
 US goal to maintain 119, 127
- history of US–China relations  
 1969–89 45–6, 204–8, 286–8, 476  
 after Cold War  
 1989–93 63–7  
 1993–2000 67–70  
 2001–09 71–3  
 2009–present 73–4  
 and Tiananmen Massacre 9–11  
 during Cold War  
 early 1950s 46–51  
 early 1960s 51–3  
 period of normalization 54–8  
 World War II and 8–9  
 rise of Chinese Nationalism 11–12  
 'hub and spokes' alliance network 29, 285
- human rights  
 CCP  
 'one of most egregious offenders of' 85  
 showing little flexibility on 66  
 China's crackdown on 166  
 during Clinton administration 67–70, 477  
 criticisms of China 118, 127, 149, 486  
 dominating agendas in US–China policy 10, 17  
 during Obama administration 73  
 trade benefits linked to 136  
 US advocacy 75  
 US–China relations  
 1989 Tiananmen Incident 102–3
- 2014 Hong Kong demonstrations 111–13  
 since 1989 104–11  
 spats less likely to concern 478  
 stable subset of 100  
 structure-transforming events 101–2  
 US seeking to impose its own conception of 66
- India  
 China's new trade deals with 483  
 China's newly established markets in 140  
 concern over China seeking access to Maldives 443  
 evaluating China's military capabilities 330  
 US improving relations with 72, 127, 200  
 US strategic ties with 37–8
- Indian Ocean 38, 188, 329, 330, 370–71, 402, 406, 431–3, 439–44
- Integrated Network Electronic Warfare (INEW) 436–7
- intellectual property rights (IPR)  
 global evolution 142–4  
 normative obligations vs operative performance in China 122–5  
 interests *see* threats (security)  
 IPR *see* intellectual property rights
- Jackson-Vanik Amendment 136
- Japan  
 APEC initiated by 36  
 China  
 1894–95 war between 265–6  
 challenges to security 251–2  
 declining influence of 468  
 devastated by war with 183, 284  
 Diaoyu/Senkaku Island dispute 15, 127, 232–3, 303, 305–9, 314–15  
 leading role in Japan's expanding military posture 250–55  
 mass demonstrations 458  
 perspective of 124  
 PLAN 90, 92

- relations between 261, 465–6
- security dilemma 254–5
- and Taiwan 297
- tensions reaching high level 295, 304
- and cybercrime vulnerability 420
- economy 5, 139
- expansion of security role 248–50, 260
- feeling need to acquire own nuclear weapons 273
- as important bulwark against communist expansion 29
- military capabilities 30, 246, 249–50
- Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) 146–7
- new regional security partnerships 259–60
- Obama's visits to 14
- patent filings 145
- rebalance 246–7
- reduction in numbers studying language of 166
- relations with North and South Korea 266, 269–71, 273, 275, 277
- rising regional prosperity and relative decline of 247–50
- US
  - as ally of 370
  - defence relations 210
  - early relations with 27–8
  - efforts to rebuild economy 49
  - growing exposure 250–55
  - influence in 30–32
  - in Japan–China security dilemma 254–5
  - military exercise with 316
  - net assessment of alliance between 323–4, 330, 332
  - in partnership and on their own 255–60
  - rebalance to Asia 256–9
  - signing defense treaties with 201–2, 304
  - standing too close to 488
  - strengthening alliance with 127, 140, 200–201, 230
  - trade deficit with 208
  - as treaty partners 480, 482
  - troops in 188
  - in US–China relations
    - integral role of 245–7, 261
    - as intermediate zone between 52
    - during World War II 8
  - Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons (JAM-GC) *see* AirSea Battle (ASB) concept
  - Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC) 367, 373, 445
- Kennedy, John F. 51–3, 57
- Kerry, John 85–6, 88, 91, 118, 307, 314
- Khrushchev, Nikita 52
- Kissinger, Henry 17–18, 33, 55, 57, 64, 74, 103, 205, 207, 216, 386, 482
- Korea
  - civil war, division and Korean War 266–7
  - Cold War
    - change, at end of 268–9
    - and Korea divided 267–8
  - Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)
    - calls to denuclearize 272
    - China and Russia 268–9
    - China's ties with 272
    - concerns over 270
    - creating problems for China 273
    - negotiating end to nuclear program 270–71
    - as one of two regimes 266
    - potential impact of collapse of 273–4, 279
    - ramped up ship inspections 271
  - Kingdom of Korea, China and United States 265–6
  - Korean War 8, 46–8, 50, 201–2, 266–70, 285, 297
  - Republic of Korea (ROK)
    - China's trade with 460
    - defence spending 249, 256
    - economy 265, 268, 275–6



- foreign investment 275
- illegal fishing in waters of 278
- military response 273
- as one of two regimes 266
- security 265, 275, 280
- US deep partnership with 201–2
- in US–China relations 264–5, 279–80
- see also* North Korea; South Korea
- Kuomintang (KMT) 283–4, 294–5
- land attack cruise missiles (LACMs) 387–90, 441
- Lee Teng-hui
  - fostering pro-independence movement 289
  - stressing Taiwan’s autonomy from Beijing 69
  - ‘two states’ theory 291
  - visit to US 10, 289–90, 346
- Ma Ying-jeou 73, 294–7
- Malacca Dilemma 370, 439–40
- Mao Tse-tung *see* Mao Zedong
- Mao Zedong 28, 33, 44–57, 183, 266–68, 284, 286, 380, 400, 456, 465
- maritime denial strategies 371–3
- MFN *see* Most Favoured Nation (MFN)
- trade status
- military capabilities
  - of China
    - air power 343–5
    - cyber power 349–51
    - as difficult to assess 361
    - expansion 15–17, 38, 48, 75, 180, 225, 462, 464
    - hoping to boost, through Moscow ties 44
    - as inferior to those of US 383
    - against Korean Peninsula 47
    - limitations of 187–91, 194–5
    - missile power 346–7
    - naval power 341–3
    - nuclear power 351–2
    - PLA investing in 359
    - possible use against Taiwan 401
    - reduced 53
    - set to build new types of 431
    - space power 347–9, 435
    - as threat to US naval assets 362
    - US concerns over 208–9, 340, 359
    - US perceptions of 45, 47, 89–93
    - US response to 359–74
    - of Japan 30, 246, 249–50, 252–3
    - US
      - building allies’ 49
      - need to strengthen 366, 373
      - US–China strategic rivalry 164–5, 174, 194–5
    - military competition
      - and mutual hostility 214
    - military cooperation 165, 169, 314
    - missile power (China) 346–7
    - Most Favoured Nation (MFN)
      - trade status 66, 68, 135–6, 290, 477
- National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) 146–7
- National Security Commission (NSC) 172, 203, 233, 284
- naval power (China) 341–3
- net assessment
  - aim/intention of 331
  - of China and Japan 260
  - and declinism 333–4
  - as ‘intellectual approach’ 330
  - as legacy from Cold War 329–30
  - limitations of 335
  - no consensus on methodology 330–31
  - revival of 331–3
  - as US attempt to assess Chinese power 223–4
- network warfare 431, 435–8
- ‘New Asian Security Concept’ 173, 325
- ‘new model of major power relations’
  - changing logics of US–China relations 223–5
  - feasibility of 233–38
  - incompatible with continued US leadership role in Asia-Pacific 364
  - rebalance strategy
    - China’s answer to 222–3, 239
    - China’s perception of 228–30

- reflecting China's hopes of power parity with US 325
  - as strategic shift against China 225–8
- reflecting confidence of power parity 225
- slogan first raised 160
- Xi Jinping's foreign policy 231–3
- Nixon Doctrine 29, 202–6
- Nixon, Richard 33, 45–6, 54–7, 133, 135, 202, 286–7, 456, 476, 490
- North Korea
  - China
    - concerns about relations with 268–9
    - as drain on security 255
    - as major trading partner of 181
    - outrage over China's rapprochement with South 269
    - possible actions in case of collapse of North Korea 279
    - rescuing and supporting regime 267–8
    - Xi Jinping's policies 466
    - cyberoffences associated with 425
    - ignoring UN resolution 266
    - invasion of South Korea 46, 267
    - military provocations 245–6
    - net assessments of 335
    - nuclear weapons ambitions 269–74, 276–7
    - requiring Soviet assistance 266–7
    - seen as place of 'hostile communist power' 203
  - US–China relations
    - as catalyst to 280
    - collaboration on 72–3, 457
    - collapsing over nuclear crisis 225
    - goal of denuclearization 264
    - human rights issue 111
    - as irritant to 279, 488
    - US taking hard line with China over 14
- nuclear strikes
  - considered, against China 50, 285
  - Japan as only country experiencing 30
- US attitudes towards possible Soviet Union attacks 205
- nuclear weapons
  - accusations of China's theft of 209
  - China curtailing assistance to programmes 186
  - China's ability to strike Japan with 250
  - China's capabilities 15–17, 53, 214, 351–2, 363–4, 388, 402
  - in event of US–China conflict 340, 393
  - India's access to 72
  - likelihood of use of 215, 368–9
  - and North Korea 72–3, 245–6, 264, 269–74, 276–7, 279–80, 457
  - state, China as 255
  - submarines
    - of China 190, 341, 361, 403–4, 438, 441
    - of United States 188, 190, 360, 406
  - US aircraft carriers 189
- Obama, Barack
  - acknowledging integration with China 211–12
  - administration (2009–16)
    - abandoned framework 456
    - challenges posed by China's military developments 90–91
    - criticism for downplaying human rights issue 104–5, 109–10
    - cuts in defense spending 225
    - decision to decline Taiwan's request to buy jets 171
    - engagement with regional governments and multilateral organizations 470
    - high expectations for cooperation 224
    - involvement in Japan's territorial disputes 306–9
    - measured approach towards China 13
    - military action against Islamic State 185
    - refocusing US attention positively on Asia-Pacific region 468

- Sino-US relations 73–4, 126–7, 457–9, 462, 471
- steps to enhance military presence 14
- wars in Iraq and Afghanistan 13
- affirmation of US's commitment to region 173
- approach to China 486
- calls to become tougher on China's currency manipulation 89
- China as 'responsible stakeholder' 88
- and China's involvement with ISIS 109
- commenting on Xi's acquisition of power 171
- concerns over China's military activity 91
- declining meeting with Dalai Lama 13
- as diplomatic and circumscribed in comments on governance in China 85
- on economic interdependency 88
- holding summit with African leaders 108–9
- implying US as 'indispensable nation' 183–4, 195
- Joint Vision Statement 274–5
- Ma Ying-Jeou and Taiwan 294–7
- meetings with Xi Jinping 112–13, 148, 212, 234, 258, 307–8, 423, 461, 485
- mission to Beijing and Tokyo 306–7
- promoting US students studying in China 128
- and South China Sea 91, 309–15
- taking hard line over trade issues and North Korea 14
- visit to Japan 258
- voicing complaints about China's behavior 459
- withdrawal of combat troops from Iraq and Afghanistan 225
- see also* 'pivot' to Asia; rebalancing strategy
- Office of Net Assessment (ONA) 323, 330–33, 335
- offshore balancing 365
- offshore control 371–2, 392–3, 440
- One Belt, One Road initiative 87, 107–8, 149
- 'One China' principle 9–10, 52, 55, 69, 206–7, 287, 291–2, 476
- Open Door Policy 5, 9, 265, 288
- open seas protection 431, 433–4, 438–9
- Pacific power, making of 26–9, 479
- Paracel Islands 303–4, 310, 312–14, 402
- 'Peaceful Rise' 7, 212, 228, 232
- People's Liberation Army (PLA)
- A2/AD strategy 383–90, 393, 399–400
- Air Force (PLAAF) 343–5, 389, 433, 438, 443–4
- and AirSea Battle 16, 366–70
- anti-corruption campaign in 308
- Army (PLAA) 433
- aware of superiority of US military 164, 419
- capabilities 225, 327, 332, 359, 361
- as challenge to US 360–64
- clash with Vietnam 380
- cooperative efforts between militaries 165
- cyber power 350, 421–2, 424
- Fanell's comments on 92
- fighting future wars 433–8
- going global 438–44
- missile force 347
- naval fighter collision 165
- Navy (PLAN)
- 2000–2015 build-up 402–6
- acquisition of submarines 403
- aircraft carriers 404–5
- as customer of Russia 403
- manoeuvres, US ignoring 310
- potential future abilities 433–4, 438–44
- power of 341–3
- rapid development of 90
- replacement of nuclear submarines 403–4
- in South China Sea 212
- transfer of frigates 405–6
- transformation of 401–2, 409

- pressure for more assertive action 317
- regions for future presence 431
- Second Artillery Force (PLASAF) 433, 438, 443–4
- space-based systems 349, 392
- in Tiananmen Square 64
- transformation of 379–83, 400–402
- US avoidance strategies 371–3
- US communication channels with 92
- People's Republic of China (PRC)
  - as acting in disruptive and domineering ways 465
  - clashes with Vietnam 310, 484
  - 'creeping assertiveness' 402
  - dangers for, in challenging US 468
  - as 'darling of its Asian neighbours' 303
  - establishment of 266, 283
  - intelligence 209
  - law on territorial waters 304
  - official 2015 defense budget 401
  - patent laws 144
  - and Taiwan 46, 50, 53, 52–3, 69, 71–4, 202–3, 207, 285–7, 390, 401
  - US documents on 85, 211, 329
  - US relations with, after Cold War
    - under Bush (G.H.W.) administration 63–7
    - under Bush (G.W.) administration 71–3
    - challenges facing both countries 62–3, 74–6
    - under Clinton administration 67–70
    - under Obama administration 73–4
  - US relations with, during Cold War
    - Chinese perceptions of 44–5
    - early 1950s 46–51
    - early 1960s 51–4
    - period of normalization 54–8
    - rapprochement 45–6, 204–8, 286–8, 476
    - two phases 44
    - US perceptions of 45
- Philippines
  - China
    - claims overlapping with EEZs of 13, 295
    - fate of large investments in 467
    - heightening tensions between 170, 304
    - stand-off over Scarborough Shoal 14, 260, 295, 303, 312
    - tough stand on maritime and territorial disputes with 232
    - use of trade with 89
  - and Japan 254, 259–60, 316
  - Obama's visits to 14
  - and Spratly Islands 303, 402
  - US
    - expanding access to ports in 406, 409
    - expanding military cooperation with 127, 169
    - importance of bases in 203
    - introducing legislation to enable sales of weapons to 91
    - maintaining military forces in 188
    - military access agreement with 296
    - signing defense treaties with 201, 304
    - strengthening alliance with 127, 201, 230
    - uncertain strategic commitments to 310
  - US–China relations 312–14, 316–17, 482–3
  - 'pivot' to Asia
    - change of direction blamed on China 224–5
    - Chinese answer to 222–3
    - Chinese perspective on 14, 222, 304
    - Chinese responses to 233, 304, 315
    - as conspiracy theory 119–20
    - dealing with Eurasian dilemma in relation to 149
    - impact on, and role in, politics of regionalism 35–40
    - Japan's pivotally important role 29, 31
    - leading to reassessment of US role in Asia 228–9

- as military effort by US 359, 407
- Obama, Barack
  - launch of policy 359–60, 406
  - reconfirmation of strategy 228
  - speech on 13–14, 296
- promise of increased business
  - opportunities 140
- rationales to justify 409–10
- as response to China's rise 119, 127
- as strategic shift aimed at maintaining
  - US primacy in Asia-Pacific region 222
- as strategy designed to contain China
  - 200, 296, 298, 479–80
- Taiwan's significance 283, 297–8
- unveiling of strategy 226–7
- US response, and Airsea battle
  - 406–10
- see also* rebalancing strategy
- PLA *see* People's Liberation Army (PLA)
- politics of China, US perceptions of
  - 183–6, 93
- power *see* US–China power balance
- power transition theory 4, 16
- PRC *see* People's Republic of China (PRC)
- preparation for military struggle (PMS)
  - 433, 435
- rapprochement, period of 33, 45–6, 204–8, 214, 216, 286–8, 476
- Reagan, Ronald 56–7, 137, 206–7, 288
- realism
  - model of power transition 166
  - offensive 183–4
  - predicting conflict as inevitable 274
- rebalancing strategy, US to Asia-Pacific region
  - China's perceptions of 199–200, 215, 223, 228–30
  - Chinese responses to 212–13, 222–3, 231–2, 239
  - Cold War origins of US alliance system 201–4
  - in context of strategic rivalry 169–70
  - disparate interpretations 199–200
  - as exacerbating 'security dilemma' dynamics 200–201
  - five pillars of 199–200
  - formerly 'pivot' to Asia 14, 227, 359, 406, 458
  - fundamental question of 201
  - grand bifurcation and protracted divorce 208–210
  - and Japan 246–7, 256–9
  - likely to lead to more resources devoted to 248
  - meshing well with majority of
    - Asia-Pacific governments 468–9
  - military involvement 199–200, 215, 406–9
  - need for 'geopolitical glue' 216
  - Nixon Doctrine and US–China rapprochement 204–8
  - as strategic shift against China 225–8
  - terrorism detente and divorce delayed 210–14
  - threat to pre-existing security dilemma dynamics 215
  - see also* 'pivot' to Asia
- Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) 140
- Republic of China (ROC) 8–9, 283, 285–6, 297–8
- revolution in military affairs (RMA)
  - 380, 400, 433, 435, 446
- Roosevelt, F.D. 8, 206
- Scarborough Shoal 14, 172, 260, 295, 303, 312–13
- sea lines of communications (SLOCs)
  - 189, 259, 329, 370, 385, 393, 402, 438
- security threats *see* threats (security)
- Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands *see* Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands
- soft power 165–7, 191–4, 323, 326, 328, 335–6
- South China Sea
  - China
    - actions of concern to South Korea 277
    - advantage of geographical proximity 362

- arguments used to boost claims to 304
- assertive moves in 13, 74, 85–6, 172
- countries in dispute with 303, 431–2
- creeping annexation of 14–15, 402
- declining influence in 468
- and economic ties with neighbours 231
- expansion of naval and air presence in 402
- harassing US Navy surveillance vessel in 295, 317
- and Japan's reliance on sea lanes 251, 259
- land reclamation in 105, 109, 148, 172–3, 433, 442
- military strategic guidelines 434–5, 439–40
- no intention of backing away from interests in 236
- 'polderization' of 340
- spheres of influence in 365
- standoff with Philippines 260
- strategic importance for maritime strategy 232
- 'strategic space' in 237
- territorial claims 13, 15, 74, 172
- use of economic tools as form of coercion in 89
- use of law enforcement forces 233
- as present day area of tension 13
- US
  - concern over China's military activity in 91–2, 212, 235, 466
  - critical of China's stance over 226
  - distant blockade strategy 371
  - effectiveness of ASB 409
  - maritime denial strategies 373
  - military's recent activities in 407
  - potential adjustment of involvement 400
  - reasons for concern about China in 315–16
  - recommendations for preventing conflict 316–17
  - reconnaissance activities 165
  - role in China's disputes 304–5, 309–15
  - as standing too close to Japan 487
  - surveillance aircraft intercepted 210
  - US–China relations 85–6, 91–2, 214
- South Korea
  - China
    - establishing formal diplomatic relations 268
    - as major trading partner of 181
    - relations remaining locked in Cold War 267
    - trade comparison 467
    - trade ties increasing 268
  - economy 247–8
  - feeling need to acquire own nuclear weapons 273
  - 'hub and spokes' alliance network 29
  - military capabilities 249
  - and North Korea
    - invasion by 46, 267
    - sinking of submarines 245–6
    - talks to negotiate end to nuclear program 270
  - Obama's visits to 14
  - patent filings 145
  - reliance on South China Sea lanes 251
  - reunification under, as result of collapse of DPRK 273–4
  - as 'tiger' economy 29
- US
  - ensuring peace and stability on Peninsula 170
  - least likely contributor 370
  - major air base in 389
  - military commitment to 49
  - signing defense treaties with 202
  - stationing troops in 9, 188
  - strengthening alliance with 127, 200–201, 230, 258
  - strengthening military commitment to 49
  - treaty partners 482
  - US–China relations
    - heavily dependent on evolution of 280

- role in 264–5
  - strategic dilemma in 274–9
- Soviet Union
  - challenge to leadership of communist movement 52
  - China and US 32–3, 44–5, 201–7, 287–8, 298, 456
  - rapid demise of 62, 215
  - Sino–Soviet split 9, 53, 57, 205, 268, 286–7, 298
- space power (China) 347–9, 435
- space systems 445–7
- spheres of influence 159, 170, 173, 365, 393, 483, 488
- Spratly Islands 303–4, 311–14, 317, 402
- strategic rivalry *see* US–China strategic rivalry
- 21st Century Maritime Silk Road 431, 439–40, 443
- Taiwan
  - ceded to Japan 266
  - challenge for 299
  - China
    - declining influence of 468
    - military options against 383–4, 387, 389–91, 393, 399–400
    - post-Taiwan future 440
    - reaching free trade agreement with 141
  - defense policy 390–91
  - importance of, to US strategy 202–3
  - mass demonstrations 466
  - president promoting greater independence from China 457
  - reunification, chances of 8, 283, 288, 291–2, 297–9, 384
  - reversal over 8
  - Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands 253
  - Strait crisis (1954–55) 50, 202
  - Strait crisis (1962) 53
  - Strait crisis (1995–96) 209–10, 288–91, 298, 341, 343–4, 346–7, 386, 455
  - as ‘tiger’ economy 29
- US
  - ability to defend 298–9, 363, 373, 383–4
  - concerns about defense of 46
  - military commitment to 49, 391, 460
  - sacrifice of 9, 298–9
  - sales of aircraft to 10
  - support for 267
- US–China relations
  - 1996 quarrel 69
  - 2008 attempt at closure 105
  - as arguably most significant issue between 283, 297
  - Chen Shui-bian era 291–3
  - Clinton’s response to PLA 104
  - collaborative approach on 72–3
  - emergence of problem 284–6
  - end of Cold War and Taiwan Strait crisis 288–91, 298, 455
  - Joint Communiqué 205–7
  - Ma Ying-jeou and Obama 294–7
  - Mutual Defense Treaty 8–9, 202–3, 285–7, 297
  - and Nixon, Ford and Carter 55–6
  - and Reagan 206–7
  - as significant source of tensions between 9, 44
  - Sino–Soviet split and US–China rapprochement 286–8
  - US arms sales 71, 73, 164–5, 171
  - US using underhand means of interfering in Taiwan’s protests 487–8
- Taiwan Relations Act 9, 287–8, 393–4, 296, 299, 482
- terrorist attacks of 9/11 13, 71–2, 185, 210–14, 293, 331, 457, 486
- threats (security)
  - airborne 343–4, 391–2
  - cyber 350–52, 412–13, 420–21, 423
  - exposure rate (TER) 420
  - low-intensity 443
  - nuclear 50, 270, 351
  - from rogue states 393–4
- Thucydides Trap 160, 238, 430
- Tiananmen Square incident
  - China learning from 113

- comparison with 2014 Hong Kong demonstrations 111–12
- courting of Chinese students of 68 event marking 25th anniversary 85
- fatalities 63–4
- implications of
  - EU arms embargo 481
  - human rights issues 17, 104
  - moral backlash 288–9
  - security relations 200
  - shattered cooperation 456
  - on Sino–US relations 9–11, 64–6, 102–4, 207, 290, 298, 476–7
- as ‘long in the brewing’ 63
- momentousness of occasion 102
- trade in services 139
- Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement 143–4, 146
- trade volume in goods 139
- trading system, global 140
- Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) 120, 122, 127, 140, 169, 230, 247, 296
- Truman, Harry 46–9, 57, 202, 206, 284–5
- United States (US)
  - Air Force (USAF) 360–61, 367–8, 407–8, 446
  - alliance system, Cold War origins of 201–4
  - arousal of, in Asia-Pacific region 468–70
  - as conspiratorial 118–20
  - contested regions 35–9
  - and East Asia 25–6, 40
  - economic performance 6, 168
  - hegemony
    - paradoxes of 33–5, 38
  - influence in Japan 30–32
  - making of Pacific power
    - early history 26–7
    - early relations with Japan 27–8
    - post-war order 28–9
  - military response to China
    - AirSea Battle (ASB) 366–70, 407–9
    - distant blockade strategy 370–71
    - to emerging military challenge 361–4
    - future predictions 373–4
    - grand strategic options 364–6, 374
    - maritime denial strategies 371–3
    - pivot toward Asia 406–7, 409–10
    - readjustment of Asia-Pacific posture 359–60
  - Navy (USN) 360–61, 367–8, 406–9
  - perspectives on China
    - economics 86–9
    - as largely negative 93–4
    - military 89–92
    - politics 83–6
    - rhetoric becoming increasingly hostile 93–4
  - redefining region 28–9
  - as reluctant regionalist 36–7
  - role in Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute 305–9
  - role in South China Sea Islands dispute 309–15
  - see also* People’s Republic of China (PRC), US relations with; US–China relations
- United States Trade Representative (USTR) 143, 145
- US–China power balance
  - how China perceives power 324–8
  - how US perceives power 329–30
  - limitations to assessing 334–6
  - methods of assessing each other’s power 323–4
- US–China relations
  - challenges in 16–17, 485–7
  - changing logics of 223–5
  - China as regional rival 32–5, 39–40
  - China’s perceptions of US 126–8
  - creating an axis for peace 315–17
  - economic
    - China’s export trade 135–40, 149, 151–2
    - China’s rise 5–7, 10, 17, 133–4
    - intellectual property rights 142–7
    - interaction approaches 134–41, 150–51
    - overcoming geopolitics 147–50
    - US export trade 137–9, 147



- evolution of
  - end of Cold War and Tiananmen Massacre 9–11
  - positive and negative accounts 7–8
  - present day tensions and US Pivot 13–16
  - rise of Chinese Nationalism 11–12
  - World War II and Cold War 8–9
- future of 173–4
- future prospects for 17–18, 490–91
- human rights
  - 1989 Tiananmen Incident 102–3
  - 2014 Hong Kong demonstrations 111–13
  - during Clinton administration 67–70, 477
  - criticisms of China 118, 127, 149, 486
  - dominating agendas in policy 10, 17
  - since 1989 104–11
  - structure-transforming events 101–2
- implications of US rebalance to Asia 199–216
- importance of
  - challenge of who says what 485–7
  - in future 490–91
  - grand narratives 476–80
  - as ‘most crucial of 21st century’ 475
  - question of allegiances 480–84
  - for regional stability in Asia 3–5
  - risks to relationship 487–9
  - viewing China’s rise 484–5
- integral role of Japan in 245–7, 261
- military capabilities 164–5, 174, 194
- outlook for
  - aroused United States 468–70
  - China’s domestic preoccupations 460–62
  - China’s insecure position in Asia-Pacific 463–5
  - constrained China 460, 470–71
  - erratic pattern in 455–58
  - measuring China’s relationships 465–6
  - recommendations for 470–71
  - shortcomings in China’s economic influence 466–8
  - strong interdependence 462–3
  - Xi Jinping’s foreign policy: image and reality 458–9
- paradoxes of hegemony 33–5
- and Taiwan
  - Chen Shui-bian era 291–3
  - emergence of problem 284–6
  - end of Cold War and Taiwan Strait crisis 288–91, 298
  - future possibility of war 298–9
  - and Ma Ying-Jeou and Obama 394–7
  - Mutual Defense Treaty 8–9, 202–3, 285–7, 297
  - problem of 283–4
  - Sino-Soviet split and US–China rapprochement 286–8, 298
- US–China strategic rivalry
  - in Asia-Pacific region
    - more assertive Chinese foreign policy 171–3
    - US rebalancing strategy 169–70
  - attempts to shape discourse 159–60
  - economic power 161–3
  - future of relations 195–6
  - global influence 167–8
  - military capabilities 164–5
- models
  - peaceful co-existence 159
  - realism, of power transition 159
  - tributary system 159
- soft power 165–7
- Vietnam
  - China
    - aid to communist insurgency in 48–9
    - disputed territories with 303, 402
    - incentive to ‘out-democratize’ 110
    - losing competitive edge to 162
    - Mao urging caution to North Vietnam 50
    - PLA’s clash with 380
    - PRC’s clash with 484
    - tough stand on disputes with 232, 304

- and Japan 259–60
- US
  - considering selling weapons to 91
  - improving relations with 127, 258, 480
  - seeking to expand access to ports in 406
- US–China relations
  - 1954 203
  - 1970s and 1980s 309–10
  - present day 119, 230, 311–14, 316
- Vietnam war
  - US
    - impact on 29, 287
    - ‘Vietnamizing’ war effort 204–5
  - US–China relations 9, 45, 52–3, 57, 205
- Washington Consensus 7, 17, 186
- White Papers (Chinese defense) 291, 325, 361, 380, 382, 389, 401, 431–5, 438–9
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) 144
- World Trade Organization (WTO)
  - China’s accession to
    - benefits of 137–8
    - highlighting paradoxes and contradictions of US–China relations 33–4
    - impact of 477–78
    - US supporting 70, 137, 161, 290–91
  - China’s perceived failure to adhere to regulations 89, 138
  - China’s use of 138
    - and laws on intellectual property 142–3
- World War II 8–9
- Xi Jinping
  - attempts to expand strategic space 483
  - call for ‘New Asian Security Concept’ 173
  - ‘China Dream’ 107–8, 359, 364, 459, 471, 483
  - Chinese comment on diplomatic efforts of 105
  - comments on common interest in South China Sea 214
  - daughter attended Harvard University 193
  - and Diaoyu/Senkaku dispute 306–8
  - diplomatic moves 148, 482
  - as dismissive of US complaints 468
  - domestic concerns of 461
  - efforts to root out deep corruption 194
  - foreign policy
    - bluster 471
    - changes to 171–3
    - new phase in 455–6
    - tightening political control
      - domestically 459
      - vision to strategy 231–3
  - as likely to avoid confrontation in period ahead 459, 461, 463, 486
  - meetings with Obama 112–13, 148, 212, 234, 258, 307–8, 423, 461, 485
  - and military innovation 327–8
  - as originator of ‘new model of major power relations’ slogan 182, 244–5
  - period of engagement leading to new trade deals 483
  - promoting China’s soft power 166, 326
  - and South Korea 275–7
  - state visit to UK 162
  - substantial global strategy under 149
  - summary of China’s relations 465–6
  - uncertainty about actions and intentions of 458
  - US comment on political system under 84–5, 88
  - weaknesses of economic investment and financing plans 463
  - weaknesses of investment and financing plans 466–8