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Michael Pillsbury: The Hundred-Year Marathon Study Guide

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MICHAEL PILLSBURY: THE HUNDRED-YEAR MARATHON STUDY GUIDE, 2015 Steven Alan Samson

INTRODUCTION: WISHFUL THINKING

Outline

- A. HOSTILE PERFORMANCE ART (1-4)
 - 1. Sackler Gallery Exhibit, 2012
 - a. **Cai Guo Qiang**
 - 1) His performance art
 - 2. Exploding Christmas Tree in the Mall
 - a. Symbolized China's invention of gunpowder
 - 1) Months of clean-up
 - b. "Black Christmas Tree"
 - [This passive-aggressive performance could be compared with Lang Lang's performance before Hu Jintao, 2011]
 - 3. First State Department Medal of the Arts
 - a. Cai: "All artists are like diplomats"
 - 4. Author's Investigation of Cai
 - 5. Many of Cai's Fans Are Nationalists Called *Ying Pai* ["Hawks" or "Eagles"]
 - a. They are the real voice of China
 - 6. Hawks' Narrative
 - a. Decline of the United States and rise of a strong China
 - b. Cai's given name, Guo Chiang, means "strong country"
 - c. An early exhibit simulated a car bomb explosion
 - d. He called the 9/11 terror attack a "spectacle" for the world audience
 - e. His favorite book: *Unrestricted Warfare: War and Strategy in the Globalization Era*
 - f. Destruction of a symbol of the Christian faith near the U.S. Capitol
 - 7. The Ignorance of American Officials
- B. WE AMERICANS STILL DON'T SEE CHINA THE WAY IT SEES US (4-7)
 - 1. Ancient Proverb: "Cross the See in Full View" ("Hide in Plain Sight")
 - a. ***Thirty-Six Stratagems*** {e.g., "Kill with a borrowed sword," "Loot a burning house"}
 - 2. The Vocation or Calling of China Experts
 - a. American errors
 - 1) 1950 warning not to come too close to the border
 - 2) Yalu River crossing
 - 3) Misunderstandings
 - a) China's relationship with the Soviet Union
 - b) Overtures to the Nixon administration
 - c) Its intentions regarding student protestors in Tiananmen Square
 - d) Its treatment of the U.S. bombing of a Chinese embassy
 - 3. Many Who Study China Are Taught That It Is a Helpless Victim of Western Imperialists
 - a. Need for atonement
 - 4. This Perspective Has Colored the U.S. Government's Approach to Dealing with China
 - 5. It Has Influenced Our Translations
 - a. Essential ambiguity of the Chinese language
 - b. Organization of Chinese dictionaries
 - c. Tones and pitches

- 1) The language is spoken loudly to make tonal differences audible
- d. Few sounds are used for syllables
- 6. The Language's Very Complexity Is like a Secret Code
 - a. Difficulty of translating elliptical phrases and elliptical comments
 - b. Most China experts speak little Chinese
 - c. Vaguely phrased expressions of Chinese hawks were obscure references to ancient history
- 7. Policy of "**Constructive Engagement**"
 - a. Author's role in this policy
- 8. Every One of the Assumptions behind that Believe Was Wrong
- C. FALSE ASSUMPTION #1: ENGAGEMENT BRINGS COMPLETE COOPERATION (7)
 - 1. "Engagement" with China Has Not Led to Cooperation
 - 2. Chinese Obstruction in Afghanistan, Sudan, and North Korea
 - 3. Refusal to Cooperate in Checking the Nuclear Ambitions of North Korea and Iran
 - 4. Limited Cooperation in Confronting the "Common Danger" of Terrorism
 - a. Unresponsive to President Bush's proposed "easing old rivalries"
- D. FALSE ASSUMPTION #2: CHINA IS ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY (8-9)
 - 1. Evolution of the Political System
 - a. Aaron Friedberg
 - b. James Mann
 - c. Assessment by the European Council on Foreign Relations: emergence of a system of "authoritarian capitalism"
 - d. Andrew Nathan: authoritarian resilience
 - 2. Alleged Seeds of Democracy
 - 3. Author's Faith First Shaken in 1997
 - a. Village election near Dongguan
 - 1) Unwritten rules of the game stifled competition
 - 2) China hawks had done away with true elections
- E. FALSE ASSUMPTION #3: CHINA, THE FRAGILE FLOWER (9-10)
 - 1. U.S. Delegation in 1996 That Included Robert Ellsworth
 - 2. China Was Described to Be in Economic and Political Peril
 - 3. Other Groups of Americans Received Identical Messages about China's Coming Decline
 - a. RAND Corporation study
 - b. Message: Don't press China too hard
 - 4. China's Robust GDP
- F. FALSE ASSUMPTION #4: CHINA WANTS TO BE—AND IS—JUST LIKE US (10-12)
 - 1. American Hubris
 - 2. 1940s Study of the **Chinese Mind-set**: Nathan Leites Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead
 - a. Indirect action favored [cf. Basil Liddell-Hart's *On Strategy*]
 - b. Deception prized [cf. Islamic *taqiyyah*]
 - 3. **Nathan Leites**
 - a. Chinese literature on strategy
 - b. Need for the "**sage**" [Confucian concept] to penetrate deception to find the hidden signals in reality
 - 4. Original Study Never Published
 - a. Conclusions were essentially correct
 - b. Chinese Strategic Culture Promotion Society formed by two *ying pai* generals
- G. FALSE ASSUMPTION #5: CHINA'S HAWKS ARE WEAK (12-14)
 - 1. Author's Examination of Chinese Deception
 - 2. Alternative Narrative of the Past Four Decades
 - a. Proposals by **ying pai**
 - b. Plan became known as the **Hundred-Year Marathon**
 - 1) Goal: Avenge or "wipe clean" (*xi xue*) past foreign humiliations
 - 2) Revise U.S.-dominated economic and geopolitical world order founded at Bretton Woods (World Trade Organization) and San Francisco (United Nations)

- c . New world order
- 3. Colleagues' Initial Disbelief
 - a. George Tenet's support
 - b. Chinese government had long portrayed itself as a backward nation in need of assistance for its "peaceful rise"
 - 1) Assurance that China will never become a "**hegemon**" [strategist, general, leader]
- 4. China's Ideological Allies in the West
- 5. Suppression of Countervailing Evidence
 - a. "Panda Huggers"
- 6. Dismissal of Chinese Nationalism as out of the Mainstream
 - a. Bias of wishful thinking
 - b. Inner circle of **Xi Jinping**
 - c. Hu Xijin's hostility to the moderates
- H. THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST HAVE HELPED THE CHINESE ACCOMPLISH THEIR GOALS FROM THE BEGINNING (14-16)
 - 1. Author's Credentials
 - a. Access to China's Military and Intelligence Communities
 - b. Two Academic books
 - 2. Hardline Views Are in the Mainstream of Chinese Geostrategic Thought
 - a. Unvarnished views of senior policymakers
 - b. Liberal thinkers
 - 3. Challenge for Western Policymakers
 - a. How to penetrate the cloak of secrecy
 - b. Recent signs that a more militaristic China may be ascendant
 - 4. The West Has Helped China Accomplish Its Goals from the Beginning
 - a. World Bank
 - 1) 1983 meeting with Deng Xiaoping
 - b. Hanging over sensitive information
 - 5. The Marathon Operates Through Stealth
 - 6. Shift in Chinese Attitudes between 2012 and 2014
 - a. Acknowledgement of a Chinese-led world order
 - 7. Long Term Goal of Restoring China to its Proper Place in the World
 - a. America's greatest intelligence failure

Review

Cai Guo Qiang
Chinese mind-set
ying pai
Xi Jinping

Thirty-Six Stratagems
Norman Leites
Hundred-Year Marathon

Constructive Engagement
sage
hegemon

CHAPTER ONE: THE CHINA DREAM

Outline

- A. **FUXING ZHI LU** (17)
 - 1. Xi Jinping: The Road to Renewal
- B. DARWINIAN STRUGGLE OF THE SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY (17-21)
 - 1. Mao's Ten-Story Obelisk at Tiananmen Square
 - 2. Monument to the People's Heroes
 - a. **Century of Humiliation**
 - b. **First Opium War**
 - c. Century of popular resistance, Western occupation, and guerrilla warfare

3. Perfect Symbol of the Relationship between China and the United States
 4. China's Place at the Top of the Global Hierarchy
 - a. "Sick Man of East Asia"
 - 1) Chen Tianhua's reaction
 5. Fascination with the Works of **Charles Darwin** and Thomas Huxley, "Darwin's Bulldog"
 - a. Competition and **survival of the fittest**
 - b. Yan Fu's error
 - 1) Natural selection translated as "elimination" (*tao tai*)
 - 2) Weak are devoured by the strong
 - c. **Sun Yat-sen**
 - 1) Racial survival and resistance to the threat of racial extinction
 6. Mao's Belief in the Struggle of Two Races
 - a. Chinese Communist strategic thought
 7. Long March
 - a. Ancient Statecraft Manual
 - 1) *General Mirror for the Aid of Government*
 - 2) Stratagems of the Warring States period
 - b. Confucius: "There cannot be two suns in the sky."
 8. Book Was Not Translated into English
 - a. Harrison Salisbury disclosed its use as a textbook
 - b. Its lessons taught in high school
 9. Mao: "Socialism will triumph as the fittest"
 - a. **Great Leap Forward**
 10. American Bias and Prejudice
 - a. Chinese seen as reclusive people
 - b. Little foreign investment
 - c. Campaign to kill sparrows
 11. U.S. Officials Disbelieved Reports That China Was Dissatisfied with Being the Junior Partner
 - a. First clues about the Marathon came from Moscow
- C. TWO SOVIET DEFECTORS (21-23)
1. Public Deference to the Soviet Union
 - a. Soviets sent a false message
 2. **Anatoliy Golitsyn**
 - a. Defection
 - b. Influence on the U.S. diplomatic and intelligence communities
 3. Credibility
 - a. **Kim Philby**
 4. Golitsyn's Conspiracy Theories
 - a. Harold Wilson
 - b. He scotched rumors of a serious rupture between China and the Soviets
 5. Defection of **Yuri Nosenko**
 - a. News of a serious Sino-Soviet Rift
 - b. Border clashes
 - c. Testimony against Golitsyn
 6. Quandary
 - a. Intelligence community chose not to believe Nosenko
 7. Gradual Reassessment of Nosenko
- D. INTELLIGENCE GATHERING (23-27)
1. Two Things on the Intelligence Community Wish List
 - a. An asset in the KGB
 - b. Individual with the high level access to the Politburo
 2. Author Was a Graduate Student Working at the UN Secretariat in 1969
 - a. His security clearance
 3. First Assignment as a Spy
 4. Task: Gather Intelligence from Soviet Sources on the Possibility of a Rupture

- a. Henry Kissinger
- 5. ESAU and POLO Reports
 - a. NSC staff was divided over whether to try to improve relations with China
- 6. IRON BARK Operation
 - a. Classified Soviet documents revealed worries about China as a military threat
 - b. Three FBI operations
- 7. Secretariat Offices
 - a. Arkady Schevchenko
- 8. Reports of Chinese Atrocities
 - a. Ambush of Soviet troops
 - b. Played the part of weaklings
- 9. Supercomputer Joke
- 10. Yevgeny Kutovoy
 - a. Deviousness of the Chinese
- 11. Chinese Historical Ambition
 - a. Russian warning against providing military aid
- 12. Such a Chinese dream seemed unrealistic
- 13. "Kill with a Borrowed Sword"
 - a. Others used as tools for Chinese advancement
- E. THE CHINA DREAM (27-30)
 - 1. Xi Jinping
 - a. *Qiang zhongguo meng* (strong national dream)
 - 2. General Chinese Avoidance of Emotion-Laden Sentiments
 - a. Goal of 2049
 - 3. Nationalist "Super Hawks" in the Military
 - 4. Reference to ***The China Dream***
 - a. **Liu Mingfu**
 - 5. The **Hundred Year Marathon**
 - a. Soviet Union's failure to supplant the United States
 - b. Rejuvenation of restoration (***fluxing***) appears to be synonymous with Marathon
 - 6. China as the most Virtuous Ruler
 - 7. The Book in the Original Mandarin
 - a. Study America's weaknesses and prepare to strike
 - b. Official Marathon strategy
 - c. Recommended reading
 - 8. **Zhao Tingyang**
 - a. *The Under-Heaven System*
 - 1) *Tianxia*
 - b. William A. Callahan
 - c. Barbarian wilderness
 - 9. ***The Rites of Zhou***
 - a. Four-to-one military superiority prescribed
 - b. America between 1860 and 1940 compared
 - c. China hawks studied the American strategy

Review

<i>fluxing zhi lu</i>	century of humiliation	First Opium War
Charles Darwin	survival of the fittest	Sun Yat-sen
Great Leap Forward	Anatoliy Golitsyn	Kim Philby
Yuri Nosenko	<i>The China Dream</i>	Liu Mingfu
Hundred Year Marathon	Zhao Tingyang	<i>The Rites of Zhou</i>

CHAPTER TWO: WARRING STATES

Outline

- A. STRATEGIC FOCUS ON LESSONS FROM THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (31-33)
 - 1. China's Rich History
 - a. Warring rivalries within geographic boundaries
 - b. Fourteen imperial dynasties
 - c. **Ying pai hawks**
 - 2. Five Centuries of Political Struggles
 - a. P
 - 1) Seven feuding states
 - b. *Ba* (hegemon)
 - c. Coalitions
 - 3. *Ying Pai* Strategists
 - a. Lessons drawn from the **Warring States period**
 - b. Our ignorance of China's strategic thinking
 - 4. America's Ignorance: Two Factors
 - a. Visitors led to accept fabricated account of Chinese history
 - 1) Chinese sources played up the Confucian, pacifist nature of Chinese culture and played down – and in some cases fully omitted any reference to – the bloody Warring States period
 - b. Mao's campaign to "Destroy the Four Olds and Cultivate the Four News"
 - 5. Chinese Strategy: A Product of Lessons Derived from the Warring States Period
 - a. *Tao quang, yang hui*: Allusion to overturning the hegemon and exacting revenge
 - b. NOTE: American preconceptions are evidence of the groupthink problem
- B. DISCUSSING THE ELEMENTS OF CHINESE STRATEGY (33-38)
 - 1. China Scholars
 - a. Most lacked access to planning documents and defectors
 - b. Author sees the hawks as mainstream
 - 2. Restricted Assays by Top Generals and Strategists
 - a. Warring States mindset is dominant
 - b. Author's access to restricted bookstores
 - 3. Increase in Chinese authors that draw lessons from the Warring States period
 - a. Maj. Gen. Li Binyan
 - b. Conference on **Sun Tzu's Art of War**
 - c. Author was surprised to see two things in 2013
 - 4. The Authors have formed Associations and Research Units
 - 5. *Stratagems of the Warring States*
 - a. Manual for statecraft
 - b. Projected series of books
 - 6. More Than Strategy
 - a. **Nine Principal Elements**
 - 1) **Induce complacency** to avoid alerting your opponent
 - 2) Manipulate your opponent's advisors
 - 3) Be patient – for decades or longer – to achieve victory
 - 4) Steal your opponent's ideas and technology for strategic purposes
 - 5) Military might is not the critical factor for winning a long-term competition
 - 6) Recognize that the hegemon will take extreme, even reckless action to retain its dominant position
 - 7) Never lose sight of **shi**
 - a) Deceive others into doing your bidding and wait for the point of maximum opportunity to strike
 - 8) Establish and employ metrics for measuring your status relative to other potential challengers
 - 9) Always be vigilant to avoid being encircled or deceived by others

- a) Strategic fear of **encirclement**
 - b) **Wei qi**: Chinese board game
 - 7. Strategic Planning Role of High-Ranking Military Personnel
 - a. Different from the American system
 - b. Modern China's first foreign minister was a general
 - c. Opening with the United States
 - d. A weapons designer developed China's **one-child policy** in 1979
 - e. *On Grand Strategy*
 - f. Energy resource management
 - g. Military science and technology plan
 - 8. Author's Immersion in Mandarin Language Training at Taiwan National University
 - a. Immersion into the best classical writing in Chinese history
 - 1) Proverbs and stories
 - b. Two opposite patterns
 - 1. Confucian
 - 2. Ruthless world of hegemony [Legalism]
 - 3. *Wai ru, nei fa*: On the outside, be benevolent; on the inside, be ruthless
- C. "NEVER ASK THE WEIGHT OF THE EMPEROR'S CAULDRONS"
- 1. Tale of the **Emperor's Cauldrons**
 - 2. Rising Powers Manipulate the Perceptions of the Dominant World Power
 - 3. Successful rising induced complacency in the old emperor
 - a. Point of maximum opportunity
 - b. True aims revealed only at the end
 - 4. Wisest challengers often persuaded the emperor to assist
 - a. Emperor's advisors targeted
 - 5. Natural world order is hierarchical
 - 6. Multipolar world seen as a strategic waypoint
 - a. **Da tong**: Era of unipolar dominance
 - 7. Chinese Invention of **Mercantilism** (*zhong-shang*)
 - 8. Fear of a Crisis of Insufficiency
 - 9. Success Requires Extreme Patience
 - a. America's comparative short-sightedness
 - b. China's leaders make plans that span generations
 - 10. Stealing Codes and Technology
 - a. Provided directly to Chinese corporate leaders
 - 11. Contrast with the American Model for National Intelligence Services
 - 12. Contrasting Views about the Optimum Size of Military Forces
 - a. America's greatest triumphs achieved through large armies
 - 13. Long-Term Non-Violent Competition during the Warring States Period
 - a. Chinese interpretation of the Soviet Union collapse
 - 14. Military Spending
 - a. Global power protection forces forsworn by China
 - b. Small arsenal of nuclear warheads
 - c. Investment in **asymmetric systems**
 - 1) Ant-satellite technology
 - 2) Means to counter stealth bombers
 - 3) Cyber intrusion
 - d. Missiles based on stolen American technology
 - 15. Self-Enforced Constraints
 - 1) Avoidance of prematurely provoking the American hegemon
 - 16. Single Fundamental Difference in the American and Chinese views
 - a. China's distrust is based on deeply held cultural axioms
- D. HEART OF CHINESE STRATEGY IS *SHI* (42-47)
- 1. **Shi**
 - a. Alignment of forces or the propensity of things to happen
 - b. America's lack of recognition of the potential exploitation of *shi* is dooming its

- strategy
- 2. Mystical Forces
 - a. **Sun Tzu**
 - b. Tom Sawyer analogy
 - c. **Wu wei**: Get other nations to do your work for you
- 3. Almost Mystical Fatalism
 - a. Shaping a situation
 - b. **Duty of “the sage”**
- 4. Western Scholars
 - a. Roger Ames on *The Art of Rulership*
 - b. Francois Jullien
- 5. Jullien’s Defense by PLA Authors
- 6. Appearance of This Conception of *Shi* in Internal Government Writing
- 7. Influence of Taoism
 - a. *Yin-yang* symbol
 - b. Tipping points
- 8. Uses of the Concepts
 - a. Eventuating or shaping a situation
 - b. Incommensurability
- 9. Mao on Chinese Strategy
 - a. Failure of Chinese leaders to read *shi* correctly with the USSR in the 1950s
 - b. Vow not to repeat the same mistake with the United States
- 10. Coaxing the United States into Providing Technology
- 11. **Grand Strategy**: Encircling the Enemy While Undermining His Coalition
 - a. Strategist: Horizontal-vertical expert
 - 1) Coalition with Qin
 - 2) Opposing vertical alliance
 - 3) Deception broke apart the vertical alliance
- 12. **Wei Qi**: Encirclement Board
 - a. First key to victory: Lull into complacency
 - b. Secondary key: Deception concerning one’s real direction and intentions
- 13. America is Being Played
- 14. **Henry Kissinger**
 - a. His more recent acknowledgement of *shi* in *On China*
 - 1) Art of understanding matters in flux
 - 2) Combative coexistence
- 15. 1979 Chinese Attack on Vietnam
 - a. Deng’s aim
- 16. *Shi* Is Crucial to Understanding How Chinese Strategists Assess the Balance of Power
- 17. Misleading Popular Image of Ancient Wisdom
 - a. **Herbert Goldhammer**, RAND Corporation
 - 1) The ancients’ use of quantitative calculations
- 18. Precision with Which Chinese Measure Global Strength and Natural Progress
 - a. Greater emphasis put on economics, foreign investment, technological innovation, and natural resources
- 19. Summary
 - a. America’s policymakers have no idea they are being used
- E. BATTLE OF RED CLIFF (47-51)
 - 1. **Battle of Red Cliff**: One of The Most Frequently Cited Examples of *shi*
 - a. Seminal moment in China’s military history
 - 2. North vs. South
 - a. **Cao Cao**
 - b. **Zhuge Liang**
 - c. *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*
 - 3. Zhou Yu
 - a. Purloined letter

- b. Cao Cao has his two best officers executed
 - 4. Pang Tong
 - a. Pretended defection
 - b. Linking of the ships
 - 5. East Wind at the Critical Moment
 - 6. God of War Celebrated
 - a. Cao Cao's flight
 - 7. Final Deception
 - 8. The Long Series of Deceptions Finally Destroyed Cao Cao
- F. IMPLICATIONS AND APPLICATIONS
 - 1. Brilliant Sequence of Techniques
 - a. Strategy of "Wait and See"
 - b. Espionage helps define propensity
 - 2. Confusion and Suspicion about American Intentions

Review

<i>ying pai</i> hawks	Warring States period	Sun Tzu
nine principal elements	<i>shi</i>	encirclement
<i>wei qi</i>	one-child policy	Emperor's Cauldrons
<i>da tong</i>	mercantilism	asymmetric systems
<i>wu wei</i>	duty of the "sage"	grand strategy
Henry Kissinger	Herbert Goldhammer	Cao Cao
Zhuge Liang		

CHAPTER THREE: ONLY CHINA COULD GO TO NIXON

Outline

- A. MAO'S INVITATIONS (52-56)
 - 1. **Richard Nixon's** Opening of Relations with China in 1971
 - 2. It Was Not Initiated by Nixon
 - 3. Beijing's Strategy of Improvisation
 - 4. Espionage: Larry Wu-Tai Chin
 - 5. American Lack of Access to Internal Chinese Policy Documents
 - a. Open-source information
 - 6. No Release of Official Internal Recordings Is Ever Expected
 - a. Consistent Strategic Approaches Acknowledged by Chinese Scholars
 - 7. China Sought a New Benefactor in the Late 1960s
 - 8. The Military Secretly Designed China's Opening to America
 - a. Four Army Marshals
 - b. Belief that American intended watch a fight between two tigers
 - 9. Marshal **Chen Yi**
 - a. Study of **Stalin/Hitler Non-Aggression Pact** [Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact], 1939
 - 10. Ye Jianying Cited the **Red Cliff Strategy**
 - a. Strategic guiding principle: Ally with Wu in the east to oppose Wei in the north
 - 11. American Fear of a Soviet Conquest of China
 - 12. No Preconditions
 - 13. Invitation to Nixon via Secret Message
 - 14. Mao's Striking Example of Identifying and Harvesting *Shi*
 - a. 1969 battle at the border of Xinjiang
 - b. Author Heard the Soviet Version of the Attack of the UN
 - 15. Mao's Actions Accelerated the Shift
 - a. Invitation to Nixon

- b. H-Bomb tests near the Soviet border
 - 16. Invitation to Edgar Snow
 - a. Welcome extended to Nixon
- B. FACTORS THAT LED TO ACCEPTANCE (56-58)
 - 1. Sharp Split on China
 - a. Fear of a Soviet overreaction
 - b. Warning by four ambassadors
 - c. Delay of the opening to China
 - d. Author's reports from the Soviets
 - 2. Author's Role in Breaking the Deadlock
 - a. Contention that the Sino-Soviet split was genuine
 - 3. Other Factors That Persuaded Kissinger and Nixon
 - a. Ted Kennedy's effort to visit
 - b. Kissinger's secret trip
 - c. China's Involvement in the Vietnam War
 - 1) Reduction of military aid and Soviet shipments
 - 2) Mao's assurance
- C. OPENING BIDS (58-60)
 - 1. Kissinger's Historic Secret Visit to China, July 1971
 - a. Chinese Coyness
 - 2. October Trip
 - a. Six key issues on the substantive agenda
 - 1) Kissinger's warning
 - 3. **Zhou Enlai** Refers to America as the *Ba*
 - a. This was translated as "leader"
 - b. ***Ba*** is more accurately translated as "**tyrant**"
 - c. There were five who rose and fell as each new challenger out-foxed the old *ba*
 - 4. Author's Meeting with Ambassador Ji Chaozhu
 - a. The deception: Why Kissinger was not told the truth
 - 5. False Assumption of Building a Permanent, Cooperative Relationship
 - a. Covert assistance
 - b. Access to the News of Anti-American Hawks Might Have Alerted Washington
 - c. RAND Warning
 - 6. Two Tactical Covert Offers
 - a. Kissinger gave China detailed classified information about Indian troop movements against Pakistan
 - b. Alexander Haig offers to "neutralize" Soviet threats along China's border
- D. FIVE MORE COVERT AFFAIRS IN CHINA (61-65)
 - 1. Portrait of China as a Harmless, Vulnerable Suppliant Desperate for Aid and Protection
 - 2. Question of Whether the West's "Anti-Hegemony" Was a Ruse
 - a. Nixon's offer
 - 3. China Given Nuclear Targeting Information
 - 4. Mao Proposes an Anti-Soviet Axis
 - a. **Counter-encirclement** is a classic warring states approach
 - 5. Little Suspicion of China's Strategy
 - 6. **Shanghai Communiqué**
 - a. Neither party would seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region
 - 7. Nixon's Desire for a Symbolic Trip Wire
 - a. Comparable to U.S. troop deployments in South Korea and West Germany
 - 8. Kissinger Provided a Timeline for this Strategy
 - a. Period of greatest danger to China, 1974-1976
 - 9. Most Favored Nation Status: Parity with the Soviet Union
 - a. Willingness to raise the ante
 - 10. Nixon Circumvents U.S. Law to Provide Technology to China via Britain
 - 11. The Most Sensitive Covert Offer
 - a. Internal debate

- b. Author's top-secret access to Kissinger's conversations
 - c. Fred Iklé
 - 12. Discussion of a Hotline
 - a. Secret early warning information about Soviet military actions against China
 - b. Possibility of selling hardware and technology
 - c. Proposed beginning of a military supply relationship
 - 13. Chinese Initially Balked
 - 14. The Risk That Nixon and Kissinger Took
 - a. Winston Lord's warning overruled
- E. CHANGING OF THE GUARD (65-66)
 - 1. Rise of **Deng Xiaoping**
 - 2. Deng's Critical View of Mao's "Reform" Techniques
 - a. Mao had cost China thirty years in its campaign to surpass the American *ba*
 - 3. His View That China Had Bet on the Wrong Horse
 - 4. Deng's Favorite Admonition
 - a. *Tao guang yang hui* [Hide your ambitions and build your capability]
 - 5. His Reference to a Story from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*
 - a. First Vignette: Cao Cao's Defeat of Liu Bei
- F. HEROES (66-68)
 - 1. Story of Asking the **Weight of the Emperor's Cauldrons**
 - 2. A Story of Actively Deceiving the Enemy to Mark One's True Ambitions
 - a. Liu Bei meets with Cao Cao
 - 3. Liu Bei Asked to Identify Heroes
 - 4. Liu Bei's Opportunity to Conceal Historic Ambitions
- G. GETTING THE WEST TO SUPPLY THE TECHNOLOGY (68-70)
 - 1. U.S. Concessions
 - a. CIA's clandestine assistance to the Dalai Lama cut off
 - b. Routine Patrols through the Taiwan Strait concealed
 - 2. Author's Attitude Advocating Military Ties
 - a. Richard Holbrooke
 - b. Attack by the Soviet Press
 - 3. Ronald Reagan
 - 4. Movement Toward Normalization of Relations in 1978
 - a. **Wu wei** – having others do your work
 - b. Need for massive scientific and technological development
 - 1. Shortcut: Take what the Americans have
- H. CARTER ERA (70-72)
 - 1. Carter's Delegation of Scientists
 - a. Frank Press
 - b. Michel Oksenberg
 - 1. Deng's Intellectual Curiosity
 - 2. China Kept Tight Control over its Scientists Going to the U.S.
 - a. Proposed Scientific Exchanges
 - 3. Deng's 1979 Visit to the U.S.
 - a. Nixon Invited
 - 4. Deng in the Ten-Gallon Hat
 - 5. Agreement to Speed-up Scientific Exchanges
 - a. Greatest Outgoing of American Scientific and Technological Expertise
 - 6. U.S. National Academy of Science
 - 7. Kissinger on Carter's Informal Collusion
 - 8. Presidential Directive 43
 - a. **Technology transfer** in education, energy, agriculture, space, geosciences, commerce, and public health
 - b. Most-favored nation status
 - 9. **Intelligence Sharing**
 - a. Signals intelligence collection sites

- I. REAGAN ERA COOPERATION (72-78)
 1. Reagan Administration
 - a. Presidential transition team
 - b. Alexander Haig
 - 1) Offer to Sell Weapons
 2. NSDD 11 and 12
 3. Reagan's Skepticism
 - a. NSDD 140
 4. Reagan's Caveat
 - a. Ignored by Reagan's advisors and by Reagan
 5. Funding to Chinese Government-Run Institutes
 - a. Chinese Military Delegation to the **Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency** [DARPA]
 - 1) Agency that invented the Internet, cyber operations, and other high-tech programs
 6. Covert Military Cooperation
 - a. Afghan Rebels
 - b. Khmer Rouge
 - c. Angola
 7. Perceived Need to Play Strategic *Wei Qi* to Head off Soviet Encirclement
 8. Late 1970s Chestnut Program
 - a. Monitoring Stations airlifted to China
 - b. Advance in security prior to the Soviet-backed Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
 9. Requirements of *Shi* led Deng to Accept Significant Aid from the Hegemon
 - a. Need to break the Soviet "pincers" in Afghanistan and Vietnam
 10. Sino-American Cambodian Program Based in Bangkok 1982-1989
 - a. Eleventh Offer of Assistance to China
 - b. Role of USAID
 - c. Project 328
 - d. Lee Kuan Yew
 11. Chief Focus Shifted to Afghanistan after 1984
 12. US Did Not Understand *Shi* and Counter-encirclement at the Time
 - a. China became a major arms supplier to America's efforts to aid the Afghan rebels
 - 1) Discovery by Joe DeTrani
 13. Rep. **Charlie Wilson**
 14. Reagan Treated China as a Full Strategic Partner in Secret
 15. Fred Iklé
 16. Author's Duty
 - a. Visits to rebel leaders
 - b. NSDD 166
 17. Chinese Cleared Huge Profit Margins on Weapons
 18. A Few Lessons about **Chinese Strategy toward a Declining Hegemon**
 - a. Identify key vulnerabilities to exploit
 - 1) Raise the cost of empire for the Soviets
 - 2) Stingers
 - b. *Wu wei*: Persuade others to do the fighting [cf. Tom Sawyer]
 - c. Attack the allies of the declining hegemon
 19. Two Additional Steps Proposed
 - a. Ruthlessness of Beijing's ambition to bring down the Soviets
 20. The American Side Declined These Requests
 21. Expansionism of Aid to Include American Weapons
 - a. Major weapons systems
 - b. Eight national research centers
 - c. Ten Thousand Projects

- J. CRITICAL YEAR: 1989
1. 1989: Turning Point
 2. Countering the Enemy's Attempts at Encirclement
 - a. What Deng revealed to George H. W. Bush

Review

Richard Nixon	Chen Yi	Red Cliff strategy
Stalin/Hitler non-aggression pact	Zhou Enlai	<i>Ba</i> as tyrant
counter-encirclement	Shanghai Communiqué	Deng Xiaoping
weight of the emperor's cauldrons	Liu Bei	<i>wu wei</i>
technology transfer	intelligence sharing	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)
Charlie Wilson	Chinese strategy toward a declining hegemon	

CHAPTER FOUR: MR. WHITE AND MS. GREEN

Outline

- A. TIANANMEN SQUARE, 1989 (80-83)
1. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney
 - a. Author's meeting with Deng
 2. Student Demonstrations in **Tiananmen Square**
 3. Permission to Visit Given by Ambassador Peter Tomsen
 - a. Farewell cable of Ambassador Winston Lord
 4. **George H. W. Bush**
 5. Gist of Ambassador Lord's Cable
 6. Reaction of Col. Larry Wortzel
 - a. Predicted army intervention
 7. Reformers Inside the Communist Party
 - a. Arrests defectors exile
 8. Memorial Service for the Deposed Communist Party Leader **Hu Yaobang**
[The occasion for 100,000 students descending on the Square]
 - a. Goddess of Democracy
 - b. Hunger strike on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's state visit
 9. Americans Regarded Deng as the Reformer
 10. Conversations with **Liu Xiaobo**
 - a. Later arrest for signing **Charter 08**
 - b. Nobel Peace Prize
 11. Deng Declares Martial Law
 - a. Tanks, gunfire, clubbing
- B. CHINESE POWER STRUGGLE (83-87)
1. Many Reformers Put Under Permanent House Arrest Following the Crackdown
 - a. Censorship: Closure of newspapers, social science periodicals, and publishing companies
 2. Bush Administration Reaction
 - a. Nixon's advice
 3. Danger of Growing Pro-American Sentiment
 4. The *Ying Pai* Warned of American "Spiritual Pollution"
 5. Protests Regarded as the Result of a U.S. Psychological Operation
 - a. Deng's paranoia
 6. Result: Collapse at Liberalizing Trends
 - a. Deng strong themed the role of headliners
 - b. Systematic purge of reformers
 - c. **Zhao Ziyang** [former premier and Hu's successor as party chief] placed under

- house arrest for the rest of his life
- 1) **Andrew Nathan's** revelations in *The Tiananmen Papers*
- 7. Views of China Supporters in the Bush Administration
- 8. Author's Gullibility
 - a. Everyone had been taught the lessons of the classic intelligence failures of the Cold War
 - 1) Chinese intervention in Korea
 - 2) Soviet Missiles in Cuba
 - 3) The Shah of Iran
- 9. All Sources and Defectors Testified to Liberalization
 - a. Warnings from defectors were ignored
- 10. An Unusual High-Level Defector
- 11. Discussion with "**Mr. White**"
- 12. Skepticism about His New Intelligence
- 13. Three-Year Power Struggle
 - a. Sweeping effort of the hawks to crush pro-American sentiment
 - b. Mr. White's hope that we would somehow help the real reformers
- 14. Secret Meetings Focusing on How to Revive Confucius as a National Hero
 - a. Deng's audacious plan for spreading the hawks' views of Chinese nationalism
- 15. **Ideological Reeducation** Following the Communist Takeover
 - a. Was Communist ideology being discarded in favor of hyper nationalism?
- C. **CONFLICTING VIEWPOINTS (87-90)**
 - 1. "**Ms. Green**"
 - a. Higher demands
 - b. Higher purported access
 - 1) **Jiang Zemin**
 - 2) Elvis Presley [with Andropov the *glasnost* was his love of jazz]
 - 2. Question of Verifying Her Credibility
 - 3. Her Fluent English and Optimism
 - 4. The Consensus Opted for Ms. Green
 - 5. Author Again Visits Mr. White
 - 6. **Patriotic Education Program**
 - a. The "**century of national humiliation**" would be chronicled
 - b. "Our leaders will smear you"
 - c. "Two birds with one stone"
 - d. "Shi has shifted"
 - 7. A Lost Opportunity for a Shift
 - a. President Bush Clung to Old Misconceptions
 - b. No one Praised **Zhao Ziyang** or Hu Yaobang
 - 8. Author's Optimism at the Time
 - 9. Interview of Exiled Party Officials in Paris
 - a. Ten-Point platform
 - 1) Yan Jiaqi
 - b. Their stories were too little, too late
 - 10. Bush Hardened the Pentagon to Complete a Promised Delivery of Military Supplies
 - 11. Bill Clinton Promised More Hard-Nosed Approach
- D. **CLINTON ADMINISTRATION (90-92)**
 - 1. Clinton's Four Visits to Taiwan
 - 2. He Attacked Bush for Coddling "The Butchers of Beijing"
 - a. Warren Christopher
 - b. Winston Lord
 - c. Conditions placed on China
 - 3. White House Invitation to Chinese Dissidents
 - 4. Mr. White Alleged That Chinese Intelligence Operatives Devised a Strategy to Build a Pro-China Coalition
 - a. Internal split in the administration

- 1) Tony Lake, Sandy Berger, Robert Rubin, Laura Tyson, and Larry Summers were viewed favorably
5. Every Effort Was Made by China to Bolster This Faction
 - a. Commercial deals were dangled before influential businessmen
6. "The **Clinton Coup**"
 - a. No new meetings with the Dalai Lama
 - b. "Friends of China"
7. Everything Seemed to Be Back on Track
- E. CHINESE EMBASSY BOMBING (92-96)
 1. Belgrade Warehouse #1 Bombed on May 7
 2. Mr. White Contacted for His Forecast
 3. Few Foresaw the Magnitude of What Was to Come
 4. Mr. White Concluded It Offered an Irresistible Opportunity to Implement **Hypernationalism**
 - a. Riots
 - b. Amb. James Sasser under siege
 - c. China would view it as a probe
 5. Sasser Trapped at his Office
 6. Gasoline Bombs Hurlled Through Broken Windows
 7. Staging of the Protests
 8. Four Demands by Tang Jiaxuan
 9. Clinton's Repeated Apologies
 10. Shock within the National Security Community
 - a. U.S. Compared with Nazi Germany
 11. Propaganda Posters
 12. No Reassessment of the Strategy toward China Was Forthcoming
 13. Classified Minutes of an Emergency Politburo Meeting Obtained in 2001
 - a. **Jiang Zemin**
 - b. Li Peng
 - c. Li Lanqing
 14. Not a Single Leader Came to America's Defense
- F. DISINFORMATION (96-98)
 1. Revelations Did Little to Shake our Complacency and Optimism
 - a. *Jianshao wuhui, zengjia xinren*
 2. Visit to the CIA Translation Center
 - a. Instructions not to translate the nationalistic stuff
 3. Author's Confidence in China's Future Was Not Yet Dispelled
 - a. Other channels of information
 4. Ms. Green's Exposure
 5. FBI Inspector General's Report

Review

Tiananmen Square	George H. W. Bush	Hu Yaobang
Liu Xiaobo	Charter 08	Zhao Ziyang
Andrew Nathan	Mr. White	ideological reeducation
Ms. Green	Jiang Zemin	patriotic education program
century of national humiliation	Clinton coup	hypernationalism

CHAPTER FIVE: AMERICA, THE GREAT SATAN

Outline

- A. REIMAGINING OF AMERICA (99-101)

1. June 4, 1989: **Turning Point**
 - a. Hawks distorted what was going on in order to panic Deng
 2. Thesis: America Viewed as a Dangerous Hegemon
 3. America was Earlier Portrayed in Favorable Light
 4. Another Geopolitical Earthquake
 - a. Collapse of the Soviet Union
 - 1) It shook Beijing
 - 2) Tiananmen Square viewed as “sowing discord in the enemy camp”
 5. Consequences of the **Purge of Pro-American Reformers**
 6. Creation of an Alternative History of Sino-American Relations
 - a. Feigned surprise at anti-American attacks
 7. New Narrative about the United States
- B. VISIT TO THE CHINESE NATIONAL MUSEUM, 2013 (101-104)
1. Mr. White had Predicted Revival of Distorted Versions of American History
 - a. **Wang Chun** textbook, 1951
 2. Visit to the Chinese National Museum
 - a. Its repeated closures
 - b. 2001-2011 makeover
 - c. Two goals
 - 1) Largest museum in the world
 - a) Three titanic cauldrons
 - 2) Tells the story of a “great nation”
 3. “The Road to Rejuvenation”
 - a. China reduced by the plundering of Western Capitalist countries
 - b. **Boxer Rebellion**
 - c. Battle against Japan
 - d. Autocratic rule of **Chiang Kai-shek** rejected
 4. Communist Party’s Leadership
 - a. Socialist modernization
 5. Left Unsaid Is the Positive Role of the West and America
 - a. Photo of Americans sitting on the imperial throne
 6. What the Three Graduate Students Did Not Know
 - a. 100,000 civilians killed by the Boxers
 - b. Role of American aid in WWII
 - c. Deaths of millions under Mao
 - d. Tiananmen Square
 7. American Recast as China’s Arch villain
- C. LATEST VERSION OF CHINESE HISTORY (104-106)
1. **John Tyler**, the First American Villain
 - a. **Treaty of Wangxia**, 1844
 2. Abraham Lincoln
 - a. Shi Yin-hong
 - b. **Anson Burlingame**
 - c. Mei Renyi
 3. Boxer Rebellion
 4. **Woodrow Wilson**
 - a. Deng Shusheng’s *American History and the Americans*
 - b. German colony of Shandong (centered at Qingdao) transferred to Japan
 - c. **May 4 Movement**
 5. Japanese Invasion
 - a. U.S. Strategy allegedly to get the two Asian nations against each other
 - b. Tang Qing
 - c. Deng Shusheng
 - 1) FDR “sat atop the mountain and watched the tigers fight”
 6. Richard Nixon
 - a. “Ally with Wu in the east to oppose Wei in the north”

- D. CHINA'S VERSION OF MODERN HISTORY (106-107)
1. "Beautiful Honey Pot"
 - a. Chinese assessment: Soviet youth and idealists used as "spies to sow discord in the enemy camp"
 2. Chinese Strategists Have Vowed Not to Be Similarly Duped
 - a. *Silent Contest*
 - b. Chief American Culprits
 3. Cold War Seen as a U.S. Plan for Achieving Global Dominance
 - a. Collapsed the Soviet Empire attributed to American deviousness
- E. AUTHOR'S CRITIQUE (107-108)
1. John Tyler's **Wangxia Treaty**
 - a. Most-favored-nation status
 2. Abraham Lincoln
 - a. **Burlingame Treaty**
 3. Boxer Rebellion
 4. **Woodrow Wilson**
 - a. Return of **Qingdao** (on the Shandong peninsula) was sought but defeated at Versailles; [China refused to sign the treaty as a result]
 - b. [Sovereignty over Shandong was returned to China as a result of the 1922 Washington Naval Conference, although Japan dominated it economically through the railroad]
 5. Franklin Roosevelt
 6. Richard Nixon
 7. Tiananmen Square
 8. Barack Obama
 9. Author's Confrontation with One of the Scholars
- F. THE DEFORMATION CAMPAIGN (109-112)
1. Institute of American Studies
 - a. Delegation from the American embassy
 - b. Meeting with sixteen Chinese scholars
 2. Huang Ping
 3. **Jonathan Spence's *To Change China***
 - a. American assistance is in acknowledgeable
 - b. One half of Chinese growth rate since 1978 has been due to the US endorsing China as a place of investment.
 - c. These stories are not included in the **authorized syllabi**
 4. Articles and Books on American Perfidy
 - a. They actually believe their own propaganda
 5. Statecraft Axioms from the Warring State Period Regarded as Universal Truths
 - a. America characterized as a hegemon
 - b. Almost every U.S. intervention abroad is seen in this light
 6. Chinese Leaders View the Global Environment as a Fundamentally **Zero-Sum Game**
 - a. And plan to be as merciless
 7. China Aids America's Enemies in an Effort to Chip Away at American Power
 - a. The Pentagon in action
 - 1) Saddam Hussein depicted as a wise voice of reason
 8. **Defamation Campaign** Had Been Recommended to Deng by the China Hawks
 9. Deng Assessed *Shi* Both Domestically and Internationally
 - a. Few Americans give credence to these anti-American harangues
- G. EFFORTS TO CONTROL POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS OF CHINA (112-113)
1. Powerful Propaganda System to Influence Perceptions of China
 2. Distrust of the U.S. Media
 3. Col. Dai Xu
 - a. Accusation of American Bio-Psychological Warfare
 4. U.S. Government has Dedicated Insufficient Resources to Intelligence about China
- H. PRESENTING A FRIENDLY FACE (113-114)

1. Attempts to Conceal the Defamation Campaign
2. Strategic Goal: Demonize and Undercut any Appeal of American Models
 - a. Studies abroad
3. China Hawks Ask the Moderates to Deny the Defamation

Review

turning point	purge of pro-American reformers	Wang Chun
Boxer Rebellion	Chiang Kai-shek	John Tyler
Treaty of Wangxia	Anson Burlingame	Woodrow Wilson
May 4 Movement	Burlingame Treaty	Qingdao
Jonathan Spence	authorized syllabi	Defamation Campaign

CHAPTER SIX: CHINA'S MESSAGE POLICE

Outline

- A. MESSAGE CONTROL INSIDE CHINA TO INFLUENCE FOREIGN PERCEPTIONS (115-121)
 1. Marathon Strategy's **Dependence on Goodwill** from Other Countries
 - a. Massive Foreign Investment and Indulgences
 2. The Misperception about China Is Due to a **Sophisticated System to Mislead**
 3. Crackdown on Chinese Bloggers
 - a. The dissident artist **Ai Weiwei** revealed it
 - b. False reality used to cultivate goodwill
 - c. It is designed to **induce complacency**: To hide in plain sight
 4. Message that China is Backward, and not Militarily Active
 5. **Unrestricted Warfare**
 - a. Advocacy of **lawfare** [using international laws, bodies, and courts to restrict America], economic warfare, cyber attacks
 - b. Authors: **Qiao Liang** and Wang Xiangsui
 6. Qiao Liang's Bestseller Comparing Today's International Politics with the Warring States Period
 7. Pro-China Academics and Business Leaders in America Came to Beijing's Defense
 - a. Authors visited DC in 2005 and 2013
 - b. Wang Xiangsui
 8. Beijing's Ruthlessly Efficient **Message Control**
 - a. Government revises official history and punishes dissidents
 - b. Anti-Americanism is rife within senior levels of government
 - c. PR operation
 9. Story of **Fuchai and Goujian**
 - a. Ms. Lee's citation of Wu Zixu's advice
 - b. Defamation [by Bo Pi, Wu's prime minister, who had been bribed] and suicide
 - c. Goujian's release [His self-discipline has been characterized as "sleeping on sticks and tasting gall" or "enduring hardship and plotting revenge"]
 - d. Poisoned grain causes famine
 - e. Goujian becomes the last of the Five Hegemons in the Spring and Autumn period
 10. Lessons Drawn by Ms. Lee
 - a. **Seeking the optimal moment** for revenge by using the stratagem of *shi*
 11. Author Asked Various Scholars about This Allegory
 - a. "If you want to control the whole world, . . . show no aspiration for greatness"
 - b. Delay action and create a more favorable strategic condition
 12. Secret Unit at the Top of the Chinese Leadership
 - a. Evidence to support her claim

- 1) Message controlled in China in such a way as to influence foreign perceptions
 13. China's Government Routinely Monitors Prominent Critics
 - a. Consistent with Mr. White's Information
 14. \$12 Billion Annual Budget for Propaganda
 - a. **Propaganda system**
 - b. United Front Work Department
 15. Three Pieces of Evidence
 - a. Alleged influence on a congressional vote in 2000
 - b. Campaign to demonize the **Dalai Lama**, the top leader of Lamaist Buddhism
 - c. American support of Chinese human rights advocates undermined
 16. 1996 Senate Inquiry
[The "Chinagate" scandal also implicated the Clinton-Gore reelection campaign but the investigation, which examined the role of Indonesia's Lippo Bank, was stymied]
 - a. "The Plan"
 - b. FBI-CIA Report, 2000
 - c. More indirect forms of influence peddling
- B. PUBLIC RELATIONS OUTREACHES (121-126)
1. Categories of Foreign Countries' Policymakers
 - a. Friendship committees
 2. **William C. Triplett II**
 - a. Red Team
 - b. Blue Team
 3. Treatment of the "Dear Friends"
 4. Author Used to Be Part of the Red Team
 5. **Ross Terrill**, a Harvard Historian, Has Described the Process
 - a. Substantial donations are made to think tanks and universities
 6. Establishment of **Confucius Institutes** around the World
 - a. **Liu Yandong**, vice premier
 7. Task of Whitewashing China's History
 - a. Reinterpretation of **Sun Tzu's Art of War**
 8. Institutes at Stanford, Columbia, and University of Pennsylvania
 - a. One-fifth are in America
 9. Godsend for Cash-Strapped University Administrators
 - a. The **Hanban**
 10. Two-Page Ad in *The New York Times*
 - a. Development of multiculturalism
 11. It Brings the Chinese Government into American Academy in Powerful Ways
 - a. Subsidies with strings attached [cf. payola and pay-to-play]
 - 1) Stanford grant
 - 2) Sydney University canceled a planned visit by the Dalai Lama
 12. Author's Visit to the Institute in Washington D.C.
 - a. *Spring and Autumn Annals*
 - b. Terry Russell: propaganda and public relations exercise
 13. Investigation by *Nation*
 - a. Non-disclosure agreement
 14. The Institutes May Provide Cover for Industrial and Military Espionage
 - a. Alleged **political surveillance** in Stockholm, inhibiting research on **Falun Gong**
[a patriotic "martial arts" cult]
 15. Pride in the Rapid Rise of Confucius Institutes
 - a. Criticism of opponents' "Cold War" mentality
 16. The Institutes Are Now Moving into High Schools and Elementary Schools
 - a. Stipulations for recipients
- C. PUNISHING CHINA CRITICS (126-133)
1. Those Who Are Frozen Out or Marginalized
 - a. These skeptics are kept divided

2. Result: Self-censorship and Narrowing of Research Topics
3. Denial of Access [cf. Steven Mosher]
 - a. **Perry Link**
 - 1) Use of codes and indirections to sidestep Beijing's demands
 - b. "Taiwan independence" is unmentionable
 - 1) The acceptable term is "cross-strait relations"
 - c. Liu Xiaobo is also unmentionable
 - d. "Liberation" for the events of 1949 is considered normal
4. Author's Experience with the Carrot and Stick Approach
 - a. September 2006
 - 1) Wall Street Journal profile
 - 2) Panda huggers
5. "Beijing Sees the U.S. as an Inevitable Foe"
6. Beijing's Disfavor
 - a. Visiting scholar visa requests now denied
 - b. Difficulty in gaining access: Diplomatic notes from the U.S. government were now required
7. Visit in 2013
 - a. Scholar's visa
8. More Aggressive Tactics Deployed
 - a. Buddhist monks are now under routine surveillance
 - b. More than 700 Chinese journalists in the U.S., many of them propagandists
9. Center for International Media Assistance: **Four Main Strategies** to Influence Western Media
 - a. Direct action: Obstruction of news gathering, "prior restraint," punishment of overseas outlets
 - b. Employing economic carrots and sticks to induce self-censorship
 - c. Applying indirect pressure via proxies
 - d. Conducting cyberattacks and physical assaults
 - 1) New York Times, Wall Street Journal, CNN
 - 2) Cyberattacks on Twitter subscribers
10. Some Foreign Correspondents Report Difficulties Obtaining Press Accreditation
 - a. Andrew Higgins
 - b. Paul Mooney
 - c. Melissa Chan
11. Self-Censorship by News Organizations
 - a. Bloomberg News
 - 1) Comparison with Nazi-era Germany
12. **Crackdown on the Internet**
 - a. One of the world's biggest digital empires run by the CCP
 - b. They created the Great Firewall of China
13. Strong-Arming of Western Corporations
14. Acquiescence to Chinese Pressure
 - a. Apple
 - b. Eutelstat dropped NTDTV
 - c. NASDAQ did the same
 - d. Attacks from state-run media
15. **Meicun Weng** of Boxun
 - a. Reports on human rights abuses
 - b. China traces the money trail to disfavored overseas outlets
16. Precedents from the Warring States

Review

dependence on goodwill
Unrestricted Warfare

sophisticated system to mislead
 lawfare

Ai Weiwei
 Qiao Liang

message control	Fuchai	Goujian
seeking the optimal moment	propaganda system	Dalai Lama
William C. Triplett II	Ross Terrill	Confucius Institutes
Liu Yandong	Hanban	political surveillance
Falun Gong	Perry Link	four main media strategies
crackdown on the Internet	Meicun Weng	

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE ASSASSIN'S MACE

Outline

- A. WAR GAME SET IN 2030 (134-136)
 - 1. Vietnam
 - 2. Naval War College
 - a. Pearl Harbor
 - 3. "Red Team"
 - 4. First Time the United States Lost a War Game
 - a. The "**Assassin's Mace**" [thought to include Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) and High-Powered Microwave (HPM) weapons, according to the footnote]
 - 5. These Simulations Were a Driving Factor behind the Obama Administration's "**Asia Pivot**"
 - 6. China's Strategy Is Largely Designed in Response to Chinese Fears
 - a. Flawed perception of their basis
 - 7. Chinese Leaders Were Playing the Long Game
 - a. Military confrontation in the near term could threaten the Marathon strategy
 - b. Danger of building military capable of parity [cf. Emperor's Cauldrons]
 - c. Aim to build deterrent capability quietly
- B. THE NEW COMMANDING HEIGHTS (136-138)
 - 1. Legend of the Hero with a Secret Weapon
 - 2. Similarity to the Story of David and Goliath
 - a. ***Shashoujian***
 - 3. Contexts
 - a. Trump card that ensures victory over a powerful opponent
 - 4. China Is Investing a Disproportionate Amount of Its Resources on Asymmetric Capabilities
 - a. "Beyond Taiwan"
 - b. Most scenarios center on Taiwan
 - 5. "The Inferior Defeats the Superior"
 - a. Paralyze the more powerful opponent [acupuncture analogy]
 - 6. "The Military Revolution in Naval Warfare"
 - a. **Mastery of outer space**: New commanding heights [Lenin's term] for naval combat
 - 1) Electromagnetic combat superiority
 - 2) Tactical laser weapons
 - 3) Stealth technology for ships and cruise missiles
 - b. Essential tactics
 - 7. Assassin's Mace Refers to a Set of Asymmetric Weapons
 - a. Repeated use of the term *shashoujian*
 - 8. America Sees Conflict Only through the Lens of Military Means
 - a. Instead of the broader strategic picture encouraged by Sun Tzu
 - b. Qiao and Wang interviewed two days after 9/11
 - 1) Proof that America is vulnerable to attack through nontraditional methods
- C. COMPONENTS OF THE ASSASSIN'S MACE PROGRAM (138-142)
 - 1. Author's Study of the Assassin's Mace for the CIA

- a. Dick Cheney ordered a review
- b. He authorized the further collection of intelligence
- 2. The Assassin's Mace Is a Key Component to China's Military Strategy
 - a. Investment to make a **generational leap** in military capabilities
- 3. China's National High-Technology Program (**863 Program**)
 - a. **Dual-use technologies** with civilian and military applications
 - 1) Biotech, laser tech, advanced materials
 - b. Indigenous innovation strategy embedded in the 2006 MLP
- 4. Priorities of Priorities
 - a. Sixteen national megaprojects
 - 1) Three are classified
 - b. Longer-term military programs are embedded in China's civilian science and technology base
- 5. American China Hawks' Fear of a Chinese Military Buildup
- 6. Elements of the **U.S. Power Projection System**
 - a. Forward-deployed ICBMs and military bases; aerial refueling capabilities; nuclear-armed bombers; long-distance troop transport capabilities
 - b. The Soviets tried to replicate this system
 - c. China has vowed not to follow Moscow's example
- 7. Chinese Reduction of Power Projection Capabilities
 - a. Dramatic increase of advanced weapons spending
- 8. China Misrepresents Its Actual Level of Military Spending
- 9. Future Military Balance of Power Is Slowly Shifting
 - a. U.S. Navy's **low ship-building budget**
 - b. DoD's new doctrine of **AirSea Battle**
- 10. Espionage Rings in the United States
 - a. The Tai Wang Mak family
- 11. America Has Sometimes Been a Willing Partner
- D. PENTAGON STUDY OF CHINESE THREAT PERCEPTIONS (142-143)
 - 1. Many U.S. Officials Were Late in Recognizing How Seriously the U.S. Is Considered a Threat
 - 2. Study of Chinese Threat Perceptions
 - a. The **Seven Fears** are derived solely from internal Chinese military services
 - 3. Author Is Asked for Evidence of American Hegemonic Behavior
 - 4. Author Astonished That His Report Confirmed This Belief
 - a. **Chen Youwei**
 - 1) Several pathologies in Beijing's decision making: Reading the worst intentions into an adversary's actions, ideological ossification, and disconnection from reality
- E. CHINA'S SEVEN FEARS (143-146)
 - 1. America's War Plan Is to Blockade China
 - a. String of offshore islands makes China feel vulnerable
 - 1) **First Island Chain**
 - b. United States has supposedly built a blockade system
 - 2. America Supports Plundering China's Maritime Resources
 - a. Claim: Maritime territorial boundaries are being plundered by foreign powers because of China's weakness
 - 1) [Reality: China is trying to extend its territorial sea by constructing offshore facilities in the South China Sea]
 - b. Need for sea power
 - 3. America May Choke Off China's Sea Lines of Communication
 - a. Vulnerability of the petroleum lifeline in the Strait of Malacca
 - 1) [Reality: China is extending its reach into the Indian Ocean]
 - b. *The Science of Campaigns*
 - 4. America Seeks China's Territorial Dismemberment
 - a. Study of historic routes of land invasion

5. America May Assist Rebels Inside China
 - a. **“Northern Sword”** exercise, 2005
 6. America May Foment Riots, Civil War, or Terrorism Inside China
 - a. Internal threats from “splittists” and Falun Gong
 7. America Threatens Aircraft Carrier Strikes
 - a. Development of a Chinese anti-carrier missile
- F. R&D (146-155)
1. Warning Strike
 - a. **Da ji zeng shi**
 - 1) Purposes: Achieve a psychological shock, reverse a crisis situation, or establish a *fait accompli*
 - b. Surprise offensives of 1950, 1962, 1969, 1979
 - c. Utility of a preemptive surprise attack
 2. Deep-Seated Suspicion Could Lead to a War Neither Side Wants
 - a. Susan Shirk: Possibility of unavoidable conflict
 - b. **Robert Suettinger**: Opaque non-communicative decision-making system
 3. Assassin’s Mace Weapons Cannot Be Discussed
 4. Inexpensive and Developed in Secret
 - a. To be used as a decisive moment
 - b. Confusion, shock, awe
 5. Yang Zhibo: All-Army, All-Location, Composite Land, Sea, and Air System
 - a. Development program
 6. Jiang Zemin Began the Program
 7. Purpose: Find Ways to Exploit American Weaknesses and Neutralize American Strengths
 8. One Perceived Weakness: Reliance of the U.S. on High-Tech Information Systems
 - a. Sixteen spy units that focus on **electronic warfare**
 9. Cyber Warfare and Espionage
 - a. William Lord: Chinese Actions Are a Nation-State Threat
 - b. More than 24 American weapons systems designs have been accessed
 10. **“Titan Rain”**
 11. Unit 61398
 - a. Hidden Lynx
 - 1) Pioneers of the “watering hole” technique of infecting computers
 - b. “Zombies”
 12. U.S. Dependence on **Information Super-Highways**
 - a. Vulnerability to electrical incapacitation systems
 - b. Chang Mengxiong
 13. EMP Weapons
 14. Vulnerability to a Pearl Harbor Incident
 - a. Open society vulnerable to electronic attack from all sides
 15. American Reliance on Space Satellites
 16. Weapons to Destroy or Incapacitate Satellites
 - a. **Parasitic microsattellites**
 17. Ground-Based Antisatellite Missiles
 - a. Destruction of a defunct Chinese weather satellite, 2007
 - b. Over 3000 pieces of debris
 - c. Lack of Transparency
 - d. U.S. Intelligence Community’s Failure to Anticipate the Test
 18. A Chinese “Star War” Program
 19. U.S. Dependence on Long Supply Lines
 - a. Need for **open sea lanes**
 - 1) Vulnerability to asymmetric attacks: submarines, sea mines, torpedoes, via carrier-killer missiles
 - b. Importance of the **submarine**
 20. Effort to Neutralize America’s Air Superiority

- a. **HARM**
- b. Chinese black boxes
- 21. Shore-Based Missiles and Aircraft
 - a. Aegis missile defense system is ineffective against supersonic cruise missiles that can be armed with conventional, antiradiation, thermobaric, or nuclear warheads
- 22. Rocket-Propelled Sea Mines and Remote Controlled Fighter Jets
 - a. Magic weapons
 - b. Rocket torpedoes
- 24. China's Operational Theory
 - a. Search for the Achilles' heel
- 25. Obama's Rebalance or Pivot

Review

Assassin's Mace	<i>shashoujian</i>	mastery of outer space
generational leap	863 program	dual use technologies
U.S. power projection system	low shipbuilding budget	AirSea Battle
seven fears	Chen Youwei	First Island Chain
"Northern Sword"	<i>da ji zeng shi</i>	Robert Suettinger
electronic warfare	"Titan Rain"	information superhighways
parasitic microsatellites	open sea lanes	submarine
HARM		

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE CAPITALIST CHARADE

Outline

- A. CHINA'S INTERPRETATION OF THE AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY (156-158)
 - 1. Ms. Tang on the Economic Component of China's Marathon Strategy
 - a. Secret program of the Party's Central Committee School
 - 1) Curriculum: Ancient history lessons
 - 2) Translations of half a dozen books on how American became the largest economy in the world
 - 2. Key **Lessons Were from Charles Darwin**
 - a. Ways the U.S. government supported corporations to surpass both Germany and Great Britain from 1860 to WWI
 - 1) 20 case studies
 - 2) Focus on the strategic role played by the U.S. government
 - 3. Supposed U.S. Strategies Included Protection of the Domestic Market, Subsidies, and Export Promotion
 - a. Antitrust measures
 - b. Securities regulation
 - c. Subsidies to increase markets
 - d. Stolen technology
 - 1) Pillsbury [note on the role played by the engineer William de la Barre in Hungary; but he developed steel rollers to replace the porcelain ones]
 - e. Assistance building factories abroad
 - f. Author knew some of these were true
 - 4. American **Dominance of Various Industries**
 - a. Paper
 - b. Andrew Carnegie in steel
 - c. Copper and aluminum
 - d. B.F. Goodrich

5. General Electric
 - a. Siemens and AEG
6. Second Wave
 - a. General Motors
 - b. Oil companies
 - c. German pharmaceuticals
7. Third Wave
 - a. DuPont
 - b. Merck
8. *Innovation Marathon*
9. Influence of the World Book
- B. WESTERN CREDULITY AND CHINA'S DARWINISM MERCANTILISM (158-162)
 1. Alleged Capitalist Road
 - a. Thirty-year economic boom
 - b. Second largest economy
 - c. 95 corporations on the 2014 Fortune 500 list
 2. West Is Largely Responsible for China's Economic Miracle
 - a. Half of the economy remained in the government's hands by 2014
 3. Different Reviews of How This Was Accomplished
 - a. Keeping the currency artificially low
 - b. Subsidizing of **State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs)**
 - 1) Ruthless brand of mercantilism
 4. China's Economy Remains Misunderstood
 - a. Ronald Coase and Ning Wang
 5. China Has Long Played down Its Growth Prospects
 - a. Effort to induce complacency
 6. Nakedly **Mercantilism Strategy**
 - a. Subsidizing key industries
 - b. Wars over natural resources
 - c. Stockpiling
 7. Adherence to the "**Peak Oil**" Theory
 - a. World as a giant *wei qi* game board
 - b. Shortages will lead to conflict [zero-sum game]
 8. China's False Narrative Has Been Largely Accepted
 - a. They learned to never again attempt a "kill the sparrows campaign"
 9. Mao's Four "Pests"
 - a. The **Great Sparrow Campaign** of 1958
 10. **Consequences** of Their Near Extermination
 - a. Locusts ravaged harvests
 - b. Severe droughts
 - c. More than 30,000,000 Chinese perished due to famine
 11. **Deng Xiaoping's** Accession
 - a. The **Four Modernizations**
 - b. National planning integrated with market forces
 12. Western Credulity
- C. ROLE OF THE WORLD BANK (162-169)
 1. Author Joins the U.S.-China Congressional Commission
 - a. China's effort to join the **World Trade Organization (WTO)**
 2. CIA Briefings
 - a. Two points that were later proven wrong
 - 1) That China would sell off all of its massive government-run corporations
 - 2) **Thomas Friedman**: Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention
 3. Flight to Beijing Weeks after 9/11
 4. China Had Been One of the Poorest Countries in the World in the 1950s
 5. It Was Widely Believed in 2001 That China's Growth Rate Could Not Be Sustained
 6. Today, the Assumptions about China's Rise Have Been Reversed

7. Improvisation Narrative Is Only Part of the Truth
 8. *Wu Wei*
 - a. Global economic order drawn up at **Bretton Woods**
 - 1) Catching up would require joining WTO and obtaining loans
 9. Entry into the WTO Took 15 Years
 - a. China has not kept its commitment
 - 1) All Chinese SOEs operate to serve state objectives
 10. Ms. Lee
 - a. False claims made to secure congressional support for normal trade relations
 - b. Program of propaganda and espionage
 - 1) China had studied American political fault lines to exploit divisions within the U.S. foreign policy community
 - 2) Use of an old essay by Mao to analyze political differences
 - c. China Initiative
 11. Approval of the Trade Normalization in 2000
 12. Borrowing the Best Techniques from the West
 - a. **Counterfeiting**
 13. **Justin Lin**
 - a. Defection to mainland China
 14. Lin's Candid Revelations
 - a. Use of the World Bank and America's free market advocates
 - b. Grand strategy
 15. **A. W. Clausen**, President of the **World Bank**
 - a. 1983 meeting with Deng
 - b. Clausen did not recommend a free-market approach
 16. World Bank Team's 1985 Advice
 - a. Only Japan had caught up previously from a comparable level of economic backwardness
 - b. No other nation had tried it
 17. High Rate of Chinese Savings
 - a. Goal could be achieved through productivity growth coupled with restrained population growth
 18. The **Six Recommendations**
The Bank endorsed China's socialist approach
 - a. Emphasize high-tech manufactured goods
 - b. Do not slide into excessive borrowing from foreign sources
 - c. Encourage foreign direct investment only for advanced technology
 - d. Spread foreign investments out from the SEZs
 - e. Phase out foreign trade companies
 - f. Long-term framework for the whole economy should be worked out regularly
 19. Peter Harrold and E. C. Hwa
 20. America Missed Opportunities at Two Crossroads
 - a. Some sought a truly liberalizing path
 - 1) But America's China experts stood by while two reformers were deposed
 - b. U.S. did not support the exiles in Paris
 - 1) Debate over free-market vs. government-controlled corporations
 21. Hard-Line Voices Won Out
 - a. **Zhou Xiaochuan's** alliance with the World Bank
 22. Plan to Convert Poorly Run SOEs into National Champions
 23. Joint Chinese-World Bank Decision against Privatization and Political Reform
 - a. Lack of adequate civilian savings
 - b. No private property in the countryside, either
 24. Mao Yushi
- D. SOEs (169-176)
1. The SOEs
 2. Model of the **Chaebol** [and Japanese *zaibatsu*]

- a. SOEs must advance one or more of the Four Modernizations
 - b. Funding from state banks
 - c. National champions encouraged to acquire foreign technology and raw materials
 - d. Result: Huge competitive edge of SOEs against the West
 - 3. Reversal by the World Bank and IMF in Violation of China's Original Commitments
 - a. **National champions system**
 - 4. World Bank Recommended Creating **Portfolio Holding Companies**
 - a. Stock exchanges
 - b. Euphemistically-termed partial privatization
 - 5. Secret Plan to Subsidize 50 Firms to Earn a Place on the Fortune 500 List 2010
 - a. National champions
 - 6. An Inconvenient Truth
 - a. SOEs account for more than 40% of the nonagricultural economy
 - b. More than 50% share of GDP is publicly owned and controlled
 - 7. Five Largest Banks Own 50% of All Chinese Deposits
 - a. \$3.66 trillion in foreign exchange reserves
 - 8. Evidence of the Long-Term Performance of SOEs Is Mixed
 - a. **Cronyism** [return to mercantilist practices]
 - b. Lack of transparency
 - 9. Interference by the State Causes Inefficiencies
 - a. SOEs thrive because Westerners have saved them through restructuring
 - 10. Some Were Created by Western Investment Bankers
 - a. China Mobile
 - 11. Western Education of Chinese Entrepreneurs and Investors
 - 12. Reasons for **Reliance on SOEs**
 - a. Successes
 - b. Continuing role for CCP
 - c. State as a major player
 - d. Patronage and legitimacy
 - e. Indigenous innovation
 - f. Avoid selling of state industries to political cronies
 - 13. Cutting-Edge, Nascent Industries
 - a. **Huawei Technologies**
 - 1) Association with China's intelligence services
 - 14. "Going Out" Strategy
 - a. Overseas bottom-fishing: Buying up foreign companies at discounted prices
 - 15. NDRC
 - a. Price-fixing
 - 16. China Won't Play by the Rules
 - a. Nontariff barriers that include subsidies, stockpiling of commodities
 - 17. Pay Offs
 - a. Four key industries
 - 1) Paper
 - 2) Glass
 - 3) Steel
 - 4) Auto parts
 - 18. **Counterfeiting** of Non-Chinese Products
 - a. 10-30% of GDP
 - b. 15-20% of retail sales
 - 19. Economic Espionage
 - 20. Exploiters of Cybertechnologies
 - a. Tools to evade detection
 - 21. Onslaught of **Network Intrusions** Originating in China
 - a. Dongfan Chung
- E. SUMMARY (176)
- 1. Hybrid Strategy

Review

lessons from Charles Darwin	dominance of various industries	state-owned enterprises (SOEs)
mercantilism strategy	peak-oil theory	consequences of Great Sparrow Campaign
Deng Xiaoping	Four Modernizations	World Trade Organization
Thomas Friedman	Bretton Woods	counterfeiting
Justin Lin	A. W. Clausen	World Bank
six recommendations	Zhou Xiaochuan	Chaebol
national champions system	Portfolio Holding Companies	cronyism
reliance on SOEs	Huawei Technologies	network intrusions

CHAPTER NINE: A CHINA WORLD ORDER IN 2049

Outline

- A. A WORLD SHAPED IN AMERICA'S IMAGE (177-178)
 - 1. World's Only Superpower
 - 2. Other Scenarios
 - 3. Common Factor: China Is Projected to Be the Most Economically Dominant Nation
 - 4. Unanswerable Questions
 - 5. A World Shaped in China's Image Will Be Very Different
 - 6. What Is at Stake If We Don't Bolster **China's Reformers**
- B. CHINESE VALUES WILL REPLACE AMERICAN VALUES (178-179)
 - 1. American Individualism
 - 2. Personal Rights in the American Sense Do Not Exist in China
 - a. *Chuan li*
 - b. **Chinese collectivism**
 - 3. Interference with Rights of Chinese beyond China's Borders
 - a. **Wen Yunchao**
 - b. Overseas propaganda (*waixuan gongzuo*)
 - 4. Attacks on Foreign Human Rights Groups
 - a. Potential for future harassment
- C. CHINA WILL "HARMONIZE" DISSENT ON THE INTERNET (179-181)
 - 1. Censorship of the Internet
 - a. More than one million Chinese are employed in **Internet censorship**
 - 2. Erasure of the Memory of the Tiananmen Square Massacre
 - a. Big yellow duck
 - b. Internet maintenance day
 - 3. Pro-Government Bloggers
 - 4. China's Internet Control Activities Have Been Adopted in Eleven Other Countries
 - 5. Future Censorship
 - a. Huawei and ZTE
- D. CHINA WILL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE DEMOCRATIZATION (181-182)
 - 1. **Five Principles**
 - a. Prohibition of interference in countries' internal affairs
 - b. China's growing ability to protect dictatorial, pro-China governments and undermine representative governments
 - c. Endorsement of Robert Mugabe, *et al.*
 - 2. Strategic Lending and Investment
 - a. Tactic for propping up autocracies
 - 3. **Robert Mugabe** in Zimbabwe
 - 4. Strengthening Autocracy in Africa
 - a. "Business with no political conditions"

5. Support of Dictatorships
6. Little Reason to Be Optimistic
- E. CHINA WILL FORM ALLIANCES WITH AMERICA'S ADVERSARIES (182-185)
 1. Effort to Chip Away at American Power
 - a. Aid to the **Taliban**
 - b. China feigns ignorance
 - c. Taliban provided Beijing with unexploded Tomahawk cruise missiles
 2. Cooperation with **al Qaeda** and the Taliban
 3. Support for the **Saddam Hussein** Regime
 - a. **U.N. oil-for-food program**
 - 1) China ignored sanctions
 - b. Assistance to Iraq in building a fiber-optic network to better integrate the missile-defense system
 - c. Confirmation by Iraq
 - d. Role of Chinese military officials
 - e. High-tech decoy device that diverted guided bombs
 4. NORINCO
 - a. Chinese export of missiles
 5. Sales of Technology to Build WMDs
 - a. Nuclear nonproliferation treaties ignored
 - b. **Biological weapons**
- F. CHINA WILL EXPORT THE AIRPOCALYPSE (185-186)
 1. "Fetid Smog"
 2. Level of Dangerous Emissions
 - a. OECD: projected doubling of premature deaths
 - b. Japan
 - c. 29% of particulate pollution in California
 3. Reliance on Coal
 - a. **Coal consumption** is subsidized
 4. The World Will Smell, Taste, and Choke on China's Success
- G. CHINA'S GROWTH STRATEGY ENTAILS SIGNIFICANT POLLUTION AND CONTAMINATION (186-187)
 1. China's Leadership Needs Rapid Growth to Stay in Power
 - a. **Toxicity** in China's rivers and groundwater
 - b. Wastewater dumping
 2. China's Neighbors Feel the Spillover Effects
 - a. **Fishing industry** has moved into contested waters due to contamination
 - b. Disputes have a potential for armed conflict
 3. Spree of Dam Building
 - a. China does not recognize shared water rights [Burma has resisted]
 4. 70% of the World's Population Will Be Urban
 - a. Consequences for management of waste and water
- H. CANCER VILLAGES (187-189)
 1. Human Cost
 - a. More cancer clusters than the rest of the world combined
 2. Cancer Rates
 - a. Leading cause of death in Beijing
 3. How China's Pollution Problems Differ
 - a. China's industrial revolution is larger
 - b. It lacks a robust and productive civil society
 - 1) Sherrod Brown
 4. China's Farming and Food Processing Practices
 - a. Dangerous pesticides, unsafe antibiotics, illegal preservatives
 - b. Bans on Chinese food products
- I. CHEATERS WIN – CHINA WILL UNLEASH THE NATIONAL CHAMPIONS (189-190)
 1. China Plays by Its Own Rules

2. Illegal Acquisition of Foreign Science and Technology
 - a. Counterfeiting factories
 - b. **Intellectual property (IP) piracy**
 3. China Is at the Forefront of IP Theft
 - a. Costs to the U.S.
 4. China Controls Numerous Economic Sectors
 - a. Major player in seven strategically important sectors: defense, power generation, oil and gas, telecommunications, coal, aviation, and shipping
 5. It Can Direct SOEs with Subsidies from Massive Foreign Exchange Reserves
 - a. Their access to cheap capital and underpriced inputs is unavailable to their rivals
 6. China Has Prevailed in Creating Asymmetry in Its Market Access
 - a. **Antitrust law** directed at foreign companies
 7. National Security Review on Foreign Investment
 - a. Foreign companies frozen out
 - b. Most-favored-nation status with all WTO countries
- J. CHINA WILL INCREASINGLY UNDERMINE THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (190-192)
1. United Nations
 2. **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**
 - a. Potential counter to NATO
 3. Differences between SCO and NATO
 4. SCO Financing
 - a. Joint military exercises
 5. SCO's Influence Could Undermine Any Global Institution
 6. Threat of Irrelevance for the WTO
 7. Power Shift
 8. Creating a New World Order by First **Delegitimizing the Old World Order**
 - a. Appeal to abandon the old hegemon
 - b. Creating an imagine of the current order in terminal decline
- K. CHINA WILL PROLIFERATE WEAPONS FOR PROFIT (192-194)
1. Sale of Missile Technology to Rogue States
 - a. Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)
 2. U.S. Offer of a Secret Deal to China, 1998
 - a. Blanket waiver of Tiananmen Square sanctions
 - b. Membership in MTCR
 3. China Turned the Offer down Flat
 4. What China's Response Tells Us about a China-Led World
 - a. Accelerated proliferation of WMDs
 5. **Jesse Helms** on Chinese Arms Duplicity
 6. China's Links to a Much Broader **Proliferation Network**
 - a. Libya supplied a trove of documents
 7. China's Goal Is to Decrease the Influence of World Powers Such as the U.S.
- L. A CRITICAL TRANSITION (194-196)
1. Two Chinese Presidents Have Hinted at Chinese Intentions
 - a. **Hu Jintao's** idea of a harmonious world, 2005
 - b. **Xi Jinping:** Development is of overriding importance
 - 1) For the realization of the Chinese dream
 2. "Harmony" in the Field of Geopolitics Means Unipolar Dominance
 - a. Chinese dream for China to be the only superpower
 3. What to Expect of a **Sinocentric World**
 - a. Rewritten history defaming the West
 - b. Environmental degradation
 - c. Marginalization of some international organizations
 - d. Chinese controlled economic and military alliances
 4. Our Leverage Has Declined
 - a. The real global challenge to American power must be postponed

Review

China's reformers	Chinese collectivism	Wen Yunchao
Internet censorship	Five Principles	Robert Mugabe
Taliban	Saddam Hussein	U.N. oil-for-food program
biological weapons	coal consumption	toxicity
fishing industry	intellectual property piracy	antitrust law
Shanghai Cooperation Organization	delegitimizing the old world order	
proliferation network	Hu Jintao	Xi Jinping
Sinocentric world		

CHAPTER TEN: WARNING SHOTS

Outline

- A. SHAPING A POSITIVE IMAGE OF CHINA (197-98)
 1. The 2013 Film, *Gravity*
 2. The Film's More Unrealistic Moments
 3. Other Issues Have to Do with the Hundred-Year Marathon
 - a. No possible interface between the space vehicles
 - b. China has created the largest space debris field
 - c. Russians are made to look like villains and the Chinese as heroes
- B. CHINA'S RECALCULATION OF THE *SHI* (198-203)
 1. First of a Series of **Warning Shots**
 - a. Intentional provocations
 - b. Incidents have become steadily more brazen since 2007
 - c. Result: High tensions in East Asia
 2. Marked Shift in Tone toward America and Its New President
 - a. Copenhagen Climate Change Summit, 2009
 - 1) Snubs by Premier **Wen Jiabao**
 3. Taiwan: A Bone of Contention
 - a. New assertiveness against American arms sales
 4. **Assertiveness** Is a Recognition That the *Shi* Has Shifted Decisively in China's Favor
 - a. China's use of wide-ranging metrics to assess comprehensive national power
 - 1) Global financial crisis
 - 2) Global economic leadership will be more diffuse
 5. Evidence That the *Shi* Has Shifted in China's Favor
 - a. Secret briefings, 2010
 - 1) Greatest challenge: How to manage the decline of the United States
 - b. Chinese reaction to U.S. study that the military balance has tilted toward China
 - 1) Its conclusions were a revelation to the Chinese
 6. Reaction
 - a. Chinese assumption of a deliberate attempt to deceive
 - b. Dismissal of the assertion that the authors were merely speaking for themselves
 7. Chinese Considered the Book to Be a Statement of Official Government Policy
 8. America and China Disagree about How to Interpret the Balance of Power
 - a. They operate within different strategic environments
 - 1) **Andrew Marshall**
 - b. Relative position of different states may be fully perceived only in hindsight
 - 1) Lord Bolingbroke
 - 2) Michael Beckley
 9. Potential for the Creation of Mutual Misperceptions
 - a. This could lead to war

- C. BELLIGERENCE (203-08)
1. The Chinese See Room to Be More Belligerent Than Ever
 - a. Greater aspirations still kept in check
 - 1) More urgent priorities are close to home
 2. China Has Dusted Off **Centuries-Old Maps** [Meta-Maps of China's Imperial Ambitions]
 - a. Expansive territorial claims
 - 1) **Spratly Islands**, 2010
 3. Hillary Clinton Expressed America's Desire to Mediate the Dispute
 - a. Harassment of Vietnamese and Philippines vessels
 4. Tensions Are Highest with Japan
 - a. Resentments against Japan
 5. Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands
 6. Show of Force
 - a. Increased Chinese patrols
 - b. Anti-Japanese protests
 7. **ADIZ** in the East China Sea
 - a. Chuck Hagel authorized the overflight of two B-52s
 8. Response to Japanese Protests
 9. Major Test of the Marathon Strategy's Effectiveness
 - a. Warring States-era axiom of undermining the hawks in a neighboring state
 10. Demonization of Japan
 - a. Virulent form of state-sanctioned anti-Japanese nationalism
 - b. Nations in the "Confucian zone" are supposed to accept China's cultural leadership
 - c. Growing mutual animosity
 11. Historical Grievances
 - a. Belief in the inevitability of war
 - b. It is a proxy fight in the secret struggle with the United States
 12. U.S. Response: Broadened U.S.-Japan Security Alliance
 13. Open Talk about Amending Japan's Pacifist Constitution
 - a. China had encouraged Japan's military development in the 1970s
 - b. The *shi* changed a decade later
 14. Deep-Rooted Suspicion about the Stability of Japanese Democracy
 - a. Yasukuni Shrine
 15. Prospects of Future Japanese Militarism Worry China
 - a. **Li Peng**: Japan's predatory need for resources
 16. 1995 Chinese Call for Closing American Bases on **Okinawa**
 17. No Precedent for the Coexistence of a Strong China and a Strong Japan
 - a. American occupation allegedly did not eradicate militarism
 - b. Miyazawa doctrine
 18. ABM System in Cooperation with the United States
 19. Nuclear Weapons
- D. EVIDENCE OF GREATER CHINESE ASSERTIVENESS (208-13)
1. Greater Assertiveness Was Not Seen in 2009 as Part of an Overarching Plan
 - a. Author concluded at the time that there was no urgency in making it to the finish line
 - b. Seemingly random episodes
 - c. Wang Jisi
 2. New Pattern of Assertiveness Is Now Recognized
 3. Total Misreading of China's Apparent Moderation in Its Stance toward Taiwan
 - a. Inroads among Taiwan's ruling and opposition parties, *et al.*
 - 1) Hu Jintao: It is easier to "buy" Taiwan than to conquer it
 - b. Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement, 2009
 4. China Has Quickly Mobilized to Take Advantage of America's Decline
 - a. Two-day conference in 2013
 5. Debate

- a. Zhu Chenghu
- b. Peng Guangqian
- 6. Long-Term **Multiphase Wei Qi Game**
 - a. Author's speech designed to "toss a brick and get back jade"
 - b. Chinese defector: It took seven generations of kings to win ultimate hegemony
 - c. Average *wei qi* game consists of three hundred moves
- 7. Author's Task in the Fall of 2013: Understand What Preparations the U.S. Should Make to Counter a Marathon Strategy
 - a. Author's mistaken projection to 2049 of the "bide our time, keep a low profile" approach
 - b. New phased approach as the balance of power tilted more against a declining United States
 - c. False belief that China's grand strategy is fixed and designed to lull others into complacency
 - d. Some Chinese leaders have concluded that China is ahead of schedule
 - e. China's actions are still calibrated not to exceed the limits of prudence
- 8. Each of These Episodes Is a Result of China Applying One or More of the **Nine Elements**
- 9. Chinese Assertiveness
 - a. Chinese pressure with regard to Tibet and Taiwan
 - b. Territorial claims on neighboring regions containing valuable natural resources
 - c. Possibility of compelling the United States to revoke the military-related components of its security agreements with China's neighbors

Review

warning shots
centuries-old maps
Li Peng
nine elements

Wen Jiabao
ADIZ
Okinawa

Andrew Marshall
Spratly Islands
multiphase *wei qi* game

CHAPTER ELEVEN: AMERICA AS A WARRING STATE

Outline

- A. ADAPTING CHINESE CONCEPTS TO BEAT CHINA AT ITS OWN GAME (214)
 - 1. It's Easy to Win a Race When You're the Only One Who Knows It Has Begun
 - 2. How America Won the Cold War
 - a. A similar approach could form the core of a strategy
- A1. STEP 1 – RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEM (215)
 - 1. Need to Distinguish Chinese "Messages" from Underlying Reality
 - a. **Sun Tzu's** warning against falling for deception against cleverer adversaries
 - b. **Confucius:** calling things by their correct names (**zheng ming**)
 - 2. It Is Foolish to Accept Misleading Stories and Assurances
 - 3. America Must Recognize That China Is a Competitor, Not a Welfare Case
- A2. STEP 2 – KEEP TRACK OF YOUR GIFTS (215-16)
 - 1. Aid to China
 - 2. Forms of Assistance
 - a. Official's testimony
 - b. Why he did not want to testify
 - 3. Very Little Accounting Has Been Done
 - 4. Congress Should Enact an Annual Reporting Requirement
 - a. Three beneficial results
- A3. STEP 3 – MEASURE COMPETITIVENESS (217)

1. "What You Measure Improves"
 - a. The Chinese create an annual analysis of their competitiveness
2. Council on Competitiveness
3. Need for a Similar Measure of American Competitiveness
- A4. STEP 4 – DEVELOP A COMPETITIVENESS STRATEGY (217-18)
 1. Adopting Reforms to Grow One's Power
 2. Challenge Posed by China's Technological Rise
 - a. Comparison with the **Sputnik** launch, 1957
 - 1) U.S. response [National Defense Education Act, 1958]
 - b. China's rise has yet to stimulate a similarly robust response
 - c. Need for a real manufacturing renaissance
 - 1) **Ralph Gomory**
 - 2) Patrick Mulloy
 3. Multiagency Program
- A5. STEP 5 – FIND COMMON GROUND AT HOME (218-19)
 1. Disunity Is Dangerous
 2. Need for a Grand Coalition
- A6. STEP 6 – BUILD A VERTICAL COALITION OF NATIONS (219)
 1. China Wants to Guarantee Access to Resources and Intimate Neighbors
 2. Natural Fear of Encirclement
 - a. U.S. should encourage a coalition
- A7. STEP 7 – PROTECT THE POLITICAL DISSIDENTS (220-21)
 1. Front Line Soldiers of the Cold War Were **Dissidents**
 - a. Havel, Walesa, Solzhenitsyn
 - b. America championed their cause
 2. Persecution of Tibetans and Uighurs
 3. Persecution of Christians
 - a. **Bob Fu** of China Aid
 - b. Chen Guangcheng
 4. **Yang Jianli**
 - a. Initiatives for China
 5. Silence of the Obama Administration
- A8. STEP 8 – STAND UP TO ANTI-AMERICAN COMPETITIVE CONDUCT (221-22)
 1. Primary Source of Cyber Spying
 - a. Hacking is central to China's decades-long campaign to steal technologies
 - b. Theft of U.S. intellectual property
 2. **Frank Wolf**
 - a. Wolf clause
 - b. Wolf has become a victim of cyberattacks
 - c. Need to reinvigorate his proposals
- A9. STEP 9 – IDENTIFY AND SHAME POLLUTERS (222-23)
 1. China Is Increasing Its Own Greenhouse Gas Emissions
 2. Amb. Huntsman Authorized Tweeting of Pollution Levels in Beijing
 - a. Ma Jun
 3. China Will Be at a Competitive Economic Advantage
- A10. STEP 10 – EXPOSE CORRUPTION AND CENSORSHIP (223-24)
 1. Fear of a Free Press
 - a. Sunlight is a disinfectant for wrongdoing
 2. Major News Outlets Are State-Owned
 - a. Responsibility for calling out corruption frequently falls on foreign reporters
 - b. Andrew Jacobs
 - c. David Barboza
 3. Bloomberg News Blocked
 4. **Self-Censorship** by Media Companies
 5. **Jimmy Wales**
 - a. Wikipedia

- b. Chinese Great Firewall
- A11. STEP 11 – SUPPORT PRODEMOCRACY REFORMERS (224-27)
 - 1. No Global Ideological Struggle
 - 2. 1975 **Helsinki Accords**
 - a. Fear of Galvanization of Prodemocracy Forces
 - b. Fear of a Gorbachev-like Figure
 - c. *Silent Contest*
 - 3. Luo Yuan’s Interview
 - 4. No Concerted Effort by the U.S. to Subvert CCP Rule
 - a. Civilian funded programs
 - 5. Projects to Promote the Development of Law and Civil Society Should Be Funded
 - 6. Need to Promote Free Market Reforms
 - a. Unirule Institute of Economics
 - 7. Earlier Direct Efforts of George Shultz and Joseph Biden
 - 8. U.S. Has More Recently Lapsed into Passivity
 - a. Zheng Qianfan petition
 - b. Separation of party and state institutions
- A12. STEP 12 – MONITOR AND INFLUENCE THE DEBATES BETWEEN CHINA’S HAWKS AND REFORMERS (227-28)
 - 1., Beijing’s Monitoring of Factions in Washington
 - a. Cold War monitoring of the Politburo by the United States
 - 2. Chinese Government Is Not Monolithic in Its Thinking
 - a. Need to determine who are the true reformers
 - 3. Poor Intelligence about China
 - a. **James Lilley** testimony
 - 1) Sun Tzu: “When capable, feign incapacity” [cf. Liu Bei on p. 68]
 - 2) Lilley’s greatest regret
- B. CHINA’S STRATEGIC THINKING (228-32)
 - 1. Hawks and Reformers Differ Sharply about America’s Intentions toward China’s Neighbors
 - a. Hawks see America’s actions as moves on the *wei qi* board
 - 10 Obama’s visit to Myanmar
 - 2. Derek Mitchell
 - a. Appointment as ambassador to Myanmar [Burma]
 - b. East Asia Strategy Review
 - c. Pivot to Asia
 - d. Views of reformers
 - 3. Views of Myanmar leaders
 - 4. Reading of **Lee Kuan Yew**
 - 5. **Lee’s Views on China**
 - a. China’s intention is to be the greatest power in the world
 - b. There is not going to be a revolution for democracy
 - 1) China’s greatest advantage is economic influence
 - 2) It will only lose if it competes with America in armaments
 - 6. Lee’s Sobering Forecast about China Has Been Met with Resistance
 - a. Reasons
 - 1) Wishful thinking
 - 2) Efforts to act humble
 - 3) Too many false alarms about a near-term China threat
 - 7. Sensationalized Warnings about China’s Imminent Global Takeover
 - 8. An Arrogant, Aggressive China Provokes Its Neighbors
 - 9. Need to Be Clear-Eyed about China’s Ambitions
 - a. Aristotle’s admonition
 - 10. Beijing’s Strategy to Replace the United States Requires America’s Good Will and Assistance
 - a. Resemblance to Britain’s behavior

- b. China works hard to shape American perceptions
 - 1) Liu Mingfu
- C. WARNING AGAINST THREE INTELLECTUAL TRAPS (232-33)
 - 1. Premature Fear of China Threat
 - 2. Misidentification of Its Strategy to Replace America
 - a. It is not a strategy of territorial expansion or global ideological domination
 - b. China's hawks are obsessed with books about America's rise to world power
 - 1) Warren Zimmerman's *First Great Triumph*
 - 2) *On Grand Strategy*
 - 3) Perceptions of America's own Marathon Strategy
 - 3. Our History of Clandestine Cooperation Has Prejudiced Many Policymakers in Favor of China's Hawks
 - a. The first step is to recognize that there is a marathon Strategy

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