Figures and tables are indicated by page number followed by *f* and *t*, respectively.

accountability: conflict escalation and information distortion resulting from lack of, 189; conflict resolution and, 257, 320; new model of major country relationships lacking, 237, 244-45; in trade agreements, 153. See also Section 301 allegations; Adams, James Truslow, 55, 59-60, 63, 164, 332n3, 333n14; Epic of America, Afghanistan: Soviet invasion of, 130; US war in, 76, 129, 130, 155, 163 aging population in China, 199-202, Agricultural Bank of China, 225-26 agricultural sector: in China, 15, 17; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151; US farm price subsidies, 264 aircraft and component sales to China, 39-42, 152 Akerlof, George, 205, 368n43 Alibaba, 106, 206, 217, 266 Allison, Graham, 107, 136

Amazon, 107, 119

America in decline, Chinese narrative of, 2, 248, 259, 264, 385n16 American Dream, 59-60; Chinese Dream viewed as threat to, 11, 259, 274; compared to Chinese Dream, 55-56, 60, 66, 274; false narratives as threats to core national values in. 168; GDP's slowdown as challenge for, 62-63, 65, 68; inequality in distribution of income and wealth as impediment to, 63-64; as justification for US international policy. 245; labor income decrease and, 164; narrative identity and, 66–72; need not preclude Chinese Dream, 61, 66; origin of term in Great Depression, 55, 59-60, 66-67, 274, 332n3; possible shattering of, 308, 335n31; as rallying cry during America's toughest times, 60, 265; rethinking of prosperity and, 61-66. See also Adams, James Truslow American Enterprise Institute, 90 American exceptionalism, 5, 134 American Institute (Taiwan), 289

Anchorage summit (March 2021), 153-55, 157, 188, 279 "animal spirits" deficit, 168, 205-6, 208, 211, 253, 266, 308. See also behavioral economics Ant (Alibaba subsidiary), 106, 206, 207, 224 anti-China bias of US public and politics: American public sentiment and nationalism, 2, 242, 256, 276; Biden's policies, 3-4, 148, 154, 232, 256, 299; Covid-19 origins and, 5, 75, 148, 167, 180-81, 296-97; government officials and Congress, 132-33, 234, 269, 274, 291, 388n29; historical bias, 281-84; information distortion and, 182, 270; racial profiling and, 77-78; scale-related fears, 230-32; Section 301 complaint and, 98; Trump's policies, 79, 85, 147–48, 150, 232, 242; USCESRC (US-China Economic and Security Review Commission), 289. See also tariffs; tech war; trade war anti-corruption campaign (Xi), 20, 22, 23, 128, 174, 233, 256, 265 anti-monopoly regulation (China), 207, 267 Apple, 38, 102, 116, 119 artificial intelligence (AI), 6, 104-8; China's push for supremacy in, 207; digital polarization and, 189; duality aspects for China and US from, 268-69; PLA drawing on AI capabilities, 238; US blacklisting of Chinese AI-focused tech companies, 114 ASEAN allies in South China Sea dispute with China, 244 Asian Development Bank, 360n17

Asian financial crisis (late 1990s), 13, 43

Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank,

360n17

326n49, 384n7 asset-dependence: Chinese economy and, 65, 223; US economy and, 26-30, 164, 195-96, 326-27n49 astroturfing, 180-81 Atlantic Council: Digital Forensic Research Lab (DFRLab), 180-81; Longer Telegram published by, 128-30, 141, 248, 274, 348n14 AUKUS (Australia, United Kingdom, United States, security pact between), 133, 157, 245, 293, 379n31 Australia, 133, 156, 157, 312, 379n31 authoritarianism: China-collapse scenario and, 73-74; Chinese political system as antithetical to American core values, 162; digital, 189; global rise of, 325n39; liberal bias in assessment of, 73; military conflict as bigger risk than in democracy, 274-75; of Xi's regime, 23-24, 175, 187-89, 251, 276. See also censorship in China Autor, David, 329n10 Baidu, 106, 217 balance-of-payments, 6, 29, 79, 196 Baldwin, Richard, 37, 328n4 Bank of China, 225-26 banks. See financial markets in China

asset bubbles, 26, 27, 73, 218, 262,

balance-of-payments, 6, 29, 79, 196
Baldwin, Richard, 37, 328n4
Bank of China, 225–26
banks. *See* financial markets in China
Barr, William, 135
behavioral economics, 50, 193, 205–6, 247, 275, 278n13, 331n40, 368n43
Beijing Stock Exchange, 223–24, 374n42
Bell Systems/Bell Laboratories, 119
Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): alliances with other countries, 58; background of, 360n17; discourse control by CCPPD about, 177–78; European impression of, 177; industrial policy and, 87–88; unlimited partnership

agreement of Russia and China aligned with, 249; US criticism of, 177–78, 361n23; as Xi's signature foreign policy, 24, 128, 177, 233, 360n17

Bergsten, Fred, 377n12

Biden, Joe: Anchorage summit (March 2021) and, 153-55, 157, 188, 279; anti-China bias of US public and, 148, 154, 232, 256, 299; Asian pivot and, 156-58; AUKUS and, 245; Bidenomics, 159-62; "Build Back Better" program, 268; China policy shortcomings, 3-4, 148-49, 158; Chinese disappointment in, 256; climate change initiatives, 295-96; containment strategy preferred by, 274; Covid-19 origins debate and, 296, 299; economic challenges of, 159-62; exchange rates and, 161; false narratives on China continued by, 3-4; Huawei and, 121; inflation and, 160-61; outsize deficits as hallmark of, 160; Paris Agreement's reinstatement by, 158, 295; Phase I trade deal with China (2020) and, 151-53, 159, 306-9, 319, 399n3; Russian sanctions imposed by, 151; student and academic visa restrictions lifted by, 142; tax proposals, 268; trade war and tariffs continued with China, 75, 160, 262, 293, 401115; World Health Organization rejoined by, 158, 300

Bidenomics, 159-62

big data: China's ability to mine, 105–7, 207, 343n11; information distortion and, 270; Personal Information Protection Law (China, 2021), 207, 368n48; US lacking comparable data scale to China's, 107

Big Lie (2020 US election), 1, 69–70, 167, 184

bilateral fix to multilateral problem, 81, 97, 149, 151–53, 161, 262, 306, 308

bilateral investment treaty (BIT): bespoke crafting of, 313, 402n25; compatible with non-market or blended economies, 312; Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) between EU and China, 314; definition of, 311–12; ownership caps on investments by multinational corporations as provision in, 313; proposal of new US-China BIT, 311-15, 319; purpose and advantages of, 312, 320; Reagan initiating program of, 312; rebranding as agreement to circumvent Senate treaty approval, 314; SOEs (China) and government subsidies (US), coverage of, 313-14; Trump's abandonment of negotiations for, 159, 312

blacklisting. *See* entity list Blair, Dennis, 85

blame game: Carter's attempt at candor vs., 276; China's wolf warriors promoting, 188, 354n17; conflict resolution requiring end of, 256, 319; denial leading US to, 166; destabilizing codependency, 11, 51, 52t, 54, 235; false narratives promoting, 5, 253, 275; Japan as victim of (1980s), 95, 166; nationalism as fuel for, 189, 320; US politicians engaging in, 29, 161, 242, 276,

Blinder, Alan, 326n43
Blinken, Antony, 153–54, 157, 188
Boeing's sales to China, 40–42
Bown, Chad, 152
BRI. See Belt and Road Initiative
Bureau of Industry and Security (US).
See entity list

Bush, George H. W., 29, 129, 342n54

Bush, George W.: labeling of China as strategic competitor, 237, 356n37; Strategic Economic Dialogue (SED) with China, 288 Business Software Alliance, 86 "Buy American" campaigns, 264

CAI (Comprehensive Agreement on Investment) between EU and China, 3¹4

Cai Fang, 367–68n40 Cambridge University Press, 179 Campbell, Kurt, 155–56, 241, 355n29, 380n48

Canada, 44, 155, 156

capitalism: "animal spirits" and, 205; behavioral complexities of, 193, 205; competition through lens of, 158; conflict de-escalation in terms of, 255; financial markets and, 219–20; socialism's triumph over, false narrative of, 2; Wang Huning's critique of US and, 211. *See also* economic systems comparison capitalism, adaptation by Chinese. *See*

socialist market economy Carter, Jimmy, 41, 276, 285 CBP (US Customs and Border Patrol), 86

CCP. See Chinese Communist Party CDF (China Development Forum), 290

censorship in China, 171–89; bureaucracy as bad habit to be avoided, 174, 266, 271; China's nondisclosure policy about its intentions as part of, 270; Covid-19 origins, suppression of information about, 296–97; discourse power, reliance on, 176; economic clout through offshore censorship, 178–79; extravagance as bad habit to be avoided, 174, 208, 266, 271; feedback loop of learning

from mistakes lost due to, 214-15; foreign interference in sensitive internal matters, economic reprisals for, 178-79; formalism as bad habit to be avoided, 174, 266, 271; Google Ngram analysis of, 173, 173f, 175; Great Firewall of China, 168, 172-73, 189; hedonism as bad habit to be avoided, 174, 208, 266, 271; information altered into false narratives by, 167, 172, 270; in informationbased conflict, 181-89; Internet access and, 172-73, 180-81; LGBTQ topics forbidden, 186; news distribution under state control, 172; online trolling to manipulate foreign public opinion, 179-81; Party control as countering distrust of Chinese people, 175, 180, 187–88, 299; propaganda with Chinese characteristics, 172-75; purging of political opponents, 256; slogans, use of, 176-77; as type of information distortion, 167; voluntary selfcensorship, 186; VPNs restricted, 186; Xi's crackdown on free and personal expression, 168, 173-74, 185-87, 363n48

Center for a New American Security, 355n29

century of humiliation (China), 3, 14, 56, 58, 66, 149, 175–76, 247, 274, 276

CFIUS (Committee on Foreign Investments in the United States), 89, 310, 340n30

Chechnya, 150, 250

Chen Jian, 291–92

Chin, Vincent, murder of, 77, 99, 282 China Banking and Insurance Regulatory Commission, 374n50

China Banking and Regulatory Commission, 227

China Center of US Chamber of Commerce and Rhodium Group study on US-China decoupling, 143
China-collapse scenario, 73–74
China Construction Bank, 225–26
China Development Forum (CDF), 290
China Insurance Regulatory Commission, 227
China International Capital Corpora-

China International Capital Corporation, 338n11

China Life Insurance, 217

China Quarterly, 179

China Securities Regulatory Commission, 227

China–Solomon Islands security pact (2022), 380n48

China Structural Reform Fund, 217 China Unicom, reform of, 217–18 China with American characteristics.

See Chinese Dream; consumerism; socialist market economy

Chinese Communist Party (CCP): anticapitalist ideology of, 2; censorship by, 175, 180, 187-88, 299; centennial of founding (2021), 189, 363n52; "Decision on Issues Related to the Establishment of a Socialist Market Economy System" (1993), 215; false narratives and, 3; largest political organization globally, 22, 187; monetary policy controlled by, 228; Nineteenth Congress (2017), Xi's speech at, 21-22; Propaganda Department (CCPPD), 171, 176-77, 181, 186; slogans approved by, 177; social credit system based on Party standards, 107; Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee (1978), 16; Third Plenum reforms (2013), 20-21, 128, 216, 233; Xi on ossified structure of, 20, 174, 265; Xi's reform strategy for, 22, 174, 211, 265. See also plans (China)

Chinese Dream, 56-59; addressing needs of the people, 57, 175, 230; American characteristics integrated into, 214, 261; century of humiliation as background to, 13-14, 56-57, 66, 274, 276; codependency's denial required for, 246-47; "common prosperity" campaign and, 64-65; compared to American Dream, 55-56, 60, 66, 274; decoupling from US and, 273; failure of China to accept responsibility for its history, 58-59, 252; false narrative woven into, 168; impact on Chinese public, 57, 333n8; inequality in distribution of income and wealth as impediment to, 63-65; model of major country relations and, 169, 233-34, 249; narrative identity and, 66-72; nationalistic appeal of, 20, 49, 52, 57, 233, 276; need not preclude American Dream, 61, 66; as rationale for information control, 176; recapturing global economic leadership, 58; rejuvenation spin of, 52*t*, 58, 67, 78, 140, 175–76, 231, 233, 242, 245, 265; rethinking of prosperity and, 61-66; Russia as ally and, 140; socialist market economy and, 232; US seeing as threat, 11, 259, 274; Wen's structural rebalancing and, 62; Xi's goal of, 11, 20, 58, 169, 233-34, 274; Xi's initial use of term, 55, 56, 332n3

Chinese negative opinion of US, 2, 211, 248, 256, 259, 264, 270–71, 385n16 ChiNext equity market, 223 Cisco, 101, 117, 120

climate change: China's pollution and energy use, 18–20; collaboration as basis for conflict resolution, 157–58, 257, 281, 294–96, 298, 304; dual circulation and, 21; economic

climate change (continued) challenge created by, 48; Xi on pollution control, 21. See also Paris Agreement Clinton, Bill, 286-87 Clinton, Hillary, 156, 241, 377n8 codependency: asymmetrical disruption in, 46, 51-53, 72, 210; background of, 6, 10, 284; in Cold War 2.0 scenario, 132, 143; conflict phase of, 6, 11, 46, 50-53, 65-66, 98, 129-30, 135, 137, 148, 210, 232, 255, 272, 284; decoupling as ultimate risk of, 272, 319; deep economic connections in, 46, 50; denial as classic symptom of, 247; dual circulation strategy and, 45; interdependency as alternative to, 256, 272, 319; intrinsic tensions of, 272; new model of major country relationships at odds with, 245-46; perceived threats in, 52t, 53, 322; political shifts and mindsets, effect of, 53, 246, 276-77; psychological aspects of economic analysis and, 50-53, 52*t*, 275; reactive aspect of, 51, 53; steps leading up to, 43-46, 262; transference of partner characteristics in, 214, 231-32; transition from relationship of convenience to, 10, 46-49; vulnerability of national dreams and, 61, 67-68, 246 coexistence as objective of Biden's relationship with China, 158 Cold War (US/Soviet Union), 130-32; arms race and defense budgeting, 130-31, 137, 239; censorship contributing to animosity, 181; collapse of Soviet Union and end of, 35, 74, 123, 127, 131, 139, 141; containment strategy of, 127, 129, 146; Cuban missile crisis (1962), 125, 130, 135; defense and industrial development

threats in, 88-89; defense budgets in, 137; definition of, 126, 130; lessons learned from glasnost, 279; lessons not learned, 123-24; Mc-Carthyism, 135–36; not a predictor of Cold War 2.0 outcome, 146; nuclear deterrence as factor in, 130; proxy wars of, 130; sleeper agents as popularized in The Manchurian Candidate film, 343n3; Soviet economy's weakness and failure, 130-31, 347n2; space race, 89, 109–10, 137; start after World War II, 126; strength of US economy during, 131-32; US-China relations during, 14-15, 139; US government R&D spending during, 109-10 Cold War 2.0, 132-35; Anchorage summit (March 2021) and, 153-54; arms race and defense budgeting, 137-38, 273; AUKUS pact, 133; China compared to Soviet Union in original Cold War, 133; cross-border transfer of technology, reduction in, 142-43; decoupling effects of, 142-46; diminished US capacity to wage a cold war, 74, 124, 131, 133-35, 134t, 157, 239, 273, 348n4; false narratives underlying, 11, 74, 75, 163; Longer Telegram (2021) on, 128-29, 141, 248, 274, 348n14; military capabilities as factor in, 239; mistake for US to pursue, 157; people-to-people exchange, effect on, 142; Pompeo as new McCarthy for, 135-36; predictions of conclusion of, 133; resistance to recognizing US-China conflict as, 132; strategy as decisive factor for, 141-44; triangulation of Russia and China vs. US in, 139-41; unlimited partnership agreement of Russia and China, 133, 138-41, 235,

249-52, 257, 273, 350n44, 382n61;

as US-China conflict milestone, 52*t;* US public anti-China mindset and, 132–33

- collaboration, areas of mutual interest for US and China to address via, 94, 157–58, 257, 281, 294–98, 300–304, 320. *See also* climate change; cyber espionage; health issues
- Committee on Foreign Investments in the United States (CFIUS), 89, 310, 340n30
- "common prosperity" campaign (Xi):

 "animal spirits" inhibited by, 168;
 based on Deng's sequencing of
 economic development, 64–65,
 334n25, 348n16; increased 2021
 focus on, 386n19; inequality in distribution of income and wealth and,
 64, 207–8, 266–68, 386nn22–23;
 innovation effects of, 368n44;
 Longer Telegram and, 128, 348n16;
 regulatory constraint contrary to
 earlier emphasis on consumerism,
 206–8, 211, 355n31, 368n44; Wang
 Huning's contribution to, 369n56
 Comprehensive Agreement on Invest-
- Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) between EU and China, 314
- Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP, 2018), 156. *See also* Trans-Pacific Partnership
- conflict escalation: American denial of responsibility for self-inflicted problems and, 165–66; Anchorage summit (March 2021) and, 153–55, 157, 188, 279; codependency's conflict phase, 98, 129–30, 135, 137, 148, 210, 232, 255, 272, 284; denial as classic symptom of codependency and, 247; false narratives and, 168–69, 181; Huawei as case study in, 101; ideology and, 175, 211–12,

232; information distortion and, 182-84, 189; intensification prior to conflict resolution, 305; interruption by focusing on global problems, 157; Kissinger's warning about, 125, 132, 138, 157, 348n6; lack of flexibility on either side, 232; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 153, 159; possibility of avoiding, 259; as repudiation of Xi's new model of major country relationships, 235; rhetorical escalation and, 135-37, 157, 165, 275; self-delusion of parties and, 232, 319; tit-for-tat retaliation, 51, 52t, 112, 188, 207, 307; Trump and, 3-4, 135, 147, 150-53; viral spread of US-China conflict, 67-68, 68f; weaponization of supply chain and, 115. See also Cold War 2.0; tariffs; tech war; trade war

- conflict origins: Chinese Dream vs. American Dream and, 61; codependency's conflict phase, 6, 11, 46, 50–53, 65–66; domestic saving and, 51, 52*t*; in false narratives as conceptual framework, 52*t*, 54, 72, 275; national anxieties and, 68. *See also* anti-China bias of US public and politics; Chinese negative opinion of US; distrust
- conflict resolution, 279–302; accepting responsibility for self-inflicted problems, 305, 319; accountability and, 257, 320; approaches to, 7, 72, 149, 255, 256, 319–20; arresting conflict escalation, 304; bilateral investment treaty (BIT), proposal of, 159, 311–15, 319–20; bilateral mindset, need to abandon, 306, 314, 319; character of relationship, transformation of, 318–20; clean-slate approach, 309–11; Cold War between US and Soviet Union, 141; collaboration on areas of mutual interest as precursor to,

conflict resolution (continued)

157-58, 257, 281, 294-304, 319-20; compromise as element of, 304; of conflicted codependency, 232; duality of false narratives on shared problems and, 260-63; enduring standoff and decoupling, 141-42; false narratives' abandonment as prerequisite to, 170; future importance of, 322; historical biases impeding, 281-84; interdependency in lieu of codependency, 256, 272, 319; methods to achieve, need to reach agreement over, 304; more to show for the effort, 308–11; opportunities for, 55, 210; relationship perspective as effective approach to, 305; Russo-Ukrainian War, Xi's benefits for condemnation of, 251; Section 301 complaint areas, mechanism to monitor compliance and resolve disputes for, 310; sequencing in, 279, 293; shared prosperity as mutual goal of, 305; sitting down at the same table as step toward, 300-301; sustainable coexistence and, 158-59; tariff rollbacks to facilitate, 307, 399n5; tech transfer oversight, mutually agreed to approach for, 310-11; transparent and open engagement as prerequisite to, 305; trust and trust building, importance of, 255-56, 279-80, 284–89, 293, 303, 305, 319; urgency of, 279, 298; US-China Secretariat as administrative and jurisdictional safeguard for, 315-20

consumerism, 191–212; "animal spirits" theory and, 168, 205–6, 208, 211, 253, 266, 308; China as world's leader in sales due to population size, 229; China's decreased interest in prioritizing, 203, 209, 211;

China's dependence on US consumers' demand for its products, 51, 261-62; China's growth and, 5, 168, 192; Chinese household consumption stymied, 194-96, 204, 210, 263, 275-76; Chinese middle class and, 192; Chinese rebalancing strategy based on, 191-92, 196-99, 210, 223; confidence and trust as supportive of, 205-6, 208-9; disruption of global supply chains, effect on, 115; dual circulation and, 209-10; ideological conflict with, 209-12; precautionary saving creating problem for, 196, 199-205, 208, 223, 262, 308; trade war penalizing American consumers, 81, 306; US as excessive consumer vs. China as sub-par consumer, 195, 203, 261; US benefiting from purchase of low-cost Chinese goods, 6, 42, 47, 261; US model of, 193, 195; US rise in consumption share of GDP (1980-2011), 195

containment strategy: AUKUS and, 157; Biden's preference for, 274; China's interpretation of US policy as, 52*t*, 182, 248, 263, 271, 276, 293, 319; Obama's Asian pivot as, 235, 241, 245, 274, 293; TPP exclusion of China as, 155, 293; Trump policies and, 274, 293; of US-China cold war, 140; of US-Soviet Cold War, 127, 129, 146

convenience, relationship/marriage of, 6, 42, 46–49; casual commitment of, 49–50; as US-China conflict milestone, 52*t* convergence narratives, 261, 283–84

Conway, Kellyanne, 185n7, 400n10 Cook, Tim, 116 COP26 UN climate change conference (Glasgow 2021), 296 Cotton, Tom, 180, 362n38

Covid-19 pandemic: budget deficit and, 81; Chinese economic effects of, 125; Chinese reaction to US blaming China as source of, 180–81, 270, 296-97; collaboration for global effectiveness in dealing with, 294-95, 297-98, 300-301; destabilizing effects of Covid-19 variants in China, 297, 301, 321; economic recovery from, 4; global growth shock due to, 68, 352n70; origins of Covid-19 debate as continuing discourse, 186, 296, 299; trade effects of, 80, 142; US blaming origin on China, 5, 75, 148, 167, 180-81, 296-97; US economic effects of, 32, 81, 134, 159-60, 165, 210, 264, 327n52; vaccine development in "operation warp speed," 89; vaccines, global availability of, 294-95; vulnerability of population and transmissibility of, 67

CPTPP (Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, 2018), 156. See also Trans-Pacific Partnership

Crimea, Russian annexation of (2014), 139, 150, 250

crypto-currencies, 208 Cuban missile crisis (1962), 125, 130, 135

Cui Tiankai, 280

Cultural Revolution (1960s): aftermath of, 9, 15–16, 30; Deng's ending of, 16, 185; as forbidden topic, 186; Xi Jinping Thought harkening back to, 369n51

current account: in balance for US during Cold War, 131; deficit of US, 32, 95–96, 133–34, 160–64, 211, 242; and diminished US capacity to wage a cold war, 131, 133, 134*t*; surplus in China, 18, 31–33, 247

Cyber Agreement (2015), 92, 241, 341n42

cyber espionage: collaboration for cybersecurity as basis for building conflict resolution, 94, 157-58, 257, 281, 295, 297-98, 304; false narratives of, 75, 269; Huawei's development of 5G and, 102, 118-19, 269; Obama confronting Xi about, 92, 241; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151; remote possibility of joint China-US action to address, 298; Section 301 allegations, 79, 92-94, 108; as serious economic disrupter, 93-94, 341n42; Sunnylands commitments of Xi on cybersecurity, 234, 244; US-China cyber accord (2015), 92, 241, 341n42; US transportation industry and, 341n44

data security concerns. *See* cyber espionage

decoupling: codependency's ultimate risk, 272, 319; Cold War 2.0 and, 142–46; global supply chains and, 143–46; Rhodium Group and China Center of US Chamber of Commerce study on US-China decoupling, 143; US vs. Chinese perspective on, 272–73. *See also* trade diversion defense. *See* military spending; People's

defense. See military spending; People's Liberation Army

Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), 89, 109, 264, 339n28

de Gaulle, Charles, 90, 282 deglobalization effects, 115–16, 192 democracy: American self-doubt over, 53, 162–66, 188–89; military conflict as lower risk than in authoritarianism, 274

Deng Xiaoping: coastal development strategy of, 334n25; compared to Xi,

Deng Xiaoping (continued)

21, 23, 64, 234; "Deng hyper-growth takeoff," 17, 19, 60, 124, 191, 203, 205, 286; domestic saving used to fund economic overhaul, 30; "hide and bide" stance of, 23, 154, 234, 246, 325n38; leader of transition to modern China, 9, 16-20, 49; leadership taxonomy of PRC established by, 324n24; "reforms and opening up," 9, 16-20, 22, 47, 176, 185, 187, 208, 225, 231; on sequencing of economic development, 64, 208, 266-67, 348n16, 386n23; socialist market economy, evolution of, 227; state-owned enterprises, creation of, 215; US-China relations and, 39-43, 48, 148, 285–86

denial of Chinese leadership: conflicted codependency and, 246; false sense of security and, 176, 270, 299; of inconsistencies of hybrid socialist market economy, 213–14, 231. See also self-inflicted problems

denial of US to deal with its economic problems: conflicted codependency and, 246; living beyond its means, history of, 163–66; reckoning point for, 166; unwillingness to accept responsibility for self-inflicted problems, 75, 98, 149, 151, 165–66, 210, 242, 252, 259, 263, 306–7, 319. See also self-inflicted problems

deregulation of US financial market, 25, 26, 264 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of

Mental Disorders (DSM), 50–53, 52t Didi Chuxing, 206, 207, 224, 266 digital authoritarianism, 189 digital polarization, 189 disinformation. *See* false narratives, as conceptual framework; information distortion distrust: aggression of China in South China Sea and Taiwan Straits contributing to, 293; between CCP and Chinese people, 270, 299; containment strategy of US contributing to, 293; difficulty to regain trust after, 292-93, 320; economic distrust in China, 209; false narratives tied to, 279; identity politics and Western bias contributing to, 280-84; information distortion feeding into, 270; persistence's effect minimizing possibility of conflict resolution, 303; Sunnylands broken promises of Xi creating, 234, 245; unfair trading practices contributing to, 293; between US and China, 36, 148, 150, 279-81; USCESRC displaying, 289

domestic saving: Americans drawing down in asset-dependent economy, 164; Biden's deficit spending and, 160; China loaning its surplus to savings-short US, 44, 165, 247, 263; China's domestic consumption and, 192-93; China's economic growth and, 5-6, 18, 27, 327n51; China's need to reduce saving, 33, 194-96, 204, 210, 263, 275-76, 307; China's precautionary saving, 31, 33, 197, 199-205, 208, 223, 262, 308; Cold-War US national saving rate, 131; comparison of US and China, 5-6, 27-31, 47, 63, 210-11, 261-63, 275-76; conflict origins and disparities in, 51, 52t, 75; and diminished US capacity to wage a cold war, 131, 133-34, 134t; post-Covid era US decline in, 32, 80-81, 134, 159, 165, 327n52; R&D funding in US and China tied to, 110-11: trade deficit due to American denial over, 98, 149, 151, 210, 263, 306-7, 319;

Trump administration and, 96–98; US need to address shortfall of, 5–6, 7, 27, 63, 79, 306–7, 400ng. *See also* trade deficit

Donilon, Tom, 240, 377n8 dotcom bubble, 70, 71f

dual circulation: clean energy and, 21; consumerism and, 203; global supply-chain efficiencies and, 369n54; rebalancing strategy and, 128, 209–10; rebranding from Wen's "Four Uns," 45; term proposed by Xi (2020), 209, 324n30, 367n36

duality. *See* economic systems comparison

Earth Day summit (2021), 296, 298 East China Sea dispute between Japan and China, 244

economic systems comparison, 260–68; conflict arising from each viewing other as threat to growth and prosperity, 272; duality of false narratives, 260–63; duality of innovation, 268–71; duality of state control, 263–68; inequality, approach to, 267–68; saving, approach to, 261–63

education. *See* human capital and education

Eisenhower, Dwight, 88–89

employment trends in China, 192, 194, 197–98, 261

entitlement. *See* self-inflicted problems entity list (US Commerce Department, Bureau of Industry and Security), 102–3, 113–14, 150

entrepreneurs. *See* private sector in China

environmental issues. *See* climate change; Paris Agreement Ericsson, 118–20

Esper, Mark, 85 ESPN banning China-related political comments, 179

European Monetary Union, 247
European Union: BRI discourse and, 177; censoring report on Covid-19 origins, 179; Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) with China, 314; economic benefits of membership in, 35; ransomware activity in, 295

Evergrande (Chinese property developer), 222–23, 283

exchange rates and currency stability, 43–44; appreciation of Chinese currency, 161–62, 229, 375n53; Bidenomics and, 161; corrections to US dollar in past fifty years, 161; global reserve currency, dollar vs. renminbi, 162, 357n44; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151; possibility of decline in US dollar, 165

export demand in China for US products, 44, 47; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151–53, 306

export-driven economy of China: continued Chinese reliance on exports to US, 48, 262–63, 328n7; decoupling's effect on, 272; Deng's opening of trade with US, 39–43, 285; post-China's WTO accession, 115, 286; US as China's biggest customer (1984–2007), 32, 42, 47; US-China partnership of convenience and, 10, 19; value-added from other nations to China's exports, 38

External Propaganda Office, 171

Facebook, 107, 181, 183, 184n4, 189, 271, 388n35. *See also* social media fact-checkers, 69, 70, 147, 183

false narratives, as conceptual framework, 1-3, 48; conflict origins in, 52t, 54, 72; deflecting attention from serious attempts to resolve problems, 253; destabilizing relationship, 54; duality of, 260-63; durability of, 70-71, 276; fact-checkers' inability to dispel, 69, 70, 147, 183; historical biases and, 284; implications for conflict from, 2, 69, 71, 98, 189, 275; narrative identity and, 67; not self-correcting, 253; political false narratives, spread of, 69-70, 161; public receptiveness to, 69-72, 147, 252; reasons for embracing, 252; in US climate of insecurity and denial, 162-66. See also information distortion: social media

Falun Gong, 186

family planning policy (China): cost of child rearing as factor, 201–2, 366n27; dual circulation and, 21; end of one-child policy, 201, 366n26; rising old-age dependency ratio in China due to, 200, 365n23, 366n28

Farrell, Henry, 115, 346n42 fears, as source of vulnerability: China's of US containment, 52t, 182, 248, 263, 271, 276, 293, 319; false narratives exacerbating, 72, 75, 255, 270; incentive to seek conflict resolution, 272, 320; mutual economic paranoia, 259; US's, of loss of leading global power status to China, 259, 273, 280; US's, of China's tech dominance, 52t, 101, 103-4, 108. See also paranoia; Thucydides Trap federal budget deficit, US, 28-29; economic challenge created by, 48, 400ng; Federal Reserve accommodating through monetary policy, 264; post-Covid era, 32, 81, 134,

159–60, 165, 210, 327n52; prior to Global Financial Crisis, 356n38; Reagan tax cuts and, 95–96 Federal Reserve, US, 24–26, 32, 160–61, 226, 264 Feldstein, Martin, 337n3 Ferguson, Niall, 377n12 financial markets: marking to market, 278n14; risk capital as source of growth and innovation in, 221; role of, 219–20; US crisis-prone system, 220, 224

financial markets in China, 219-24; American characteristics presenting challenges for, 224; bank-centric, 220-21; Beijing Stock Exchange, 223-24, 374n42; "Big Four" banks, 225-26, 230; capital market activity, 221, 223; ChiNext market, 223; credit intermediation, transition to, 221-22, 373n28; deleveraging campaign, 221, 222, 372n20; Evergrande loan defaults, 222-23, 283; independent monetary authority, failure to create, 227-28; listing of Chinese companies in US markets, 207, 224, 374n43; NEEQ board for microcompanies, 223-24; People's Bank of China, role of, 222, 225-28; reforms compromised by control problem, 226-27; regulatory control of, 195-96, 220, 224, 227; scientific development and indigenous innovation's funding, 224; shadow banking activities, 221-22, 224; STAR board for R&D-intensive companies, 223

fintech companies (China), 207–8 FIRRMA (Foreign Investment Risk Review Modernization Act of 2018, US), 340n30

fiscal stimulus related to Covid-era economy, 32, 161, 327n52

5G development, 102, 112, 113, 118–20 "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" (Zhou), 140, 251 Flournoy, Michelle, 355n29 forced technology transfer, 79, 85, 93-94, 111, 313; false narrative of Section 301 allegations, 81-84, 108, 269, 309-10, 338n11, 401n12; Foreign Investment Law (China, 2020) prohibiting, 310, 338n17; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151 foreign capital needs of US: China loaning its surplus to savings-short US, 44, 165, 247, 263; China's investment in dollar-based assets, 44, 51; Chinese purchases of longterm US debt, 25, 47, 142, 165, 326n47, 330n26, 351n57; foreign direct investment by China, 90; at time of Trump presidency, 79; US history of deficits and, 6, 29, 79, 164, 306; US need to decrease dependence on, 308. See also federal budget deficit, US; trade deficit Foreign Investment Law (China, 2020), 84, 310, 338n17 Foreign Investment Risk Review Modernization Act of 2018 (FIRRMA, US), 340n30 Freedom House, 173, 182, 184n1, 358n7 Froman, Michael, 312 Fu Ying, 237, 377n11

G-7 (Group of Seven), 139, 150, 361n23 G-8 (Group of Eight), 139 Gaddis, John Lewis, 48, 130, 348n9 Georgia, Russian conflict with, 150, 250 Germany, 89–90, 97, 104, 250, 282 GII (Global Innovations Index), 103–4, 343nn5–6 Global Financial Crisis (2008–9), 13; bailouts and US government support, 386n18; effect on Chinese economy, 19, 45, 128, 192, 218, 221, 242; effect on US economy, 49, 134, 242, 264; hypothetical removing of China from post-GFC recovery, 145–46; lesson learned by China from, 265; trade slowdown in aftermath of, 143; US consumer recession and, 27

global health. *See* health issues Global Innovations Index (GII), 103–4, 343nn5–6

globalization: China countering with self-sufficiency, 45; China's rise associated with, 9, 16, 19–20, 45; criticisms of, 116; deglobalization effects, 115–16, 192; disinflation as result of, 42, 330n21; multilateral reality of, need to acknowledge to deal with trade dispute, 257; negative effects of, 45; network-based theory of, 115; political economy of, 35; shocks of last fifty years and, 13; unbundlings associated with, 37, 143–44, 328n4

global strategic engagement. See new model of major country relationships global value chains (GVCs): China moving up value chain, 6; decoupling of US-China codependency, effect of, 143-46; development of, 35, 114; difficulty of shifting, 116; distortion of comparison of China's to Japan's portion of US trade deficit and, 342n51; dual circulation and, 369n54; example of Apple iPhones, 38, 116; measurement of value added at stages in production, 35; multinational production and assembly of goods, 37-38, 143-44; overstated attribution of finished goods and, 37-39, 329n10, 337n5, 342n51; potential harm to China from unwinding of, 115; trade diversion and, 144;

global value chains (GVCs) (continued) US tariffs on China passed through to other East Asian economies, 144 Google, 102, 107 Gordon, Robert, 344-45n26 Great Britain/United Kingdom: as AUKUS member, 133, 157, 379n31; Industrial Revolution competition with US, 102, 116; occupation of China in mid-nineteenth century, 14; pre-World War I power projections of, 282; ransomware activity Great Depression, 55, 59, 66-67, 274, 352n70 Great Famine (1960–61), 200 Great Firewall of China, 168, 172-73, 189 Great Inflation (1970s), 13, 24-26, 325-26n40 Great Leap Forward, 9, 15 great power status, 6, 273-74. See also new model of major country relationships Greenspan, Alan, 70, 227 Guo Shuqing, 374-75n50

hacking. *See* cyber espionage
Hadley, Stephen, 377n9
Hague Arbitration Tribunal ruling on
fishing rights against China (2016),
244
Hassett, Kevin, 338n8
Haugen, Frances, 184–85n4, 271, 388n35
health issues: China's nationwide
healthcare plan's shortcomings,
202, 204, 366–67nn30–32; collaboration to address global pandemics
and serve as basis for conflict resolution, 157–58, 257, 281, 294–95,
297–98, 300–301, 304. *See also*Covid-19 pandemic; social safety
net in China

historical background, 13-33; century of humiliation and foreign occupations of China, 13-14, 56-57, 66, 274, 276; Cold War, 14-15; need for new sources of economic growth, 27; post-Mao leadership struggle, 16; post-World War II economies, 15-16, 24-25; reforms and opening up by Deng Xiaoping, 9, 16-20, 22, 47, 176, 185, 187, 208, 225, 231; US Great Inflation (1970s), 13, 24-26, 325-26n40; US transition from income- to asset-based economy, 26-28; World War II, 14; Xi's ideological leadership and reforms, 20-24. See also Mao Zedong; Wen Jiabao's "Four Uns" Hofman, Bert, 386n23 Homer, 117 Hong Kong: Chinese human rights violations in, 75, 133, 293; democracy movement in, 178-79, 186; heightened tensions in, 260; Daryl Morey's tweets about, 178-79, 361n29; re-exports of products produced and assembled in China, 337n5; US trade deficit with, 80, 384n6; Xi's leadership and, 24 housing bubble (US), 27, 223, 283; subprime mortgage bubble, 192 Huaihai Fangzhou Fund, 217-18 Huawei: as China's leading tech company, 51, 101, 103-4; 5G telecommunications and, 102, 112, 113, 118-20; ownership of, 117, 120, 270; PLA background of founder of, 102; pretext for punishing as anti-China vengeance, 101, 120; R&D budget of, 119, 347n56; response to US allegations against, 120-21, 270, 388n31; sanctions on supply-chain network of, 103, 114; smartphone business

of, 121, 347n62; Trojan Horse false

narrative of, 102–3, 117–21, 163, 165, 269; as Trump's target, 102–3, 112, 118, 121; on US entity list of blacklisted companies, 51, 102–3, 113, 121; US fear of potential backdoor weapon from, 102, 112, 117–20, 346n52

Hu Jintao, 23, 128, 176, 211, 216, 227, 288

human capital and education: Chinese funding of, 28; Chinese knowledge workers, 104; Chinese students in US educational institutions, 142; US lack of funding for, 28, 269; US need for educational reform, 109

human rights violations by China:
delay on CAI's formal ratification
due to, 314; exacerbating suspicion
of other transgressions, 75, 114,
128, 153, 157, 256, 298–99; in Hong
Kong, Xinjiang, and Tibet, 75, 114,
133, 293; as sensitive issue, 186;
USCESRC report on, 289; US
condemnation of, 128, 153, 157,
188, 244, 293, 354–55n20; Western
corporate protests against, 178–79
Huntsman, Jon, Jr., 85

identity politics and historical biases, 280, 281–84

IMF. See International Monetary Fund impulsiveness of recent US foreign policy, 129

India, 80, 151, 384n6
indigenous innovation in China, 91, 108, 111, 206, 224, 239, 310, 368n44, 387n27

Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC), 225–26

industrial development: Chinese government support for, 87–92, 263–64; emerging industries, 87–88; history

of industrial espionage, 102; US in 1970s, 339n27; US support of key industries, 263–64. *See also* manufacturing sector

Industrial Revolution, 102, 116 inequality in distribution of income and wealth: AI's possible role in tempering, 386n23; "common prosperity" campaign and, 64, 207–8, 266–68, 386nn22–23; comparison of approaches to ameliorate, 267–68; economic challenge created by, 48, 63; factors in US contributing to, 65, 163; sequencing of economic development in China (Deng) and, 208, 266–67, 348n16, 386n23; as tradeoff for China's economic rise, 19, 64; World Inequality Database on, 334n24

inflation in US, 5, 6, 25, 32, 160–61, 166. *See also* stagflation

information distortion: acceptance in national discourse, 253; big data and, 270; China compared to US, 183-84, 188-89; Chinese opacity as factor in, 270; confirmation bias and, 183; conflict escalation and, 182-84, 189, 270; duality of, 268-71; impeding conflict resolution, 257; Obama on, 183, 184n3, 271, 389n35; polarized political segments as instigators in US, 182-85, 188; US public worries about spread of misinformation, 184n3. See also censorship in China; false narratives, as conceptual framework; social media

innovation: American global ranking in, 103; capital investment in, 63; China's growth in, 4, 7, 88, 103–4; duality of, 268–71; false narrative of China as illegitimate innovator, 112; great technology wave as one-off

innovation (continued)

event (Gordon), 344–45n26; US as threatened innovator, 7, 91–92, 108–12, 120, 270; US economic prosperity resulting from, 108; US lacking investment needed for, 28, 109–12, 269. *See also* artificial intelligence; forced technology transfer; indigenous innovation; research and development; science and technology

Intel, 101, 179 Intellectual Property Commission, 84–86

intellectual property (IP) rights: Chinese advances in, 104; Chinese licensing of, 84, 401112; Foreign Investment Law (China, 2020) prohibiting trade secret disclosure, 310, 338117; Huawei, piracy charges against, 101, 120; need for enforceable understanding over, 310; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151; Section 301 allegations of theft, 84–86, 108; US corporations violating, 101–2. *See also* forced technology transfer; Section 301 allegations

interdependency proposed to replace codependency, 256, 272, 319 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 294

International Monetary Fund (IMF): on Chinese excess saving motivations, 199; on Chinese GDP as calculated by purchasing-power parity, 238, 348n3, 378n22; Financial Development Index, China's ranking on, 220; Global Financial Stability Report, 220, 222; on GVCs as crucial engine of global growth, 114; on Russian vs. Chinese economy size, 249; Soviet refusal to join, 126; US vs. Chinese GDP (2030 projection),

93–94, 375n53; *World Economic Outlook* database, 144–45

Internet: China's constraints on Internet platform companies, 106, 193, 206, 266–67, 295; stock prices, false narratives of, 70, 71f; US Internet platform companies' lack of big-data support, 107. *See also* cyber espionage; social media

Internet Plus Action Plan (China), 87, 90, 94

IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), 294

IP rights. *See* intellectual property rights

Iran: sanctions, Huawei's violation of, 117; Trump ending nuclear agreement with, 118

Iraq war, 75, 129, 155, 163

James, LeBron, 178–79 January 6, 2021 US capitol insurrection, 154, 185n5, 188

Japan: 1980 Japan compared to today's China for per capita GDP, 230-31; American public blaming for economic woes (1980s), 77, 147, 166, 276; balance-sheet recession in, 164; China learning from financial lessons of, 219-21; China outpacing as innovator, 103; East China Sea dispute with China, 244; financial system of, 220-21; as holder of US treasury debt, 142, 351n57; housing bubble collapse in, 223; in Huawei's supply chain, 121; industrial development policy of, 89; innovation ranking of, 104; invasion of China by (1930s), 13-14; keiretsus in equity market bubble in, 218-19; lessons learned from 1980s, 94-99; offshoring of production and assembly to China, 144; quality circles and

Lardy, Nicholas, 84, 371111; Markets over

industrial miracle, US admiration for, 214, 232; stagnant post-bubble economy of, 95, 218, 219; unfair trading practices alleged against (1980s), 25, 29, 31, 78, 276, 342n50; US rebuilding after World War II, 142. See also trade deficit JD.com, 217 Jiang Zemin, 23, 128, 139, 176, 211, 213, 215, 217, 227 Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT), 287–88 joint ventures (JVs), forced technology transfers in, 82–84, 90, 313, 338n11

Kahn, Herman, 126 Kanter, Enes, 361n29 Kennan's Long Telegram (1946), 126-29, 141, 146, 148, 348n9 Kennedy, Paul, 131, 137, 239–40, 273, 379n26 Kerry, John, 296 Keynes, John Maynard, 205 Khrushchev, Nikita, 135 Kissinger, Henry: biased perspectives of Chinese leadership, 282; on cold war as possibility between US and China, 6, 125, 132, 138, 157, 348n6; Deng and, 40; labeling of China as strategic partner, 237, 356n37; on lack of progress in establishing formal diplomatic relations with China, 291-92; On China, 291; recognition of US-China special relationship, 236-37; trust building with China, 300; visit to China with Nixon, 41, 139, 148 Korean War, 14, 130, 148 Krugman, Paul, 400n9

labor earnings: in China, 192, 194–95, 261; in US, 163–64, 357n50 Lampton, David, 377n10

Mao, 217; The State Strikes Back, 217 Lee, Kai-Fu, 105-6, 206-7 Lehman Brothers, collapse of, 222, 283 Lighthizer, Robert, 77-81, 83, 84, 90, 96, 97, 112, 128–29, 287, 309, 388n29. See also Section 301 allegations Li Keqiang, 218, 365n16; Work Report to National People's Congress (2014), 216-17; Work Report to National People's Congress (2022), living beyond its means, US history of, 163-66 Loevinger, David, 403n31 Longer Telegram (2021), 128-30, 141, 248, 274, 348n14 Long Telegram (1946). See Kennan's Long Telegram long-term US debt, Chinese purchases of, 25, 47, 142, 165, 326n47, 330n26, 35In57

machine learning. *See* artificial intelligence

Lucent, 119

macroeconomics: Biden's challenges in dealing with China, 160–61; Chinese economy confronting macroeconomic trade imbalances, 10–11, 95, 112, 240; risk assessment of saving and investment in China, 283; structural rebalancing as strategy of US-China conflict resolution, 210–11, 240; Trump's administration ignoring, 81, 97. See also domestic saving; Wen Jiabao's "Four Uns"

Made in China 2025 campaign, 87–88, 94, 264

Mandiant cyber espionage report (2013), 92–93, 340n40, 341n44

military-industrial complex (US), 88-89 manufacturing sector: assembly rather than production line in, 38; China's military spending: China, 238-39; in migration from rural to urban cen-Cold War 2.0, 137, 138, 273; in ters and, 17; Deng growth strategy purchasing-power parity (PPP) and, 17; finished goods, concept terms, US vs. China, 238, 379n24; of, 36-37; multinational assembly in Soviet-US Cold War, 137; US, 89, of goods, 37-38, 143-44; Trump's 131, 137, 238 image of American success and, 78; Milley, Mark, 137, 350n41 US blue-collar workers suffering Ministry of Commerce (China), 310 from disappearance of, 242; US Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (Japan), 89 exports to China supporting, 44. See also global value chains; Ministry of Education (China), 106 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (China), outsourcing/offshoring Mao Zedong: belligerent posturing of, 288 135; China's isolated status at end of Ministry of Industry and Information life of, 9; economic development Technology (China), 106 and, 15-17; "iron rice bowl" of Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Japan), 89 workers under, 200-201; Korean War and, 14; Nixon visit to China MIT Media Lab study of rumors spread (1972) and, 41, 49, 284-85; nuclear on Twitter, 69-71, 181 hot line disagreement with Zhou, mixed-ownership reform model 291-92, 300; "picking fights abroad" (China), 21, 213-19, 371n10; debtas strategy of, 48; recognition of USintensive growth in, 218-19; false China special relationship, 236–37; narrative of, 169, 253; financial Soviet relations with, 14; US policy engineering in, 218, 231; governtoward, 148; Western views of, ment control, deepening of, 216–17, 281-82; Xi compared to, 20, 23 263; risk of Japanization with Marco Polo, 281-82 Chinese characteristics, 218–19, Marx, Karl/Marxism, 22-23, 174, 266, 230, 253, 283; Xi Jinping Thought and, 216. See also socialist market 325n33 McCarthy, Joe, 135-36 economy; state-owned enterprises Meituan, 106, 206, 266 Modernization Theory of countries Meng Wanzhou, 117-18 becoming more Western as they Mexico, 44, 80, 151, 155, 384n6 develop, 283-84 middle class: in asset-dependent eco-Modern Monetary Theory, 97, 342n54 nomy of US, 26, 30; in both China Moore's Law, 321 Morey, Daryl, 178-79, 361n29 and US as social problem, 48; China's status as middle-income society, 61, 91; consumerism and, NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), 314, 403n29 192 military (China). See People's Libera-Nansha Islands (Spratly archipelago), tion Army 243

narrative economics, Shiller on, 67 narrative identity, 66–72; defined by academic psychologists, 66; false narratives' effect on, 67; viral spread of, 67–69, 72

National Basketball Association (NBA), 178–79, 361n29

national defense: China surpassing US in, 273, 333n9; Deng growth strategy and, 17; navy (Chinese), 137. *See also* military spending; People's Liberation Army

National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC, China), 106 nationalism (China): fueling blaming others for self-inflicted problems, 189, 276, 280, 305; intensification of, 49, 68, 154, 175–76. *See also* Chinese Dream

nationalism (US): fueling blaming others for self-inflicted problems, 189, 280, 305; intensification of, 2–3, 68; trade policy and, 149. *See also* American Dream; Trump, Donald: "Make America Great Again" as part of false narrative National People's Congress, 177
National Press and Publication Admin-

istration (China), 171
National Security Commission on

Artificial Intelligence (US), 107, 344n24 National Social Security Fund (China),

202, 204–5, 367n34 NATO, 149, 249, 251, 382n61 Navarro, Peter, 88, 91, 339n25, 387n29 NEEQ board for micro-companies, 223–24

New Generation AI Development Plan (China), 87, 94, 106 Newman, Abraham, 115, 346n42 new model of major country relationships, 233-53; accountability lacking in, 237, 244; anti-China sentiment of US politics as impediment to, 234, 240-42; building blocks of, 235; China prematurely assuming role of major global power, 234, 237-40; China's failure to honor commitments at Sunnylands, 234, 242-45; codependency at odds with, 245-46; distrust vs. win-win aspects of, 245; dubbed "Chimerica," 377n12; economic woes and, 242; as false narrative, 245-48; new model of denial related to, 245-48; as political sloganeering, 247; problems for, 234-35; purpose of, 235-37; Russia and China's unlimited partnership agreement, 249-52, 273, 382n61; as shared prosperity needed for successful relations, 247; strategic ambiguity of US-China relationship and, 236, 376n7; Sunnylands Summit (2013) of Xi and Obama, 92, 233-37, 241, 243-45, 274; Xi's proposal of, 233-34, 288

Next China, 4, 6

Nixon, Richard: biased perspectives of Chinese leadership, 281–82; labeling of China as strategic partner, 237, 356n37; recognition of US-China special relationship, 236–37; trust building with China, 300; visit to China (1972), 40–41, 135–36, 139, 148, 284–85

Nokia, 118-20

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 314, 403n29 nuclear deterrence as factor in avoiding

"hot war," 130, 136–37, 273

nuclear weapons and technology: AUKUS and, 157; Chinese development of, 137, 350n41

Obama, Barack: Asian pivot and, 155-56, 235, 241, 245, 248, 274, 293; Chinese cyberhacking and, 92, 241; Cyber Agreement (2015), 92, 241, 34In42; entity list, use of, II3; on information distortion of social media, 183, 184n3, 271, 389n35; Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) with China, 288; strategic reassurance as phrase used in conjunction with China, 356n37; Sunnylands Summit (2013), 92, 233-37, 241, 243-45, 274; TPP and, 155-56; Xi meetings with, 241 O'Brien, Robert, 135 Office of the Central Leading Group for Cyberspace Affairs (China), 171 Opium Wars, 3, 13-14 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD): GVC process, measurement of value added at stages in, 39; IP theft estimates, 86; role of, 315 outsourcing/offshoring: change of US opinion about, 48; "China Shock" associated with, 329n10; of manufacturing, 6, 144; reshoring demands, 112, 115; US corporate profits and, 43. See also global value chains

paranoia: in economic policy debates, 383n2; of Mao, 292; of Putin, 149, 249
Paris Agreement (2015), 148, 158, 295–96
People's Bank of China (PBC), 222, 225–28; failure to achieve independent policy functionality, 228; serving as central bank, 226
People's Daily "authoritative person" interview warning of Japanization

of China (2016), 219, 221, 230 People's Liberation Army (PLA):

buildup and modernization of, 58, 137, 238-39; cyberhacking and, 92; high tech and, 107; information control activities of, 171-72; navy build-up, 137 "permanent normal trade relations (PNTR)," 286 Personal Information Protection Law (China, 2021), 207, 368n48 Pew Research Center, 1-2 Phase I trade deal (2020), 150-55, 159, 399n3; abandoning ineffective thinking of, 306-9, 319; replacing with BIT, 312 Phelps, Edmund, 368n44 PLA. See People's Liberation Army plans (China): Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011-15), 196-97; Thirteenth Five-Year Plan (2016–20), 111–12, 197; Fourteenth Five-Year Plan (2021–25), 197, 201, 341n45, 374n41; Digital Plan (2025), 341n45; high-profile industrial policy initiatives of, 87; Internet Plus Action Plan (2015), 87, 90, 94; Made in China 2025 (2015), 87-88, 94, 264; New Generation AI Development Plan (2017), 87, 94, 106; slogans incorporated into, 177 Plaza Accord (1985), 25, 95 growth and trade, 35; Chinese

political economy: balance between growth and trade, 35; Chinese leadership ability to manage, 74; coastal development strategy of China, 334n25; of European Union, 381n54; shifts in, 53; Trump's administration ignoring macroeconomics, 81, 97

Pompeo, Mike, 135–36; China labeled as revisionist power by, 237, 356n37 population growth and demographics of China, 199–202, 205, 365n23, 366n28

populism. See nationalism (US) poverty in China, 15-16; drop after WTO accession, 115; goal to alleviate through economic development, 64, 231; Xi on poverty alleviation, 21. See also inequality in distribution of income and wealth PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP, 85–86 Prince, Chuck, 358n55 private sector in China, 168, 193, 205–6, 208–9, 216–18, 371n11 productivity, 61-62; China's rise in, 15-16, 191, 194, 286, 378nn22-23; diminished US capacity to wage a cold war, 124, 131, 133, 134t; in modern economic growth theory (Solow), 387n27; per capita vs. aggregate, 194-95, 229-31, 239-40, 378n23; post-China's WTO accession, 115, 286; total factor productivity, 334n22; US 1947-91 period as key to impressive economic growth, 132; US slowdown, effect of, 48, 62-63, 65, 68, 334n22, 349n28; US vs. Chinese GDP (2030 projection), 93–94, 169, 375n53. See also

propaganda with Chinese characteristics, 172–75, 176, 358n3. *See also* Chinese Communist Party: Propaganda Department

purchasing-power parity

ProPublica investigation of fake Twitter accounts set up by Chinese government, 180

prosperity: American challenge to maintain, 61, 164, 252; Chinese road to, 61, 214; quality vs. quantity in, 19–20, 49, 59–60, 169, 202, 214, 229–31; rethinking of, 61–66; shared prosperity achieved by collaborative efforts, 247, 305. *See also* American Dream; Chinese Dream; inequality in distribution

of income and wealth; purchasingpower parity

psychological aspects of economic analysis, 50, 163. *See also* behavioral economics

purchasing power: Americans turning to assets instead of labor income for, 26–30, 164, 195–96, 326–27n49; China's initiatives to boost, 192, 223; China's regulatory oversight of asset use for spending, 195–96. *See also* consumerism

purchasing-power parity (PPP): Chinese vs. US household spending, 195; GDP shares of the US and China as equal, 375n54; military spending, US vs. China, 238, 379n24; US capacity to wage a cold war, 134, 347n2

Putin, Vladimir: nuclear belligerence of, 125, 136–37, 273, 293, 389n39; security paranoia of, effect on US and NATO, 149–50, 249; Soviet power in analogy to, 127; unlimited partnership agreement with China, 4, 74, 133, 138–41, 169, 235, 249–52, 257, 273, 350n44, 382n61; on USSR's demise, 139, 351n47; Xi and, 139

Qing dynasty, 13, 58 quality vs. quantity. See prosperity

racial and ethnic bias, 48; anti-Asian racial bias in US, 142, 282; Chin, Vincent, murder of, 77, 99, 282; Chinese calling US hypocritical based on, 154, 188; racial profiling in US, 77, 99, 282. *See also* identity politics and historical biases

RAND Corporation study on big data, 106–7

ransomware, 93, 295, 297

Reagan, Ronald, 26, 29, 94-97, 165, 276, 312, 326n48, 337n1, 342n54 real estate market: in China, 64, 283; housing bubble (US), 27, 283; subprime mortgage bubble (US), 192 rejuvenation. See Chinese Dream relationship narrative: bias in, 73; censorship and relationship conflict, 188; nuclear deterrence and, 136-37 Ren Zhengfei, 102, 120, 388n31 research and development (R&D): Chinese funding of, 28, 111-12, 224; comparison of total Chinese to US funding of, 111-12, 345nn29-30, 387n28; Huawei's budget for, 119, 347n56; US underinvestment of, 28, 109-12, 269. See also indigenous innovation in China; innovation reshoring, 112, 115, 346n42 retirement system in China. See social safety net in China Rhodium Group and China Center of US Chamber of Commerce study on US-China decoupling, 143 Ricardo, David, and theory of comparative advantage, 35-37, 149 Rice, Susan, 240-41 rise of China: in accordance with Chinese characteristics, 74; "Deng hyper-growth takeoff," 17, 19, 60, 124, 191, 203, 205, 286; as engine for global growth, 4, 145-46; partnership with US in late 1970s, 10, 25, 39-43, 47; peaceful rise narrative, 155, 176, 355n23; rebalancing strategy and slowing growth, 60, 125, 191-92, 196-99; supply-side strategy of, 17-18; unsustainability of Deng's hyper-growth, 19, 124; US economy's growth rate compared to, 124. See also plans (China) rising vs. incumbent leading powers. See Thucydides Trap

"Road to Rejuvenation" (Beijing museum exhibit, 2012), 56-57 Romer, Paul M., 278n13 Russia: Crimea annexation by (2014), 139, 150; G-8 expulsion of, 139; inheriting economic collapse as Soviet successor state, 130; unlimited partnership with China, 4, 74, 133, 138-41, 169, 235, 249-52, 257, 273, 350n44; West's mistaken assumptions about, 149-50. See also Russo-Ukrainian War Russo-Ukrainian War (2022), 138-41, 321; China's censorship of Russian atrocities, 186; China's uncomfortable position in, 140, 249-52; China-US relations in light of, 75, 136, 251-52; Chinese academics making case to support Russia, 382n61; energy price hikes linked to, 296; exchange rates, war's effect on, 161; "friend shoring" of alliances in, 116, 250, 346n42; Putin's nuclear belligerence and, 125, 136-37, 273, 293, 389n39; Putin's security paranoia and, 149-50, 249; Putin's strategy in, 125; Russian economy and, 240; unlimited partnership agreement of Russia and China and, 4-5, 74, 133, 138-41, 169, 257, 382n61; US foreign policy and, 129, 260; US-Russian tensions and, 123; US sanctions against Russia for, 151; Western unity in stance on, 250

S&ED. See Strategic and Economic Dialogue saving disparities. See domestic saving scale fixation of China, 228–31, 238 Schmidt, Eric, 107 Schularick, Moritz, 377n12 Schultz, George, 337n3 science and technology: China's Digital

Plan (2025), 34In45; China's leadingedge industries in, 104; China's loss of technology leadership, 333n13; Deng growth strategy and, 17; workers, new technology for, 63. *See also* artificial intelligence; forced technology transfer; innovation; intellectual property rights; research and development

Section 301 allegations, 78-98, 309-10; American entitlement to innovation monopoly as impetus for, 91-92; background of, 79-81; cyber hacking, 79, 92-94, 108; forced technology transfer, 81-84, 108, 269, 309-10, 338n11, 401n12; innovation problems in US tied to, 111; intellectual property theft, 84–86, 108; legitimacy of allegations, 93-94, 269-70; mechanism needed to monitor compliance and resolve disputes, 311; methodological shortcomings in, 93, 98, 102, 128-29; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151; purpose of Section 301, 337n1; statesubsidized technology acquisition, 87-92, 108, 151, 269; as US-China conflict milestone, 52t; US-China distrust and, 150

self-inflicted problems: accepting responsibility for, as prerequisite for conflict resolution, 305, 319; American sense of entitlement and, 91–92, 165; China's unwillingness to accept responsibility for, 58–59, 252; Chinese rejuvenation blaming others for, 67; codependency and, 246, 259; conflict escalation and, 232; each nation blaming other for, 247, 276, 319; nationalism promoting blaming others for, 189; US unwillingness to accept responsibility for, 75, 98, 165–66, 242, 252, 259

self-sufficiency: Chinese development of, 45, 121; of Soviet Union during Cold War, 145. See also dual circulation; indigenous innovation semiconductor industry, 89, 113, 121, 152, 264, 340n30 services-led growth in China, 192, 197-98, 201, 204, 261 shadow prices, 384n5 Shanghai Communiqué (1972), 285, Shiller, Robert, 67–68, 71, 205, 332n4, 368n43 short-term perspective bias of US, 5-6, Silk Road Fund, 36on17 Sina Weibo, 179, 359n8 Singapore, 80, 151, 384n6 socialism: with Chinese characteristics, 177, 205-6; competition through lens of, 158; triumph over capitalism, false narrative of, 2; Xi Jinping Thought and reassertion of Chinese socialism, 20, 22-23, 175, 209, 211-12, 213, 231, 265, 325n33. See also authoritarianism; socialist market economy

socialist market economy, 169, 177, 213-32; challenges of Chinese system with American characteristics, 213-14, 225-28, 231; Chinese fascination with US as model, 214, 261; codependency, transference of characteristics of partner in, 214, 231-32; conflict de-escalation in terms of, 255; defined, 213; incomplete capital market reforms, effect of, 219-24, 231; mixed-ownership paradox and, 213, 215-19; regulatory control of financial system and, 195-96, 220-24; scale fixation and, 195, 214, 228-31, 238; self-delusion perils and, 231-32. See also consumerism;

socialist market economy (continued) economic systems comparison; financial markets in China

social media: as AI-enabled information distortion mechanism, 270–71; China's censorship of, 179–80; China's use to counter Covid-19 origin story, 180–81; dissemination of false narratives by, 69, 71, 72, 167, 177, 182–84, 188–89, 253, 271, 276; pre-Xi Jinping era, 359n8; US regulatory oversight imperatives on, 183, 267

social safety net in China: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Survey, 367n32; Fourteenth Five-Year Plan expanding healthcare and retirement systems, 201; labor and enterprise reforms of late 1990s dismantling, 31, 201; National Social Security Fund, 202, 204-5, 367n34; nationwide healthcare plan, 202, 204, 366-67nn30-32; old-age dependency problem and, 199-202, 365n23, 366n28; precautionary saving as hedge for, 31, 33, 197, 199-205, 208, 223, 262, 308; quantity over quality problem and, 202-3; ranking as government priority (2002), 203; underfunded status of, 247; US model for, 262; worker "iron rice bowl" in Mao era, 200-201

Solomon Islands security pact with China (2022), 380n48
Solow, Robert M., 387n27
South China Sea: Biden stance on, 153; China's growing military capability and, 186, 239, 243; China's non-disclosure policy about its intentions in, 270; China's sovereignty arguments over, 243–44, 253, 284, 380n47; failure of China to honor

Sunnylands commitments on, 234, 243–45; as risk area in cold war with China, 75, 125, 133, 136, 241, 260, 273; US distrust of China linked to, 293; Xi's leadership and, 24, 128, 243–45

South Korea, 80, 104, 151, 384n6 Soviet Union, 9, 14. *See also* Cold War (US/Soviet Union)

space exploration: indigenous innovation in China, III, 239; US/Soviet space race, 89, 109–10, 137
Spence, Jonathan, 281–83, 406
stagflation (US), 6, 10, 25, 41, 47, 52*t*, 132, 326n44

Stalin, Joseph, 126–27

STAR board for R&D-intensive companies, 223

State Administration for Market Regulation (China), 310

state control of economic system, 263–68; China's socialist market economy and, 263–64; "common prosperity" campaign in China and, 266–67; industrial policy targeting support of key industries, 263–64; US debate over inequality and, 267–68; US regulatory oversight and crisis intervention, 263–65; Xi exerting increased control, 264

State Council (China), 171, 228, 341n45, 366n30

state-owned enterprises (SOEs): BIT allowance for, 313–14; competitive paradigm and, 158; Deng's creation of, 215; mixed-ownership SOE reforms (MOSOERs), 216–17; operational autonomy of, 216; Phase I trade deal (2020) and, 151; reforms (late 1990s) ending "iron rice bowl" and causing layoffs, 30–31, 215; Section 301 allegations on, 311; in socialist market economy, 215–18;

I N D E X 433

state subsidizing monopolies of, 221, 267, 309; taxes from, to fund National Social Security Fund, 204; unfair government subsidies of, 75; Xi Jinping Thought and reforms of, 21, 216. *See also* mixed-ownership reform model

state-subsidized technology acquisition (Section 301 allegations), 87–92, 108, 151, 269

Steinbeck, John, 282

strategic ambiguity of US-China relationship, 236, 376n7

Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED), 241, 403n31; compared to secretariat proposal, 315; initiated by G. W. Bush as Strategic Economic Dialogue (SED), 288; terminated by Trump, 288, 315

strategy: Asian pivot of US, 155–56, 235, 241, 245, 248, 274, 293; as decisive factor in cold wars, 141; Sun Tzu on, 141, 146; Trump trade war as, 150–53; US adversarial naïveté and China, 149, 353n5; US adversarial naïveté and Russia, 149–50, 353n5; US unfocused China policy and, 129, 141, 148. *See also* containment strategy; tariffs; tech war; trade war; triangulation strategy

structural rebalancing (China): change of focus from consumerism back to ideology, 211; confidence as factor in, 205–6, 208–9; to consumerism, 191–92, 196–99; failure to complete, 128, 193, 240, 242, 246, 259; as macroeconomic strategy in US-China conflict, 210–11; overreach in posing as great power in light of, 240; resistance to, 319. *See also* dual circulation; Wen Jiabao's "Four Uns"

Sullivan, Jake, 153-54, 156

Sunnylands Summit (2013), 92, 233–37, 241, 243–45, 274

Sun Tzu, 166, 234, 259; The Art of War, 141, 146

supply chains: weaponization of, 103, 114–15, 346n42. *See also* global value chains

surveillance capitalism, 107

Tai, Katherine, 153, 306, 354n15
Taiwan: as forbidden topic in China, 186; Gap T-shirt map of China not including, 179; in Huawei's supply chain, 121; offshoring of production and assembly to China, 144; "one China" policy and, 285; as part of Cold War 2.0 scenario, 133; strategic ambiguity of US-China relationship and, 144, 236, 285, 376n7; US trade deficit with, 80, 151; Xi's leadership and, 24

Taiwan Straits, 125, 128, 136, 239, 260, 273, 293

tariffs: Biden's continuing of Trump policies, 75, 160, 262, 293, 401115; China replacing US with other trading partners due to, 48; codependency and, 51; conflict resolution requiring roll back of, 307, 399n5; failure to effectively reduce trade deficit with China, 80, 262; replacing with BIT, 312; targeted tariff exclusions, 354n15; third-party countries experiencing effects of, 144; Trump imposition of high tariffs, 3, 38-39, 80, 112, 142, 152, 252, 275, 338n8; Trump's fallacious claims of Chinese payments of, 353n14; US consumers and companies paying for, 152, 252. See also trade diversion

tax cuts (US), 25, 95–97 technology. See science and technology

tech war: China's fast ascent as factor in, 270; congressional support for industries in, 89, 132, 339-40n30; as example of nonmilitary conflict, 126; false narratives in, 75, 269-70; Huawei as target in, 102-3, 113-14, 121; nondisclosure and arrogance (China) compounding factors in, 270, 388n31; as part of Cold War 2.0 scenario, 132; trade war morphing into, 112-16; Trump initiating, 54, 147-48; as US-China conflict milestone, 11, 52t; weaponization of supply chains and, 103, 114-15, 346n43. See also cyber espionage; forced technology transfer; Huawei; intellectual property rights; Section 301 allegations Tencent, 106, 206, 217, 266 theory of comparative advantage, 35-37, 149 threats and counterthreats. See conflict escalation; false narratives; fears Thucydides Trap, 75, 125, 136-38, 235, 260, 272-73, 293 Tiananmen Square protests (1989), 186, 325n38 Tibet, 24, 133, 186, 293 tit-for-tat retaliation, 51, 52*t*, 112, 188, 207, 307 Toutiao (ByteDance), 106 TPP. See Trans-Pacific Partnership trade: China and US as largest bilateral trade in world, 142; Deng establishing with US, 39-43; evolution from nineteenth century, 35; finished goods, concept of, 36-37; paradox of global trade, 36-39; US as China's biggest customer (1984-2007), 32, 42, 47; US demand for Chinese goods starting in 1970s, 10. See also export demand in China for US

products; export-driven economy of China; tariffs

Trade and Technology Council (US and EU), 89

trade deficit: Biden's deficit spending and, 160; bilateral "fix" to multilateral problem, 52t, 81, 97, 149, 151-53, 161, 262, 306, 308; cold-war comparisons of, 133-34, 134t; domestic saving shortfall as cause, American unwillingness to address, 98, 149, 151, 210, 263, 306-7, 319; effect on US-China relations, 11: expanding between US and other countries (2021), 80, 151, 306, 384n6; false narrative of China as blame for, 2-3, 38-39, 75, 78, 80-81, 97, 165, 166, 167, 247, 262, 276, 319, 329n9; made-in-China portion of, 342n51; Obama facing widening deficit (2013-16), 242; US (1947-75) compared to US (1976-91), 131; between US and China (1970s), 41; between US and China (late 1980s), 42; between US and China (2021), 79-80, 160-61; between US and Japan (late 1980s), 96, 131, 276; US facing record deficit despite Trump's trade war (2021), 80; US future in terms of, 32, 98, 164-66, 211; US tradition of running multilateral deficits, 6, 25, 29, 31-32, 79, 98, 262, 327n60

trade diversion to higher-cost foreign producers, 80–81, 97, 115, 143–44, 160, 253, 262, 272, 306, 337nn5–6, 384n6

trade liberalization, 19, 35, 174 trade protectionism, 19, 30, 80, 150 trade secrets. *See* intellectual property rights

trade surplus of China, 6, 31, 191, 247, 261, 327n60

trade war: of 1930s, 35; as example of nonmilitary conflict, 126; false narrative of US companies and consumers benefiting from, 81, 306; false narrative that only China would suffer consequences of, 246, 306; multilateral reality of globalized world and, 257; as part of Cold War 2.0 scenario, 132, 143; Phase I trade deal with China (2020), 150-51, 159; slowing growth giving rise to, 49; trade deficit not solved by, 32, 80-81; Trump's initiation of, 38-39, 74-75, 80, 108, 112, 147-48, 150-53, 207, 245, 252, 275; as US-China conflict milestone, 2, 29, 52t, 132. See also tariffs

Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), 155–56, 241, 245, 293, 361n23

transparency, 120–21, 206, 270. *See also* accountability; trust

Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation (China & Russia, 2001), 139

triangulation strategy: Russia and China targeting US in Cold War 2.0, 139–41; US and China targeting Russia in Cold War 1.0, 138–39

Trojan Horse analogy, 102–3, 117–21, 178, 269, 346n47

Trump, Donald: "America First" theme and, 149, 353n4; banned on social media, 183, 185n5; bilateral investment treaty with China abandoned by (2017), 159, 312; China blamed for America's problems by, 77–78, 147, 150, 182, 232, 292; China Initiative of, 282; China labeled as revisionist power by, 237, 356n37; conflict escalation of, 3–4, 135, 147, 150–53; Covid-19 blamed on China by, 180; domestic saving rate and, 96–98; election (2020) and "Big

Lie," 1, 69-70, 167, 184; entity list, use of, 113; false narrative and alternative facts of, 3-4, 135, 147, 184, 185n7, 400n10; Huawei targeted by, 102-3, 112, 118, 121; legacy of failure enduring after presidency of, 149-53; Lighthizer appointed as USTR by, 77-81, 97; "Make America Great Again" as part of false narrative, 29, 49, 78, 242, 252, 274, 280; "Phase I" trade deal with China, 150-51, 159, 306-9; political false rumors used to shape public opinion by, 71, 147; political theater of, 153; S&ED engagement with China terminated by, 288, 315; tax cuts, 96; TPP withdrawal by, 156; trade war initiated against China by, 38-39, 74-75, 80, 108, 112, 147-48, 150-53, 207, 245, 252, 275; viral spread of US-China conflict and, 68, 68f. See also Section 301 allegations; tariffs; tech war

trust: common interests as basis of restoring, 294–301, 319; conferences offering trust-building opportunities, 290; in conflict resolution, 255–56; courage in building, 298–302, 304; difficulties of rebuilding trust, 301–2, 320; importance of, 36, 55, 158, 206, 208–9, 320; institutionalized trust building, 284–89; personalization of, 289–92; Track II dialogues between US and China, 291. *See also* distrust

Twain, Mark, 282 Twitter. *See* social media

Ukraine. *See* Russo-Ukrainian War unfair trading practices: alleged by US against China, 6, 31, 39, 75, 78, 150, 269, 293; alleged by US against Japan (1980s), 25, 31, 77, 78, 96,

unfair trading practices (continued) 342n50. See also Section 301 allegations United Kingdom. See Great Britain United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), 244 United Work Front Department (China), 171 UN Security Council vote on condemnation of Russia for invading Ukraine, 251 urbanization in China, 21, 192, 197, 198, 201, 204, 223, 283, 364n15 US-China Business Council, 83 US-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCESRC), 288-89 US-China Secretariat, proposal of, 315-20; administrative structure, 318; convening, 316–17; outreach, 317; oversight and compliance, 317; purpose and functions of, 318, 403n30; relationship framing, 316 US Customs and Border Patrol (CBP), 86 USMCA (United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement), 314 US Trade Act, Section 301. See Section 301 allegations US Trade Representative (USTR): 2020 assessment on China's failure to comply with WTO accession protocols, 287; Lighthizer appointed as, 77–81, 97. See also Section 301 allegations US treasury securities. See long-term US debt Uyghur Muslims. See human rights

value chains. *See* global value chains Vietnam, 80, 151, 384n6 Vietnam War, 24, 75, 110, 130, 163 viral narrative spread of US-China conflict, 67–68, 68*f*, 162–63

violations by China

Virgil, 117
visa issuance, US to Chinese nationals,
142
Vodafone, 118–19, 346n52
Vogel, Ezra: Japan as Number One, 230
Volcker, Paul, 25, 49, 331n35

Wang Huning, 211, 232, 248, 264, 369n56 Wang Yi, 138, 154, 234, 251, 284 Wang Zhigang, 111 war: military clash between US and China, possibility of, 273, 389n39; as result of great power conflicts, 136, 273. See also Cold War (US/ Soviet Union); Cold War 2.0; Thucydides Trap; specific wars weaponization of supply chains, 103, 114-15, 346n42 WeChat, 106, 179 wéijī (危机, crisis in Chinese), 13, 265 Wen Jiabao's "Four Uns" for structural rebalancing, 18-21, 23, 45, 60, 62, 191-92, 196-97, 203, 230, 263, 386n23 whistleblowing, 183, 184–85n4

whistleblowing, 183, 184–85n4 win-win relationship, 36, 47, 108, 235, 241, 245, 328n2 wolf warriors of Chinese diplomatic

wolf warriors of Chinese diplomatic corps, 154, 188, 189, 251, 297, 300, 354n17

World Bank: on Asia's pan-regional infrastructure gap, 36on17; on Covid-19 economic shock's global effect, 352n70; on offshoring of production and assembly to China from other developed countries, 144; Soviet refusal to join, 126 World Health Organization, 148, 158, 180, 297, 300

World Trade Organization (WTO): China's failure to comply with accession terms, 155, 158, 287;

Chinese economic response to accession, 115, 285–86; Deng's goal to attain Chinese membership in, 285; dispute mechanism process, 403–4n33; GVC process, measurement of value added at stages in, 39; on offshoring of production and assembly to China from other developed countries, 144; role of, 315; US support for China's accession to, 149–50, 285–86, 289; Western expectations of China's accession to, 10–11, 19, 115, 139, 224, 279, 283, 286–87

World War I, 260 World War II, 13, 130, 163 Wray, Christopher, 135, 342n32 Wuhan, China, and Wuhan Institute of Virology, 5, 180, 296–97, 301

Xi Jinping: "bad habits" putting China at risk identified by, 174-75, 208, 266-67, 271; on big data, 106; climate change and, 21, 296, 298-99; compared to Deng, 21, 23, 64, 234; compared to Hu and Jiang, 128; compared to Mao, 20, 23; compared to Wen, 20, 23; on de-risking, 21; Earth Day summit (2021) attendance of, 296, 298; election as fifth-generation leader (2013), 233; elevation to president for life, 23, 256, 325n37; goal to remain in power, 276; on great power status, 248, 251; on high-quality development, 21, 49, 60, 62, 335n26; as ideological leader, 20-24; impatient personality of, 248, 273-75; Longer Telegram (2021) focused on personality of, 128-29; military buildup as priority of, 137; Nineteenth Congress speech (2017), 21-22; political climate, change in, 53; on poverty

alleviation, 21; Putin and, 139; reeducation campaign of, 174; slowing growth as problem for, 48–49; Sunnylands Summit (2013), 92, 233–37, 241, 243–45, 274; unlimited partnership agreement of Russia and China and, 138–41, 169, 235, 249–52, 273, 350n44, 382n61; US visit before taking presidency (2012), 280. *See also* anti-corruption campaign; Belt and Road Initiative; censorship in China; Chinese Dream; "common prosperity" campaign; dual circulation; new model of major country relationships

Xi Jinping Thought: banking and capital market reform and, 224, 228; Chinese socialist dogma and, 20, 22–23, 175, 209, 211–12, 231, 265; domestic saving problem and, 33; ideological purity and inflexibility of, 175, 232, 280; nationalism and, 280; Party reform and, 22–23; reform implementation imperatives of, 22–23, 33; socialist market economy and, 231; state-owned enterprises, reform of, 216; as US-China conflict milestone, 52*t*; US discomfort with, 232, 256; Wang Huning's contribution to, 369n56

Xinquan Fund, 218

Yang Jiechi, 154, 188, 233–34, 235 Yellen, Janet, 252, 346n42 Yi Huiman, 374n43

Zheng Bijian, 355n23 Zhou Enlai, 41, 140, 236–37, 243, 292, 300 Zhou Xiaochuan, 228 Zhu Rongji, 215, 217, 226–27, 290 Zoellick, Robert, 237, 356n37 Zuboff, Shoshana, 107