

Contents

Preface viii

Acknowledgments xii

- 1 Strong Abroad but Fragile at Home 1
- 2 China's Economic Miracle 13
- 3 Domestic Threats 35
- 4 The Echo Chamber of Nationalism: Media and the Internet 79
- 5 The Responsible Power 105
- 6 Japan: "When the Chinese People Get Angry, the Result Is Always Big Trouble" 140
- 7 Taiwan: "A Question of Regime Survival" 181
- 8 The United States: "External Troubles Can Become Internal Troubles" 212
- 9 China's Weakness, America's Danger 255

Appendix: Chinese and Japanese Periodicals 271

Notes 273

Index 311

Index

Note: Page numbers in *italics* indicate photographs and illustrations.

- Abe Shinzo, 146, 163, 179
Beijing visit of, 177–79
ABM. *See* U.S.-Soviet Antiballistic Missile Treaty
Abu Ghraib, in media, 99, 100
Africa, 134–35, 138
Agriculture, 33, 72, 293ⁿ87
Ahmadinejad, Mahmed, 121
Akihito (Emperor), 297ⁿ92
Albright, Madeleine, 223, 229, 292ⁿ64
embassy bombing and, 213
on U.S.-China relations, 262
Ali, Ifzal, 132
Alliance of Patriots, 172
Amnesty International, 224
Antidumping cases, 24, 277ⁿ57
Anti-Japanese demonstrations, 92, 103, 141, 143, 140–45, 146, 149, 161–64, 169, 173–77, 180
Antisecession Law, 205–7, 209
Anti-Taiwan Separation War, 153
APEC. *See* Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
Arafat, Yasser, 86
Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 119, 169, 230, 240
Asian financial crisis, 20
“Assassin’s Mace,” 194
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 113, 133, 134
ASEAN Plus Three, 118–20, 290ⁿ43, 291ⁿ46
ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), 113, 119, 290ⁿ43
ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, 292ⁿ75
Australia, 276ⁿ45, 305ⁿ25
“Axis of Evil,” 123
Bangladesh, 22
Bank of America, 28
Barshefsky, Charlene, 229, 248, 306ⁿ51
al-Bashir, Omar, 135
Beijing Youth Daily, 217, 238
Belgrade. *See* Chinese embassy bombing, in Belgrade
Berger, Sandy, 228
bin Laden, Osama, 241
Blair, Dennis, 238
Blair, Tony, 291ⁿ44
Bo Xilai, 100
Boxer Rebellion, 65, 79, 217
Bradsher, Keith, 29
Brilliance China, 16
Browne, Andrew, 22
Bush, George W., 7, 98, 99, 108, 117–18, 123, 127, 138, 181, 186, 198–99, 202, 204, 263, 305ⁿ28
ABM treaty and, 247
CCP Propaganda Department and, 242
on China holding American hostages, 236
China visit by, 242
Chinese fighter jet collision and, 235, 237
complaints about China media, 241
Hu Jintao meeting with, 210, 243, 255, 267
Japan as military partnership, 264
Japan speech by, 242
Jiang contrasted with, 238
with Jiang Zemin, 240
oil interest ties, 251
Taiwan and, 204–6
on Taiwan issues, 209, 210, 265

- Cai Fang, 278n83
Caijing (magazine), 83
 Cambodia, 22
 Canada, 276n45
 WTO negotiations with China, 230
 Cartelized systems, 280n17
 CCP. *See* Chinese Communist Party
 CCTV. *See* China Central Television
 Ceausescu, Nicolai, 38, 73
 Censorship, 22, 67, 68, 82–83, 89–91, 91–93, 162, 210, 243, 256, 259–60. *See also* Media, in China.
 Internet, 53, 287n21
 Century China website, 80
 Century of humiliation, 2, 16, 186, 258
 Chan Heng Chee, 115
 Chang, Iris, 165
 Chen Liangyu, 32
 Chen Shui-bian, 89. *See also* Taiwan
 election of, 200–201
 isolating, 207
 military building and, 202
 1992 consensus and, 199–200
 re-election of, 181, 205
 scandals of, 210
 two state theory of, 203
 U.S. ultimatum to, 266
 as weakened president, 209–10
 Chen Xitong, 226
 Cheney, Richard, 242, 251.
 Cheng, T. J., 302n46
 Chery Automobile, 16
 Cheung Tai Ming, 284n112
 Chevron, 250
 Chiang Kai-shek, 158
 U.S.-China relations and, 239
 China Central Television (CCTV), 87–88, 91
 China Construction Bank, 28
China Daily, 167
 China, domestic issues, 35–78, 273n2
 challenges, 255–57
 considerations in U.S. policy, 220–23
 domestic insecurity of, 6–9
 social goods in, 32–34
 social stability of, 7–8
 threats, 35–78
 China, economic issues, 13–34, 111 *See also* Economics
 China and Taiwan links, 196–97
 diplomacy of, 131–34
 financial crisis influencing, 193
 global reach, 134–38
 inequality of, 30–31, 55
 interdependence, 24, 28, 34
 interdependence of China and U.S., 25–28, 247–49
 modernization, 4, 15–18
 power comparison, 273n2
 war and, 211
 world imports of, 292n82
 world markets impacted by, 22–24
 China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies, 233
 China Institute for Contemporary International Relations, 233
 China, and Japan, 101–2, 112, 146, 148, 151–52, 179–80, 252, 264
 anti-Japanese nationalism of, 64, 65, 85, 103, 141, 142, 148, 161–64, 171–73, 176
 balancing act with, 169–70
 China insulted by, 257
 Deng Xiaoping and, 159–60
 economic relations, 148–49
 Japanese historical commemorations, 65, 97, 155, 156, 160, 161–62, 164–65, 169, 171, 208
 Jiang Zemin and, 166–67
 Mao Zedong and, 158–59
 military perspective of, 75–77
 public opinion of, 101–2, 151–52
 school textbooks, 170
 China, military of, 42, 69–76, 203. *See also* People's Liberation Army
 budget of, 9–10, 21, 73–75, 192, 310n9
 buildup for Taiwan, 192–95, 202
 Central Military Commission, 70–71
 civilian control and, 70–72, 259
 comparing, 273n2
 hawkish attitude of, 42, 75–77, 189, 222
 hotline for, 71
 missiles to Taiwan by, 189
 modernization of, 72
 modernizing strategic missile forces, 308n101
 multilateral cooperation of, 121–22
 Pakistan port built by, 293n100
 political role of, 70–72
 power rising for, 9
 professionalization, 69–70
 role in Tiananmen, 36
 soldiers of, 71
 war risks of, 9
 China National Offshore Oil Company (CNOOC), 137
 UNOCOL bid, 249–51, 268
 China Patriot's Alliance, 172–73
China Social Blue Book, 57–58
 China, and Taiwan, 181–211, 260–61, 265–66
 antiseccession law, 205–7, 209
 cargo flights to Taiwan, 209
 criticism of Jiang Zemin's policies, 201–2
 panda offering to Taiwan, 208
 recognition of college degrees from Taiwan, 208
 referendum, 203–6
 Taiwan importance to, 185–87
 Taiwan medical doctors licensed in, 208
 as Taiwan's main export market, 196–97
 visits by Taiwan leaders, 207–8
 white paper, 191

- The China That Can Say No*, 232
The China That Can Still Say No, 232
 China, and United States. *See also* Albright, Madeleine; Bush, George W.; Clinton, Bill
 American history in schools of, 241
 Belgrade embassy bombing, 212–18
 cynicism of U.S. market principles, 251
 economic interdependence with U.S., 25–28, 247–49
 NMD of U.S. and, 245–47
 spy plane collision, 234–39
 U.S. Congress, 27, 223–26, 228
 U.S. debt bought by, 5, 248
 U.S. export market, 248–49
 U.S. hostages in, 236–37
 U.S. influencing, 261–68
 U.S. mistrusted by, 231–32
 U.S. preventing war with, 268–69
 U.S. reaction to economic rise of, 5–6, 267–68
 U.S. relations today, 239–41
 U.S. reliance on, 249
 U.S. respecting, 266–67
China Youth Daily, 79, 92, 156, 166, 231
 China-Japan Twenty-First-Century Friendship Commission, 161
 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Institute of American Studies, 253
 Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 41*f*, 42, 43, 47–48, 52, 303*n*76. *See also* Media, in China
 Central Committee, 40, 42, 70
 formula for stability, 39
 insecurity of, 6–8, 10, 38
 PLA overseen by, 70
 Politburo, 242
 Politburo Standing Committee, 36, 40, 44–47, 49–53, 70, 71, 84, 179, 231, 234, 259, 279*n*12
 resignations of, 283*n*93
 Seventeenth Congress, 52
 succession, 50, 52
 Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Propaganda Department, 84, 93–95, 142, 178, 242
 coordination with, 234
 during crisis, 95
 Critical Reading Groups, 94
 fighter jet incident and, 237
 Taiwan and, 185, 222
 toning down anti-American rhetoric, 241
 Chinese embassy bombing, in Belgrade, 8, 49, 61, 87, 89, 98, 170, 190, 193, 212, 213, 215, 217–19, 230, 232–33, 235, 237, 239, 241
 Chinese fighter jet collision, 1, 8, 49, 61, 82, 98, 234–39, 252, 291*n*54, 307*n*73
 Chinese periodicals, 271–72
 Christensen, Tom, 186, 284*n*115, 285*n*141, 300*n*8, 300*n*12, 300*n*23, 300*n*106
 Christopher, Warren, 188
 Chu Shulong, 232
 Clinton, Bill, 1, 45, 68, 86, 107, 116, 119, 188, 198–99, 208, 229, 291*n*45, 292*n*64
 apology over bombings, 212
 on China, 256
 China visit of, 132, 224, 228
 Chinese students' treatment of, 63
 complaints about China media, 241
 delaying deployment of NMD, 247
 embassy bombings and, 218
 executive order of, 225
 Japan guideline negotiations by, 264
 Jiang Zemin and, 50, 190, 192, 230, 242, 266
 Lee Teng-hui visit to U.S., 73
 NMD and, 245–47
 on Taiwan, 265
 three Nos, 190
 WTO agreement and, 228, 232
 Zhu Rongji and, 229, 229–30
 CNN, 1, 88
 CNOOC. *See* China National Offshore Oil Company
 Cobra Gold exercise, 122
 Cohen, William, 96
 "Color revolutions," 38
 "Commitment trap," 95
 Comprehensive Test Ban, 116
 Concert of powers, 106
 Corruption, in China, 31–32
 Crisis management, 233–34, 258–61. *See also*
 Chinese embassy bombing, in
 Belgrade; Chinese fighter jet collision;
 SARS epidemic
 Cui Tiankai, 292*n*73
 Cultural Revolution, 79
 Currency, 274*n*2. *See also* Renminbi (RMB)
 Democracy, 53
 Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), 11, 123, 124–27, 168, 245, 267
 missiles and nuclear weapons of, 4
 nuclear issue of, 118
 Democratic Progressive Party, 183, 194, 200, 205, 207, 209
 Demonstrations, 215, 304*n*4. *See also* Chinese
 fighter jet collision; Falun Gong;
 Protest movements; Tiananmen Square
 anti-Japanese, 92, 103, 141, 143, 146, 149, 161–64, 169, 175–77, 180, 294*n*12
 of Falun Gong, 216
 over embassy bombing, 213, 213–14
 reflecting domestic politics, 61
 against U.S., 256
 Deng Liqun, 48
 Deng Xiaoping, 6, 7, 18, 19, 21, 35, 36, 38–42, 45, 46, 46, 50, 72, 78, 111, 116, 144, 161, 163, 164, 188, 191, 197, 198, 220, 227, 288*n*63
 foreign policy of, 105, 241

- Deng Xiaoping (*continued*)
 on internal debates, 197
 Japan and, 159–60
 reforms introduced by, 15
 Taiwan relationship with, 196–97
- Desert Storm, 220
- Diana, Princess of Wales, 86
- Diaoyu Islands, 4, 91, 147, 160, 165, 172
- Diaoyutai state guesthouse, 125, 125
- Ding Guangen, 94
- Dong Tao, 26
- DPRK. *See* Democratic People's Republic of North Korea
- East China Sea dispute, 147–48
- Education, in China, 33
- Employment, in China, 29–30, 276*n*32
- Energy, 22–24, 136–38
- Environmental pollution, in China, 33–34
 industrial poisoning, 256
- Ethnic unrest, in China, 58
- Evans, Donald, 100
- Falun Gong, 49, 55, 85, 90, 106, 193, 215, 216, 232
 on CCP resignations, 283*n*93
 media and, 243
- Fang Lizhi, 224, 305*n*28
- Foreign Ministry, of China, 44, 63, 76, 78, 84, 96–97, 100–102, 104, 108, 112, 116, 117, 122, 125, 126, 128, 133–35, 148, 151, 157, 164–70, 173, 177, 179, 187, 218, 222, 224, 227, 234, 235, 238, 239, 241, 250
 Asia Department, 109–11, 133
- Foreign policy process, 43–44, 61–62, 252
 weak voices for international cooperation, 43
- Four modernizations, 72
- “Four Nevers,” 207
- “Four No’s and One Will Not,” 201
- Fravel, Taylor, 112
- Free trade agreements, 132–34
- Freedom House, 82
- Freezing Point*, 79, 80, 92, 94
- Friedman, Edward, 63
- Friedman, Tom, 268
- Fu Chengyu, 34
 CNOOC and, 250
- Fu Ying, 107, 109–10, 120
- G-8, 128
 inviting China, 267
- Gandhi, Rajiv, 116
- Gates, Bill, 248
- Geddes, Barbara, 283*n*90
- Germany
 economic modernization of, 284*n*111
 as rising power, 4, 242
- Giles, John, 278*n*83
- Global Times*, 21, 86, 87, 89, 90, 96, 100, 102, 117, 118, 130, 131, 180, 204, 242, 253
- Globalization, China embracing, 19
- Goddess of Democracy, 37, 220
- Goldman Sachs, 28
- Great Firewall, 92
- Great Leap Forward, 18, 79, 190, 300*n*23
- Gu Mu, 159
- Gulf War, 285*n*123
- “Guns v. butter,” 74–75, 259
- Guomindang, 2, 65, 154, 181, 182, 183, 188, 190, 201, 207–9, 261, 283*n*83, 294*n*12, 303*n*76
- Gyanendra (King), 118
- Haier, 250
- Hashimoto, Ryutaro, 165
- He Qinglian, 83
- He Yanan, 294*n*14
- Health care, in China, 32–33
- Hegemonism, 77, 222, 227, 241, 245, 253
 living with, 242–45
 mentioned in media, 99*f*
 unilateralism replacing term, 244
- Helms, Jesse, 225
- Hong Kong
 Taiwan and, 198
 U. S. trade with, 308*n*108
- Hong Kong–Shanghai Bank Company (HSBC) Holdings, 28
- Horizon Company, 253
- Household registration, 29
- Hsu Wen-lung, 302*n*46
- Hu Angang, 18
- Hu Jintao, 2, 31, 32, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 46–52, 49, 60, 68, 70, 71, 73, 94, 95, 100, 109, 134, 135, 137, 145, 148, 150, 169, 172, 174–78, 187, 199, 200, 205–7, 238, 241, 243, 279*n*113. *See also* China; Media, in China
 authority of, 202
 Bush meeting with, 210, 243, 255, 267
 embassy bombing and, 214
 focus on Asia, 251
 Gates and, 248
 Japan policy of, 177–78
 leadership style, 46–48
 peaceful rise and, 108–9, 243
 Taiwan, 195–96, 199, 200, 202–8, 210–11, 260
 U.S. accommodated by, 251
 on U.S. in Asia, 263
 White House visit by, 243, 251, 266–67
- Hu Ping, 233
- Hu Yaobang, 35, 68, 161, 163
- Huang Chunping, 74
- Human rights, in China, 22, 223–26, 262
 in other countries, 23–24
- Human Rights Watch, 224, 226
- Huntington, Samuel, 54
- Hussein, Saddam, 107

- India, 115, 269
 on China, 112
 China and, 115–18
 nuclear testing by, 115–18
- Intellectual property rights, 26, 249, 262
- Internal unrest and foreign aggression (*nei luan wai huan*), 64
- International Conflict Analysis and Crisis Management* (Hu Ping), 233
- International Olympic Committee, 226
- Internet, 80, 98, 100, 142, 144, 147, 156, 160
 Abu Ghraib discussions, 288n62
 anti-Japanese websites, 171–72
 blowback of, 85, 100–103, 169
 censorship in China, 44, 53, 91–93, 256, 287n21
 expansion of, in China, 81
 Foreign Ministry use of, 96–97
 government response to, 103–6
 information for public from, 83, 242
 nationalism and, 79–104
 news on, 81–82
 protest information spreading over, 56, 60, 103, 142
 virtual activism, 172–73
 Yasukuni Shrine and, 157
- Iran, 223, 267
- Iraq, 243
- U.S. war in, 253
- Japan, 10, 11, 26, 102, 106, 112, 115, 130, 137, 140–80, 146, 257, 268
 apology of, 158–59, 166–67, 296n60
 backlash against China, 145–46
 boycott of products of, 149, 152
 Bush speech in, 242
 China activist groups, 141, 142, 172, 176
 China and, 64, 65, 101–2, 146, 148, 151–52, 169–70, 171, 179–80, 252, 257, 264
 China as anti-, 65, 85, 103, 141, 142, 148, 161–64, 171–73, 176
 China defeated by, 65
 in China media, 84–85, 87, 96, 152, 155–57, 169
 China petitions, 144, 156, 172, 173
 China public opinion of, 101–2, 146, 151–52
 China's historical commemorations of, 171, 258
 China's military perspective on, 75–77
 competition for power, 179–80
 Deng Xiaoping and, 159–60
 economic modernization of, 284n111
 future relations, 179–80
 history issues, 77, 153–55
 investment in China, 148, 149, 180
 Jiang Zemin visit to, 166–67
 Mao Zedong and, 158–59
 as military power, 149–50
 new thinking on, 167–68
 periodicals of, 271–72
 public opinion of China, 144, 146, 150, 178
 student protests and, 29n110, 92, 103, 141, 143, 146, 149, 160–64, 169, 175–77, 180, 294n12
 Taiwan and, 150, 153–54, 264
 territorial dispute, 147–48
 U.N. Security Council membership, 140, 173, 174, 177, 180
 U.S. alliance with, 149, 168, 263–65,
 U.S. economic fears of, 252
 U.S. occupation of, 155
 Yasukuni Shrine issue, 25, 120, 140, 145, 146, 148, 155, 157, 160, 161, 163, 165, 169, 175, 177–79
- Ji You, 75, 76
- Jia Qingguo, 243
- Jiang Zemin, 7, 32, 36, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47–52, 54, 62–63, 67, 71, 73, 94, 95, 99, 101, 102, 111, 122, 124, 129, 144, 145, 154, 169, 176–78, 187, 188, 191, 192, 198–202, 206, 207, 220, 223, 225, 227, 241, 242, 276n35, 279n12, 285n118, 301n34, 301n36, 302n48. *See also* Media, in China
 admitting business people to Party, 48, 258
 Belgrade embassy bombing and, 212–17
 with Bush, 240
 Chinese fighter jet collision and, 235
 Clinton and, 50, 190, 192, 230, 242, 266
 concern for stability, 54
 criticism of, 189, 239
 economics and, 193
 Falun Gong sit-in, 215
 force against Taiwan postponed by, 232
 Japan visit by, 166–67
 Patriotic Education Campaign, 164–66
 PLA, 71, 73, 192
 period of strategic opportunity, 244–45
 political associates, 50–52
 political authority, 44–46, 49, 202
 political role, 40, 44, 50
 relations with U.S., 221, 225
 retirement of, 39, 50, 71, 201–2
 strategic opportunities, 244–45
 on Taiwan, 76, 188, 191–92
 on U.S. in Asia, 263
 U.S. visit by, 228, 266
 use of nationalism, 62
 Wang Daohan appointing, 197, 202
 on Zhu trip to Washington, 228, 230, 231
- Jin Canrong, 139
- John Paul II (Pope), 92
- Johnson, Chalmers, 158, 294n12
- Johnston, Alastair Iain, 231, 241, 253, 285n127, 292n69
- Kennedy, Paul, 9
- Kettering Foundation, 232
- Kim Dae-jung, 166

- Kim Jong Il, 107, 123, 124, 124, 126, 178
 Kissinger, Henry, 14, 184, 262, 263, 299n2
 K-Mart, selling Chinese goods, 236
 Koizumi, Junichiro, 25, 97, 120, 140, 143, 145, 146, 150, 152, 165, 174–75
 agricultural intervention of, 293n87
 Yasukuni Shrine visit by, 169, 175
 Korean War, 186
 Kosovo war, 63, 87, 212, 228
 Kroeber, Arthur, 275n31
 Kyrgyzstan, 120–21, 122
- Labor market, 282n63
 Labor unrest, 58–59
 Lantos, Tom, 226
 Leadership politics, in China, 39–52,
 control cartel, 42
 divisions at top, 51–52
 Hu Jintao's record, 46–48
 Jiang Zemin's success, 44–46
 preventing splits, 48–51
 selectorate, 40, 42
 Leading Small Group on Foreign Affairs, 44, 222
 Leading Small Group on Taiwan Affairs, 44, 191, 197
 Lee Hsien Loong, 150
 Lee Kuan Yew, 139, 245. *See also* Singapore on China, 256
 Lee Teng-hui, 73, 86, 95, 153, 156, 183, 188–90, 192, 193, 301n38. *See also* Taiwan statement by, 232
 two state theory of, 192, 194
 U.S. visa for, 227–28
 Lee Wen Ho, 228
 Lenovo, 250
 Lewinsky, Monica, 86
 Li Changchun, 94–95
 Li Datong, 79–80, 83, 94
 Li Hongzhang, 153
 Li Peng, 36, 45, 161, 221, 222, 228, 230, 232
 Li Qinfu, 53
 Li Ruihuan, 45, 189, 280n35
 Li Xiguang, 82
 Li Zhaoxing, 50, 96, 148, 174
 embassy bombings and, 213
Liberation Army Daily, 71
 Lieberthal, Kenneth, 200
 Lien Chan, 207, 208
 Lin Biao, death of, 284n106
 Lin Chong-pin, 301n35
 Liu Guoguang, 51
 Liu Jianchao, 173
 Liu Junning, 83
 Liu Xiaobo, 83, 103
 Los Alamos National Laboratory, 228
 Lu Xiaobo, 296n50
 Lu Yuegang, 79
 Luo Gan, 175
- Ma Kai, 23, 31
 Ma Licheng, 177
 Ma Ying-jeou, 261
 Mao Zedong, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 35, 42, 45, 46, 46, 59, 69, 70, 80, 108, 139, 144, 164, 185, 187, 188, 191, 239, 275n25, 288n63, 300n23. *See also* Media, in China
 Japan and, 158–59
 Marco Polo Bridge, 97, 97, 171
 May Fourth Movement (1919), 65, 67, 144, 215
 Maytag, 250
 McAdam, Douglas, 279n3
Media Control in China (He Qinglian), 83
 Media, in China, 78, 79–104. *See also* CCP
 Propaganda Department; Internet
 access to information, 83
 censorship, 89–93, 99, 142, 222, 224, 243
 commercialization, 44, 80, 81, 83, 84, 217, 259–60
 facilitating opposition, 85–86
 Foreign Ministry, 96–97
 freedom of press, 82–83
 influence on foreign policy, 78, 96, 100–104
 Internet censorship, 91–93, 256
 Internet opinion response, 103–6
 public opinion information, 44, 100–102
 reporting on embassy bombing, 217–18
 reporting on Japan, 84–85, 152, 155–57, 169
 reporting on Taiwan, 186
 reporting on the United States, 99–100, 241, 252
 State Council Information Office, 95–96
 television, 88–89
Memoirs of a Geisha, 157
 Merrill Lynch, 28
 Middle East, 223
 Military spending. *See* China, military of
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 108
 Ming Dynasty, 19
 Mischief Reef, 114
 Misperceptions, as cause of war, 10
 Mongolia (Inner), 11, 58
 Monroe Doctrine, 130, 263
 Most favored nation congressional debate, 224
 Multilateralism, 289n12
 China embracing, 118–20
 on global scale, 127–28
 U.S. role in Asia and, 129–31
 Multipolarity, 99f, 241
 Murayama Tomiichi, 297n92
 Murdoch, Rupert, 89, 94
- Nakasone, Yasuhiro, 160, 161, 163, 165
 Nanjing Massacre, 140, 154–55, 162, 169, 170
 Memorial, 165
 National missile defense (NMD), 245–47
 National Security Leading Small Group, 234
 National Unification Council, 310n9
 abolishment of, 209

- Nationalism, 145
 anti-Japanese, of China, 65, 85, 103, 141, 142, 148, 161–64, 171–73, 176
 China's policy, 258
 history of, 64–66
 media and, 79–104, 85
 patriotism v., 87
 social unrest and, 62–64, 68
- NATO, 217–18
- Naughton, Barry, 20, 278n85
- 9/11 terrorist attacks, 88, 89, 121, 169, 245
 student visas and, 295n28
- “1992 consensus,” 199–200
- 1999 debate, 232–33
- Nixon, Richard, 14, 45, 164, 184, 239
- NMD. *See* National missile defense
- North Korea. *See* Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)
- Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue, 110, 168
- Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, 116, 118, 123, 124, 223
 China supporting, 11
- Obuchi Keizo, 166
- Ohira Masayoshi, 294n1
- Olympic Games, of China
 Taiwan and, 202
 for 2000, 225–27
 for 2008, 38–39, 225–27, 258, 261, 265
- One China principle, 77, 188, 198–200, 204, 211, 260, 303n75
- “One country, three systems,” 198
- “One country, two systems,” 197, 198
- Open door policy, of China, 19
- Opium War, 54, 64, 79
- Orange Revolution, 143
- Pan Zhenqiang, 106
- Pang Zhongying, 106–7
- Patriotic Education Campaign, 62, 164–66
- Patriotism, 62, 143
 nationalism v., 87
 as term, 282n74
- “Peaceful development,” 108–9
- “Peaceful evolution,” 220, 221
- “Peaceful rising,” 243, 252
- Peaceful unification, of Taiwan and China, 193–96
- Pei Minxin, 69, 109
- People's Daily*, 31, 36, 42, 51, 54, 55f, 80, 81, 82, 86, 90, 96, 98, 101, 143, 148, 159, 167, 173, 177, 201, 203, 217, 222, 239, 241, 242
 freedom of, 286n11
 terminology used by, 282n74
- People's Liberation Army. *See* China, military of
- Periodicals, 271–72
- Perry, William, 188, 210
- Pettis, Michael, 294n2
- Pew Global Attitude Project, 74, 253, 275n21, 309n120
- Philippines, 11, 113, 114
- PLA. *See* People's Liberation Army
- Polarization, 30
- Political correctness, 197–200
- Political prisoners, 224
- Political reform, 262
- Populism, 68
- Powell, Colin, 130, 235, 239
- Propaganda Department. *See* Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Propaganda Department
- Property rights, 59
- Protest movements, 7, 143, 154, 157, 213. *See also* Ethnic unrest; Labor unrest; Nationalism; Social unrest prevention, in China; Virtual activism
 for environmental poisoning, 60
 history of, 64–65
 Japan and, 92, 103, 141, 143, 146, 149, 160–64, 169, 175–77, 180, 294n12
 statistics of, 57f, 282n52
 tracking by government, 56–58
- Prueher, Joseph, 239
- Public opinion, in China, 100–102, 231, 253
- Publicity Department. *See* CCP Propaganda Department
- Qian Qichen, 105, 106, 113, 127, 139, 188, 202, 222, 225, 238, 253, 302n49
- Qiao Shi, 45, 189
- Qigong, 215
- Qing Dynasty, 19, 21, 61, 64, 153, 185–86, 256
- Radio Free Asia, 93
- The Rape of Nanking: The Foreign Holocaust of World War II* (Chang), 165
- Reagan, Ronald, 308n102
- Renminbi (RMB), 25, 27, 53, 119, 249, 274n2
- Reporters without Borders, 82
- Republic of Korea (ROK), 11, 26, 115, 130, 145, 150, 263, 264, 297n93
 Japan and, 264, 297n93
 U.S. defense of, 130, 263
- Responsible power, 107–9, 252, 273n2
- Rice, Condoleezza, 126
- RMB. *See* Renminbi (RMB)
- Roh Moo-hyun, 150, 297n92
- ROK. *See* Republic of Korea
- Royal Bank of Scotland, 28
- Rozman, Gilbert, 165
- Rubin, Robert, 228
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 237
 CCP Propaganda Department and, 242
- Rural unrest, 59–61
- “Salami tactics,” 183
- SARS epidemic, 32, 47, 83, 100, 207, 233, 256

- Sasser, James, 212, 213, 214
 Saunders, Phillip, 136
 Saxonhouse, Gary, 276n43, 277n73
 Schelling, Thomas, 85
 September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. *See* 9/11 terrorist attacks
 Sha Zukang, 116
 Shambaugh, David, 54
 Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 120–22, 130
 Shi Tao, 39, 93
 Shi Tianjian, 284n97
 Shi Yinhong, 177, 191
 Shih Ming-teh, 210
 Shirk, Susan, 14, 15
 Singapore, 84, 256
 Six-Party Talks, 123–27
60 Minutes, 95
 “Smile diplomacy,” 167
 Snow, Edgar, 185
 Snyder, Jack, 280n17
 Social goods, in China, 32–34
 Social stability, 256
 Leaders’ fears about, 52–56
 mentions in press, 55f
 as term, 282n74
 Social unrest prevention, in China
 CCP survival strategies, 66–68
 ethnic unrest, 58
 history influencing, 64–66
 labor unrest, 58–59
 mass protest tracking, 56–58
 nationalism and, 62–64
 resiliency of regime, 68–69
 rural unrest, 59–61
 student unrest, 61, 160–62
 Song Ping, 40
 Soong, James, 207
South China Morning Post, 57f
 South China Sea, disputes, 113–15
 South Korea. *See* Republic of Korea (ROK)
 Southeast Asia, 11, 77, 112–13
Southern Weekend, 217
 Soviet Union, 47, 252, 267–68
 lessons from fall of, 242–43
 Spence, Jonathan, 155, 283n80
 Sperling, Gene, 228
 Sputnik, 268
 Spy plane collision, 1, 8, 82, 238, 291n54, 307n73. *See also* Chinese fighter jet collision
 State Council Information Office, of China, 91–93, 95–96, 100, 104, 107, 157, 167, 180, 235, 237, 254
 Strategic Defense Initiative, 308n102
Strategy and Management, 177
Strong Nation Forum, 51, 91, 239
 Student protest, 61, 160–62. *See also* Anti-Japanese demonstrations
 Sudan, 136–38
 Suettinger, Robert, 222, 305n28
 Summers, Lawrence, 26
 meeting Zhu Rongji, 230
 Sun Tzu, 194
 Suzuki Zenko, 294n1
 Taiwan, 26, 90, 95, 102, 106, 166, 181–211, 257, 265–66
 Antisecession Law, 204–6
 arms sales, 302n47
 cargo flights from China, 209
 Chen Shui-bian, 89, 181–83, 194, 195, 199–203, 205, 207, 209–10, 266, 299n5
 China and regime survival, 181–211
 China’s military perspective on, 75–77
 Chinese military and, 74
 economic links, 196–97
 foreign direct investment of, 277n60
 Hong Kong and, 198
 importance of, to China, 185–87
 international investment in, 302n43
 intraregional trade of, 293n82
 Japan and, 150, 154, 264
 Jiang Zemin impatience, 191
 Lee Teng-hui, 73, 86, 95, 153, 156, 183, 188–90, 192–94, 232, 301n38
 lobbying of, in U.S., 184
 media and, 84–85
 news about, 98
 referendum to Constitution, 203–4
 risk of war, 210–11
 talks with, 260–61
 theater missile defense, 246
 U.S. defense of, 3–4, 263, 265
 U.S. visa for Lee Teng-hui, 227–28
 Taiwan Relations Act, 3, 185, 192, 205
 Taiwan Semiconductor, 196
 Taiwan Strait, 209, 261
 Chinese flights in, 2
 conflict possibilities in, 210–11
 crisis of, 187–90, 227
 Tanaka Kakuei, apology of, 296n60
 Tang Jiaxuan, 102, 108, 130, 134, 166, 167, 291n54
 Tang, Nancy, 14
 Tang Shiping, 291
 Tanner, Murray Scot, 58
 Taxes, in China, 276n52
 Technology, 103–6, 120, 140, 196
 China and, 6, 16–17
 interactive, 85
 Television, 87–89
 Terrorism, 88, 89, 121, 169, 223, 245, 269
 fears of, receding in U.S., 252
 student visas and, 295n28
 U.S. war on, 253
 Thailand, 113, 119, 122, 129
 Theater missile defense, 246
The Third Wave (Huntington), 54
 Three Gorges Dam, 186

- "Three No's," 190, 243–44
 Thucydides, 4
 Tiananmen Square, 35, 67–68, 73, 77, 81, 90, 93, 103, 141, 144, 154, 160, 162, 164, 224–26
 crisis, 3, 7, 20, 37–38, 44, 53, 61–62, 90, 141, 144, 160, 162, 213, 215, 220, 224, 233–34, 279*n*3, 286*n*11, 305*n*28, 307*n*64
 lessons, 38–75, 160, 164, 166, 206, 215, 220, 222, 223, 227, 233, 258, 305*n*28
 Statue of Goddess of Democracy in, 37
 Tibet, 11, 90, 225, 262
 Time, 83
 Tojo Hideki, 152, 294*n*11
 Tong Zeng, 172
 Toyota, 156
 Trade, 131, 132–34, 293*n*83, 308*n*108. *See also*
 World Trade Organization (WTO)
 of China, 6, 24, 224–25
 deficit, 26–27, 277*n*65
 surplus, 27
 U.S. bilateral, 247–49
 Transparency International, 31–32
 Treaty of Shimonoseki, 153
 "Twenty-One Demands," 154, 230
 Two state theory, of Lee Teng-hui, 192, 194

 Unilateralism, 244
 Union Oil Company of California
 (UNOCAL), 137
 CNOOC bid for, 249–51
 United Nations Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, 224
 United States (U.S.), 102, 106, 212–54. *See also*
 China, and United States
 China as economic rival, 5–6
 China as threat to, 9–10
 China competing with, 17
 China economic interdependence with, 25–28, 247–49
 China influenced by, 261–68
 China relations today, 239–41
 China view by, 219–20
 China's international behavior as priority, 262
 on China's Internet censorship, 93
 as China's largest export market, 5
 China's military budget and, 310*n*9
 China's military perspective on, 75–77
 China's rise influencing, 179–80
 Chinese embassy bombing by, 8, 49, 61, 87, 89, 98, 170, 190, 193, 212, 213, 215, 217–19, 230, 232, 233, 235, 237, 241
 Chinese fighter jet collision, 1, 8, 49, 61, 82, 98, 234–39, 252, 291*n*54, 307*n*73
 CNOOC bid reaction, 249–51
 Hong Kong trade with, 308*n*110
 Hu Jintao and, 243, 251
 Japan and, 149, 155, 168, 264–65
 Japan-China relations influence on, 264–65
 Lee Teng-hui and, 188–89, 227–28
 Li Peng hated by, 221
 military influence on, 237, 262, 263
 overreaction to China's rise, 267–68, 269
 perceptions of China as threat, 247
 preventing war with China, 268–69
 respecting China, 266–67
 strategy to China, 232–33
 Taiwan and, 3, 181–211, 185, 189, 192, 205, 206, 210–11, 246, 260, 265–66
 White Paper response of, 191, 206
 UNOCAL. *See* Union Oil Company of California
 U.S. National Security Strategy, 244
 U.S. Pacific Command, 263
 U.S.-Soviet Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, 245, 247
 Uzbekistan, 120–21

 Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 115–16
 van Kemendade, Willem, 294*n*12
 Vietnam, 11
 Virtual activism, 172–73
 Voice of America, 93
 von Bismarck, Otto, 111

 "Wag the dog," 62, 255
 Wang Dan, 224
 Wang Daohan, 197, 202, 209, 302*n*48
 Wang Guangya, 135
 Wang Jisi, 232, 233, 243
 on U.S.-China relations, 254
 Wang Wei, 236, 237
 Wang Yi, 109–11, 130, 163, 175
 Wang Yizhou, 107
 Wang Zaixi, 204
 Wang Zhiyuan, 284*n*99
 Wars
 miscalculations and, 210–11, 261
 rising powers and, 4
The Washington Quarterly, 57*f*
 Wasserstrom, Jeffrey, 162
 Wei Jingsheng, 224
 Wen Jiabao, 30, 31, 48, 51, 68, 94, 95, 134, 137, 145, 172, 174, 177, 179, 207. *See also*
 Media, in China
 authority of, 202
 India visit by, 117
 peaceful rise and, 108–9
 populism of, 68–69
 White Paper, on Taiwan, 191, 206
 "Win-win," 129
 mentioned in media, 99*f*
 Wired, 16
 Wolfowitz, Paul, 135
World Economic Herald, 286*n*11
 World Health Organization, 33
World News Journal, 87, 203, 238

- World Trade Organization (WTO), 25, 42, 50, 128
 China joining, 132
 China supporting, 11
 failure to sign, 228–31
 trade deficit and, 248
 WTO. *See* World Trade Organization
 Wu Yi, 175
- Xia, Bill, 93
 Xiao Qiang, 90, 91
Xinhuanet, 96
 Xinjiang, 10
 Xu Dunxin, 151
 Xue Lan, 233
- Yamamoto Isoroku, 152
 Yan Xuetong, 87
 Yang Liwei, 16
 Yang Yi, 74
 Yasukuni Shrine, 25, 120, 140, 145, 146, 148, 155,
 157, 160, 161, 163, 165
 Koizumi visiting, 169, 175
 Shinzo Abe, 177–79
Yomiuri Shimbun, 146
 Yuan Weishi, 79
 Yugoslavia. *See also* Chinese embassy
 bombing, in Belgrade; Kosovo war
 bombing by NATO, 228
- Zeng Qinghong, 50, 51, 52, 167
 Zhai Jun, 135
- Zhang Yunling, 129, 130
 Zhao, Dingxin, 306n56
 Zhao Qizheng, 92, 95, 109, 157, 167
 Zhao Suisheng, 62, 189
 o:Zhao Yan, 39
 Zhao Ziyang, 8, 35, 36, 48, 161
 death of, 38
 Zheng Bijian, 30, 108
 peaceful rising, 243
 Zheng Yongnian, 145
 Zhou Enlai, 14, 15, 78, 125, 158, 184. *See also*
 Media, in China
 Zhou Xiaozhen, 244
 Zhou Yongkang, 56
 Zhu Chenghu, 76
 Zhu Rongji, 8, 21, 45, 50, 51, 56, 104, 129, 132,
 133, 169, 201, 202, 229
 Clinton and, 229, 229–30
 criticism for WTO failure, 230
 Falun Gong and, 215
 Japan trip of, 168
 Jiang Zemin supporting, 231
 Summers meeting, 230
 on threats to China, 247
 U.S. visit, 228, 229
 WTO agreement and, 229
 WTO agreement failure, 193
 Zoellick, Robert, 127, 131, 253–54
 Zong Hairen, 301n38