

# Contents

PREFACE xiii

NOTE ON CHINESE SPELLINGS xvii

PROLOGUE 1

CHAPTER 1: The Singularity of China 5

The Era of Chinese Preeminence 8 • Confucianism 13 • Concepts of International Relations: Impartiality or Equality? 16 • Chinese *Realpolitik* and Sun Tzu's *Art of War* 22

CHAPTER 2: The Kowtow Question and the Opium War 33

The Macartney Mission 35 • The Clash of Two World Orders: The Opium War 45 • Qiying's Diplomacy: Soothing the Barbarians 51

CHAPTER 3: From Preeminence to Decline 57

Wei Yuan's Blueprint: "Using Barbarians Against Barbarians," Learning Their Techniques 60 • The Erosion of Authority: Domestic Upheavals and the Challenge of Foreign Encroachments 64 • Managing Decline 69 • The Challenge of Japan 77 • Korea 80 • The Boxer Uprising and the New Era of Warring States 86

CHAPTER 4: Mao's Continuous Revolution 91

Mao and the Great Harmony 92 • Mao and International Relations: The Empty City Stratagem, Chinese Deterrence, and the Quest for Psychological Advantage 97 • The Continuous Revolution and the Chinese People 106

CHAPTER 5: Triangular Diplomacy and the Korean War 113

Acheson and the Lure of Chinese Titoism 118 • Kim Il-sung and the Outbreak of War 122 • American Intervention: Resisting Aggression 129 • Chinese Reactions: Another Approach to Deterrence 133 • Sino-American Confrontation 143



CHAPTER 6: China Confronts Both Superpowers 148

The First Taiwan Strait Crisis 151 • Diplomatic Interlude with the United States 158 • Mao, Khrushchev, and the Sino-Soviet Split 161 • The Second Taiwan Strait Crisis 172

CHAPTER 7: A Decade of Crises 181

The Great Leap Forward 181 • The Himalayan Border Dispute and the 1962 Sino-Indian War 184 • The Cultural Revolution 192 • Was There a Lost Opportunity? 197

CHAPTER 8: The Road to Reconciliation 202

The Chinese Strategy 203 • The American Strategy 213 • First Steps—Clashes at the Ussuri River 215

CHAPTER 9: Resumption of Relations: First Encounters with Mao and Zhou 236

Zhou Enlai 241 • Nixon in China: The Meeting with Mao 255 • The Nixon-Zhou Dialogue 262 • The Shanghai Communiqué 267 • The Aftermath 273

CHAPTER 10: The Quasi-Alliance: Conversations with Mao 275

The “Horizontal Line”: Chinese Approaches to Containment 277 • The Impact of Watergate 292

CHAPTER 11: The End of the Mao Era 294

The Succession Crisis 294 • The Fall of Zhou Enlai 297 • Final Meetings with Mao: The Swallows and the Coming of the Storm 303

CHAPTER 12: The Indestructible Deng 321

Deng’s First Return to Power 322 • The Death of Leaders—Hua Guofeng 327 • Deng’s Ascendance—“Reform and Opening Up” 329

CHAPTER 13: “Touching the Tiger’s Buttocks”:

The Third Vietnam War 340

Vietnam: Confounder of Great Powers 341 • Deng’s Foreign Policy—Dialogue with America and Normalization 348 • Deng’s Journeys 356 • Deng’s Visit to America and the New Definition of Alliance 360 • The Third Vietnam War 367



CHAPTER 14: Reagan and the Advent of Normalcy	377			
Taiwan Arms Sales and the Third Communiqué	381 • China and the Superpowers—The New Equilibrium	387 • Deng's Reform Program	396	
CHAPTER 15: Tiananmen	405			
American Dilemmas	411 • The Fang Lizhi Controversy	428 • The 12- and 24-Character Statements	437	
CHAPTER 16: What Kind of Reform? Deng's Southern Tour	440			
CHAPTER 17: A Roller Coaster Ride Toward Another Reconciliation: The Jiang Zemin Era	447			
China and the Disintegrating Soviet Union	456 • The Clinton Administration and China Policy	461 • The Third Taiwan Strait Crisis	471 • China's Resurgence and Jiang's Reflections	478
CHAPTER 18: The New Millennium	487			
Differences in Perspective	493 • How to Define Strategic Opportunity	497 • The National Destiny Debate—The Triumphant View	503 • Dai Bingguo—A Reaffirmation of Peaceful Rise	508
EPILOGUE: Does History Repeat Itself?				
The Crowe Memorandum	514			
Toward a Pacific Community?	527			
AFTERWORD TO THE PAPERBACK EDITION	531			
NOTES	549			
INDEX	585			