Contents

PREFACE xv
NOTE ON CHINESE SPELLINGS xix
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 408
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 Triumphalist View 503 • Dai Bingguo—A Reaffirmation of Peaceful Rise 508

EPILOGUE: Does History Repeat Itself?
The Crowe Memorandum 514
Toward a Pacific Community? 527

NOTES 531
INDEX 567