

Notes

Introduction: Facing Multiple Challenges

1. I suggest there can be only one 'superpower' at a time (as opposed to a 'world power' or 'great power'). The word superpower is used here to refer to a country that exercises more than global leadership or hegemony: it can impose its will on a significant proportion of the world in a large number of spheres most of the time, while not actually running the world. In a multi-polar world, for example, it seems difficult to have a superpower.
2. Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective*, p.261.
3. Henry Kissinger, *On China*, p.493.
4. *Global Language Monitor*, Austin, Texas, 050511 <http://www.languagemonitor.com/top-news/bin-ladens-death-one-of-top-news-stories-of-21th-century/>.
5. See <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2012/10/Pew-Global-Attitudes-China-Report-FINAL-October-10-2012.pdf>.

1 The Making of Today's China

1. See the foreword of Xiao Jiansheng, *Chinese History Revisited*, <http://chinahistoryrevisited.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2010-01-01T00:00:00%2B08:00&updated-max=2011-01-01T00:00:00%2B08:00&max-results=3>.
2. Ray Huang, *China: A Macro History*, p.149.
3. Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, pp.113–14.
4. Huang, *China*, p.127.
5. Fairbank, *China*, pp.85, 114.
6. Huang, *China*, pp.130, 141–2.
7. There are stories that the ancestors of the Jin might have given arrowheads as tributary gifts in the time of the ancient Zhou dynasty (1046–221 BC). So perhaps tribute travelled both ways at different points in China's history.
8. Jasper Becker, *City of Heavenly Tranquillity*, p.16.
9. One could also note that one reason Beijing was not often chosen was that it was not at that time within the borders of Han Chinese rulers.
10. Ian Morris, *Why the West Rules, – For Now*, p.389.
11. Peter Lorge, *War, Politics and Society in Early Modern China, 900–1795*, p.80.
12. *ibid.*, pp.78, 79.
13. Fairbank, *China*, p.122.
14. See James C. Y. Watt, *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*. Introductory coverpiece.
15. See Alastair Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*, p.27.

16. See *ibid.*, p.xi.
17. Until recently, no one had thought to argue that the Great Wall extended into Xinjiang: maps and books showed the Great Wall's westward construction ending in what is today Gansu province. Autonomists and separatists have used this as an effective argument that China did not pretend to encompass the Xinjiang area in the far west. But in 2001, China's state media reported that the Great Wall had been found by Chinese archaeologists to extend 300 miles further westward than previously believed – into Xinjiang. Now the claim is taken by many tour groups and much travel literature to be true. Given the political sensitivity as to whether Xinjiang is Chinese or not, we should be cautious about such announcements.
18. Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, p.110.
19. *ibid.*, pp.88, 124.
20. The repetitive and entrenched misattribution of trade as tribute has been described by several writers, for example Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p.406.
21. See the observations of Dominicus Parrenin and David Hume in Liu Dun, 'A New Survey of the Needham Question'.
22. Shawn Ni and Pham Hoang Van, 'High Corruption Income as a Source of Distortion and Stagnation', pp.5–8.
23. Timothy Brook, *The Troubled Empire*, p.71.
24. *ibid.*, p.29.
25. Paul John Bailey, *China in the Twentieth Century*, p.18.
26. The same agricultural tools described at the time of Khubilai Khan, in 1315, were in use 600 years later, in the twentieth century, even if some new crops had been introduced (Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, p.95; Huang, *China* p.164).
27. Bailey, *China in the Twentieth Century*, pp.17–18.
28. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.49.
29. Fox, Elvin and Wen 'Qing Demographic History: Lower Yangzi Valley in the Mid-Qing', 2007 <http://gis.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/QingDemography/>.
30. Spence, *The Search*, pp.45, 95.
31. *ibid.*, pp.123–4.
32. Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, p.122.
33. *ibid.*, p.151.
34. *ibid.*, p.148.
35. Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, p.37.
36. Spence, *The Search*, p.94.
37. Bailey, *China in the Twentieth Century*, p.20.
38. Frank Ching, *Ancestors*, p.317. However, be aware of Barend ter Haar's view that the term White Lotus had little value after 1600 as it was no longer self-referential and was virtually entirely used by others in denigration. See Valerie Hansen's review of ter Haar's book 'The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History': <http://www.yale.edu/history/faculty/materials/hansen-white-lotus-review.pdf>.
39. Jean Chesneaux, *Peasant Revolts in China 1840–1949*, p.17.
40. Ching, *Ancestors*, p.302.
41. Chesneaux, *Peasant Revolts*, pp.16–17; for the arguments in favour, Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, pp.219–21, against.
42. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.64.
43. See Woei-lien Chong, ed., *China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*, p.40.
44. *ibid.*, p.23. Bailey stresses the ethnic aspect.
45. Byron Farwell, *Armies of the Raj*, p.74.
46. F. L. Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai*, pp.47–8.
47. *ibid.*, pp.59–60.
48. It has been calculated that between 108 BC and the end of the dynasty in 1912 there were 1,828 natural calamities. Walter H. Mallory, 'China: Land of Famine', 1926, cited by Cormac Ó Gráda in *Famine: A Short History*, 2009, p.40, <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s8857.html>.
49. Chesneaux, *Peasant Revolts*, p.66.
50. Maddison, 'Chinese Economic Performance in the Long Run', Ch. 2, p.9.

51. Hawks Pott, pp.47, 172–3; An Chunggun, p.9, fn 32.
52. Niv Horesh, *Shanghai's Bund and Beyond: British Banks, Bank Note Issuance, and Monetary Policy in China, 1842–1937*, p.46.
53. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.73.
54. Bailey, *China in the Twentieth Century*, p.23.
55. Chesneaux, *Peasant Revolts*, p.35.
56. *ibid.*, pp.51–2.
57. George T. Yu, *Party Politics in Republican China*, p.22.
58. *ibid.*, p.30.
59. *ibid.*, p.46.
60. Bailey, *China in the Twentieth Century*, p.25.
61. Frank Dikotter, *Things Modern*, *passim*.
62. Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, pp.115, 117.
63. Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, p.xvii.
64. Bailey, *China in the Twentieth Century*, p.18.
65. Book review in *Journal of Historical Biography* by Xiuyu Wang, Washington State University Vancouver, http://www.uv.ca/jhb/Volume_4/Volume_4_Wang.pdf.
66. Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, p.122.
67. *ibid.*, p.118.
68. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, p.75.
69. *ibid.*, p.41.
70. K. Hammond and K. Stapleton, *The Human Tradition in Modern China*, p.76.
71. R. Mitter, *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction*, pp.25, 26.
72. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, p.70.
73. Professor William A. Lyell, trans., in the introduction to *Diaries of a Madman*, p.xxxi.
74. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, pp.187–205.
75. *ibid.*, p.191.
76. Robert Gamer (ed.), *Understanding Contemporary China*, p.98.
77. Andrew Simpson (ed.), *Language and National Identity in Asia* p.148. There are an estimated 30,000 speakers of the related Xibo language in Xinjiang, and Manchu are now starting to use this to refresh their language. WSJ 031009 <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB125452110732160485.html>.
78. See James Leibold 'More than a Category: Han Supremacism on the Chinese Internet', *China Quarterly* 203 Vol. 3 (September 2010), p.549. http://tlweb.latrobe.edu.au/humanities/profiles/ss/leibold/Liebold_More_Than_a_Category_China_Quarterly.pdf, p.554.
79. It can, of course, be argued that the war left Turkey with little that was not Turkish. However, Kemal Atatürk gave a clear ideology to the new nation, which was not notionally multi-ethnic like China but clearly that of a nation state. This is despite Atatürk coming from near Albania and possibly being Albanian. Turkey encouraged undesirable populations to emigrate.
80. Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, p.67. Elliott refers to the end of the ban.
81. An Chunggun, 'A Treatise on Peace in the East', trans. by Han Jieun and Franklin Rausch, http://www.utoronto.ca/csk/A_Treatise_on_Peace_in_the_East.pdf, p.12, fn; John Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History*, pp.58, 60 and 61.
82. Madame Chiang, Kai-shek, 'Conversations with Mikhail Borodin', p.4.
83. Horesh, *Shanghai's Bund*, p.107.
84. *ibid.*, p.65.
85. Frank Dikotter, *The Age of Openness and Things Modern*, *passim*.
86. Dikotter, *Age of Openness*, p.90 and *passim*.
87. *ibid.*, p.94.
88. Dikotter, *Age of Openness*, p.42.
89. Maddison, *Chinese Economic Performance*, ch. 2, p.11.
90. Horesh, *Shanghai's Bund*, p.34.
91. Carl Crow, *400 Million Customers* (1938).
92. Thomas Rawski, *Economic Growth in Pre-war China*, citing K.C.Yeh. P.
93. Maddison, *Chinese Economic Performance*, Ch. 2, p.9.
94. Dikotter, 'Age of Openness', p.5.

95. Horesh, *Shanghai's Bund*, p.65.
96. *ibid.*, p.118.
97. *ibid.*, p.30.
98. *ibid.*
99. Maddison, *Chinese Economic Performance*, Ch. 2, p.11.
100. Horesh, *Shanghai's Bund*, pp.6, 63, 166.
101. Professor Steve Tsang of Nottingham University writing in SCMP 220909.
102. In terms of public health we should note the work on adults' height as a proxy for nutrition. It rose steadily through the Republican period but then stagnated from the 1940s until the 1990s. This suggests that the Communist era was in certain respects not a time of great progress. Dikotter, 'Age of Openness', pp.88–9, cites the work of Stephen L. Morgan in *Economics and Human Biology*, No. 2, 2004.
103. Kang Chao, *Man and Land in Chinese History*, pp.92, 93, 105.
104. Dikotter, *Age of Openness*, p.86.
105. *ibid.*, pp.86–7.
106. Paul G. Pickowicz, 'Rural Protest Letters: Local Perspectives on the State's Revolutionary War on Tillers, 1960–1990', in Ching Kwan Lee and Guobin Yang, eds, *Re-visioning the Chinese Revolution: The Politics and Poetics of Collective Memories in Reform China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp.21–49.
107. Lee and Yang (eds), *Re-envisioning the Chinese Revolution*, p.26.
108. World Bank, *Re-envisioning*, 'From Poor Areas to Poor People' (2009), p.viii.
109. Lee and Yang, p.33.
110. *ibid.*, p.46.
111. *ibid.*, p.47.
112. *ibid.*, p.45. Pickowicz, 'Rural Protest Letters: Local Perspectives on the State's Revolutionary War on Tillers, 1960–1990', p.47.
113. SCMP 160108.
114. Lee Shu-ching, 'Agrarianism and Social Upheaval in China', *American Journal of Sociology* 56, no. 6 (May 1951) <http://www.jstor.org/pss/2772468>.
115. Y. C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West* (1966), *passim*.
116. *Looking at China through a Third Eye* was published pseudonymously [by Luoyi Ningge'er] in Beijing in 1994 and believed to have been written by Wang Shan. Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen*, p.148.
117. Li Ruogu, *Institutional Suitability and Economic Development*, p.152.
118. Recent work drawing on government archives suggests that this is reasonably accurate. See Frank Dikotter, *Mao's Famine*.
119. *ibid.*, *passim*.
120. Yang Jisheng in the introduction to his book *Tombstone* (2009). <http://www.pen.org/viewmedia.php/prmMID/4400/prmID/1873>.
121. O'Grada, *Famine*, p.244.
122. *ibid.*, pp.242–3.
123. Dikotter, *Mao's Famine*, *passim*.
124. Li Changyu, 'Mao's Killing Quotas', p.2. Frank Dikotter corroborates this by citing annotations on key documents.
125. Jeremy Brown, 'Terrible Honeymoon' (2004).
126. See, for example, Tariq Ali in the *New Left Review* 66, November–December 2010, <http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=2874>.
127. Jorge Castaneda, 'Companero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara', p.226 and *passim*.
128. Andrew Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force*, p.114.
129. *ibid.*, p.107.
130. *ibid.*, Chapter 5, *passim*.
131. Christopher Hibbert, *The Dragon Wakes*, frontispiece.
132. Gamer, *Understanding Contemporary China*, p.76.
133. See Wang Fei-ling, *Organising through Division and Exclusion: China's Hukou System* (2005), p.33.
134. *ibid.*, pp.33–4.
135. Gamer, *Understanding Contemporary China*, p.70.

136. Spence, *The Search*, pp.123–4.
137. McGregor, pp.78–9.
138. Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p.338.
139. Waley, p.23. The example given was for the suppression of opium consumption. Also Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p.265.
140. Barend ter Haar in Woei-lien Chong (ed.), *China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*, p.28.
141. Essay by Barend J ter Haar in Chong, *China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*, p.28.
142. David S. G. Goodman, *Beijing Street Voices*, p.32.
143. Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China (Adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 27, 1981) <http://www.marxists.org/subject/china/documents/cpc/history/01.htm>.
144. Clause 27 of the 1981 Resolution.
145. Li Ruogu, *Institutional Suitability*, p.402.
146. Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, pp.16–17.
147. John Gray, *Black Mass*, p.30.
148. Carl Riskin, China Human Development Report 1999: Transition and the State. UNDP <http://www.undp.org.cn/downloads/nhdr/nhdr1999.pdf>.
149. Mobo Gao, *The Battle for China's Past*, *passim*.
150. *FT* 130509.
151. PlayFair 2008, p.8.
152. SCMP 081011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=655fd9b697ed2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s-ews>.
153. SCMP 070510.
154. *Beijing News* cited by BBC 101208.
155. Tu Wei-ming cited in a paper by Wang Yuting and Yang Fenggang in *Sociology of Religion* 67, no.2 (2006) <http://www.purdue.edu/crcs/itemPublications/articles/Wang-Yang.pdf>.
156. *FT* 180411.
157. chinaeducationblog 260310 <http://www.chinaeducationblog.com/university/2010-03-26/npc-and-cppcc-delegates-suggest-measures-to-incrementally-advance-chinas-education-sector/>.

2 The Broken Economic Model

1. Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State*.
2. James C. Mulvenon, 'Soldiers of Fortune: the Rise and Fall of the Chinese Military Business Complex 1978–98', Bonn International Centre for Conversion (1999), p.6.
3. *ibid.*, p.121.
4. *Newsweek* 261009.
5. For an interesting discussion of this see Jorg Mayer, 'Global Rebalancing', p.7ff.
6. CESifo Forum February 2007, p.31. <http://www.ifo.de/pls/guestci/download/CESifo%20Forum%202007/CESifo%20Forum%202/2007/forum2-07-focus5.pdf>.
7. *China Daily* 040809.
8. Quoted in *FT* 040809.
9. Quoted in *China Daily* 040809.
10. *FT* 301209.
11. *FT* 040809.
12. *FT* 140512, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/f7cf01fe-9db7-11e1-9a9e-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1v8AbeMNF>.
13. A twenty-year experiment in remote Guizhou province to see if fertility would be slowed if land was no longer reallocated based on family size. http://www.sosc.ust.hk/faculty/detail/jk/2006_Do_Secure_Land_Use_Rights_Reduce_Fertility.pdf.
14. Zhang Weiying's paper on China's transformation at the University of Chicago in July 2008, 'The Reallocation of Entrepreneurial Talent', p.39.
15. Well discussed in *ibid.*, p.39.

16. *ibid.*, pp.22–4.
17. Cai, Du and Wang 'Migration and Labour Mobility in China' (UNDP, 2009), p.6.
18. Mayer, 'Global Rebalancing', p.8.
19. *China Daily* 190211, http://europe.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2011-02/19/content_12045877_2.htm.
20. Cai, Du and Wang, 'Migration and Labour Mobility in China', p.6.
21. Li Ruogu, *Institutional Suitability*, p.228ff., p.258ff., p.229ff.
22. Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State*, p.108.
23. *Daily Telegraph* 160910.
24. See the discussion in McGregor, p.199.
25. Fan Gang in *Business Week* 220805.
26. Zhang Weiying, 'The Reallocation', p.36.
27. Minister of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT) Li Yizhong quoted in *Xinhua News* 301209, <http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/counselorsreport/europereport/201001/20100106721756.html>.
28. CESifo Forum, February 2007, p.30.
29. Hou Junchun, Deputy Director of the State Council's Development Research Centre, quoted in SCMP 151011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=6b1abea2fe203310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s-ews>.
30. SCMP 151011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=6b1abea2fe203310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s-ews>.
31. Private sector growth of 21 per cent is simply the residual of moving from 3 per cent of the economy to 70 per cent in the context of overall GDP growth of 10 per cent annually.
32. Chris Hall writing in CESifo Forum February 2007, 'When the Dragon Awakes', p.30.
33. Ferri and Liu, 'Honour thy Creditors'; Deepak Lal, 'Continuing the Chinese Economic Miracle'.
34. He, Zhang and Shek, 'How Efficient has been China's Investment? Empirical Evidence from National and Provincial Data' Hong Kong Monetary Authority 2006, p.27, <http://www.info.gov.hk/hkma/eng/research/RM19-2006.pdf>.
35. *Time* 150709.
36. Based on the fact that in recent years the private sector is estimated at 70 per cent of China's economy and in 2009 Germany's GDP was 68 per cent of that of China.
37. *Der Spiegel* online 270207, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,465007-5,00.html>.
38. Jin Zhong, editor of *Kaifeng* (Open) magazine in Hong Kong quoted in SCMP 260910 (Wang Hui, *The End of the Revolution*, pp.27–8).
39. Wang Hui, 'China: Improving Unemployment Insurance', pp.27–8.
40. Vodopivec and Tong, p.2.
41. *ibid.*, p.2.
42. SCMP 110311.
43. Pierre Bottelier, Jamestown Foundation 040209, http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34456&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=25&cHash=826f0b1cf6.
44. *Beijing Review* Autumn 2006.
45. Booz & Co., *The 12th Five-year Plan*, April 2011, p.10.
46. *FT* 300912, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/62eb2ea8-06e1-11e2-92b5-00144feabdc0.html#axzz283KiNUN7>.
47. CASS, 'Migration and Labour Mobility in China', 2009, p.3.
48. See the 2010 census.
49. International Organisation for Migration website 2010 www.iom.int.
50. CASS, 'Migration and Labour Mobility in China'.
51. *Xinhua* (China View.cn) 071208.
52. BBC 021010.
53. A-15 in US Labour Bureau Statistics, <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.t15.htm>.

54. Professor Hu Angang of Tsinghua University's Centre for the Study of China is quoted in SCMP 080702. His estimate was three times the then official figure.
55. See the article in *China Economic Weekly* online in Southcn.com 190606 <http://big5.southcn.com/gate/big5/www.southcn.com/news/china/zgkx/200606190022.htm>.
56. See *FT* 161011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/8533566e-f582-11e0-94b1-00144feab49a.html#axzz1b01KJBpp>.
57. Professor John Ross at Shanghai Jiaotong University 190210. <http://ablog.typepad.com/keytrendsinglobalisation/2010/02/china-and-india-economic-growth-and-the-fight-with-inflation.html>.
58. This is because there are no social costs or regulations; no holiday pay or premium for over-time pay (SCMP 230410). Apart from the demographic implications, China is not culturally attuned to imported labour. Executives are one thing, but factory workers are quite another. There have already been riots in Guangdong involving Uighur industrial workers, and other incidents involving African traders.
59. *Daily Telegraph* 281108.
60. See *Wall Street Journal* 070212, http://articles.marketwatch.com/2012-02-07/markets/31040945_1_new-jobs-jobless-data-state-run-xinhua-news-agency.
61. *Time* 100809.
62. Wei Jianing in SCMP 260909; 20 per cent official estimate in *Daily Telegraph* 120809.
63. Interview with the *FT* 040410.
64. See IMF, 'Targets, Interest Rates and Household Savings in Urban China', 2011, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2011/wp11223.pdf>.
65. It is interesting to note that in the many areas where there is a notable male child surplus, families with sons save more, as their boys will need to compete for wives (Wei Shang-Jin, 'The Mystery of Chinese Savings', 2010).
66. Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State*, p.131.
67. Professor John Ross at Shanghai Jiaotong University 030510, http://ablog.typepad.com/key_trends_in_the_world_e/2010/05/key-determinants-of-the-different-gdp-growth-rates-in-india-and-china.html.
68. David Beim, 'The Future of Chinese Growth', New America Foundation 2011, http://newamerica.net/publications/policy/the_future_of_chinese_growth and see Currensee 270112 (The foreign exchange traders' weblog) <http://blog.currensee.com/tag/icor/>.
69. CASS, 'Migration and Labour Mobility in China'.
70. SCMP 261011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=7baecf3f1cb33310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=arkets&ss=Business>.
71. Vodopivec and Tong, 'China: Improving Unemployment Insurance', p.2.
72. Kang Chao, *Man and Land in Chinese History*, pp.92, 93.
73. Xiangzheng Deng and Jikun Huang, 'Cultivated Land Conversion', p.39.
74. Yan, Liu *et al.*, 'Assessing the Consequence of Land Use Change', pp.16–17.
75. Liu and Tian, 'China's Land Cover and Use Change', p.1.
76. Liu and Tian state that cropland reduced between 1980 and 2005, *ibid.*, p.1.
77. Franklin L. Ho, and Ministry of Agriculture, Beijing, http://english.agri.gov.cn/sa/ca/00a/201003/t20100304_1661.htm Using populations of 500 million in 1935 and 1.328 billion in 2008.
78. *FT* 200309.
79. Zhang Weiying, 'The Reallocation', p.5 and *passim*.
80. The Asian Development Bank, <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Books/ADO/2010/Update/ado2010-upd>.
81. SCMP 020410; *FT* 240310.
82. Professor Bardhan in Yale Global online 250909; *FT* 160110.
83. *FT* 260310.
84. Eichengreen, Park and Shin, 'When Fast Growing Economies Slow Down: International Evidence and Implications for the People's Republic of China', ADB Working Paper Series 262 (2011), <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Working-Papers/2011/Economics-WP262.pdf>.
85. State Administration for Foreign Exchange, http://www.safe.gov.cn/model_safe_en/tjsj_en/tjsj_detail_en.jsp?ID=303070000000000000&id=4 etc.

86. See, for example, *FT* weblog, 141011, <http://blogs.ft.com/the-world/2011/10/chinas-fear-of-the-talent-show/#axzz1b7iT7GCY>.
87. *Global Times* 020611, <http://opinion.globaltimes.cn/commentary/2011-06/661483.html>.
88. *Le Figaro* 190210.
89. *FT* 030610.
90. SCMP 260410.
91. Thomas J. Christensen, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and James Swan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, testifying to the US Senate 040608, <http://www.africom.mil/getArticle.asp?art=1786>.
92. Hanlong Mining, <http://www.hanlongminning.com/>.
93. State Council, 'China–Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation', Beijing 2010, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-12/23/c_13661632.htm.
94. Richard F. Grimmett, 'Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2001–2008', CRS 2009, p.37.
95. Ben Simpfendorfer, *The New Silk Road*, p.137.
96. US companies appear to prefer investing in the oilfields of Equatorial Guinea, which is a thirty-year-old dictatorship where reportedly oil revenues are stolen and torture is widespread: *FT* 280309.
97. United Nations Radio 231210, <http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/english/detail/109843.html>.
98. 121110 Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) http://english.cas.cn/EshNe/CASE/201011/t20101112_61341.shtml.
99. Maplecroft, the global risk consultant, <http://www.maplecroft.com>.
100. Li Ruogu, *Institutional Suitability*, p.3.
101. *FT* 240410.
102. *Guardian* 031109.
103. *FT* 240410.
104. *Time* 230309.
105. *FT* 020610.
106. *FT* 040610.
107. Tai Ming Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.345, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2011.574976>.

3 The Elusive Knowledge Economy

1. Dushko Josheski and Cane Koteski, 'The Causal Relationship between Patent Growth and Growth of GDP with Quarterly Data in the G7 Countries: Cointegration, ARDL and Error Correction Models', Goce Delcev University-Stip, Macedonia 2011, http://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/33153/1/MPRA_paper_33153.pdf.
2. Chen Yutian in a University of Oregon interview, April 2000.
3. *Daily Telegraph* 180810.
4. Tai Ming, Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.345.
5. *Newsweek* January 2006.
6. Danny Breznitz, *The Run on the Red Queen*, *passim*.
7. PricewaterhouseCoopers, 'Global Reach', pp.1–2ff.
8. OECD Factbook 2008, *Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics*.
9. Frank Gannon of the European Molecular Biology Association writing in EMBO Rep. 2002 15 August, 3(8): 701. doi: 10.1093/embo-reports/kvf163 <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1084217/>.
10. See <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind12/c4/c4s8.htm>.
11. See the estimates for growth in 2013 versus 2012 to calculate the 2012 numbers in the Canada-China Friendship Association website: <http://youxie.ca/report-chinas-r-d-spending-to-surpass-us-in-10-years/>.
12. UNDP, Human Development Report, 2007–8.
13. WEF, The Global Competitiveness Report 2011–2012 (2011), http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GCR_Report_2011-12.pdf.

14. INSEAD, The Global Innovation Index 2011, 2011, http://www.globalinnovationindex.org/gii/GII%20COMPLETE_PRINTWEB.pdf.
15. IMD, 'World Competitiveness Yearbook Rankings 2011', <http://www.imd.org/research/publications/wcy/upload/scoreboard.pdf>.
16. www.oecd.org/document/44/0,3343,en_2649_34273_41204780_1_1_1_1,00.html.
17. Michael Schrage of MIT writing in the *FT* 071105.
18. *ibid.*
19. Birdsall and Rhee, 'Does Research and Development Contribute to Economic Growth in Developing Countries?', 1993.
20. P. D. Hien, 'A Comparative Study of Research Capabilities of East Asian Countries and Implications for Vietnam' Vietnam Atomic Energy Agency, http://www.vaec.gov.vn/Portals/0/Images/Document/25_3_2010_1.pdf.
21. SCMP 180310.
22. Felipe Larrain, 'Innovation in Latin America', Santiago, October 2008.
23. <http://infoproc.blogspot.com/2006/03/china-research-and-development.html>.
24. NSF, *Science and Engineering Indicators 2010*, Chapter 4 (Arlington, Virginia), <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind10/>, shows 2006 US R&D expenditure in China at \$804 million. The Chinese Ministry of Science and Technology in *China Science and Technology Statistics Data Book 2007* states that total R&D expenditure in 2006 was RMB300 billion (\$37.5bn).
25. US–China Business Council, *Bringing R&D to China*, April 2008.
26. Xinhua 100110, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2010-01/10/content_12786073.htm.
27. NSF, *Science and Engineering Indicators 2010*, Chapter 4.
28. NBS 2009 20–46, <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2009/indexeh.htm>.
29. Xinhua 100110, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2010-01/10/content_12786073.htm.
30. Florida, Mellander, 2008.
31. In the report, mentioned in the bibliography, WB, DRC 'China 2030' (2012), p.176.
32. SCMP 180310.
33. Cited by the *Economist* 141010, <http://www.economist.com/node/17257940>.
34. *FT* 290312, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/a86ab244-6d96-11e1-b98d-00144feab49a.html#axzz1qTh6ddSv>.
35. *Economist* 141010, <http://www.economist.com/node/17257940>.
36. UNESCO Science Report 2010.
37. Altbach, Reisberg, 'Trends in Global Higher Education', p.i.
38. PricewaterhouseCoopers, 'Global Reach', p.5.
39. Juliane Bielinski, 'Globalisation of R+D to China'.
40. David Zweig, ILO 2006.
41. SCMP 180310.
42. Tai Ming Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation'.
43. *Caixin* 121110, <http://english.caixin.com/2010-11-12/100198348.html>.
44. Milan Brahmbhatt and Albert Hu, 'Ideas and Innovation in East Asia', p.37.
45. US–China Business Council, *Bringing R&D to China*.
46. Yuqing Xing and Detert Neal, 'How the iPhone Widens the United States Trade Deficit with the People's Republic of China', Asian Development Bank Institute, 2010, <http://www.adbi.org/files/2010.12.14.wp257.iphone.widens.us.trade.deficit.prc.pdf>.
47. Tai Ming Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.331.
48. *Economist* 160110.
49. Tai Ming Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.344.
50. *Le Figaro* 090909; Xinhua 070609.
51. *Yale Daily News* 281207.
52. Reported by China News Service cited by SCMP 220910.
53. *China Daily* 170111.
54. Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, p.100.
55. Harley Farnsworth McNair (ed.), 'China', p.398. For a quotation from Confucius, see Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p.257.

56. G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, p.144.
57. Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, p.59.
58. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.65.
59. Morris, p.379.
60. *ibid.*, p.380.
61. Joseph Needham, *Science in Traditional China*, p.121.
62. See the foreword to Xiao Jiansheng's *China History Revisited*. In English: <http://chinahistoryrevisited.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2010-01-01T00:00:00%2B08:00&updated-max=2011-01-01T00:00:00%2B08:00&max-results=3>.
63. See the interview with the Xiao Jiansheng 310110: [http://asiancorrespondent.com/28252/chat-with-chinese-author-xiao-jiansheng/University of California, Irvine](http://asiancorrespondent.com/28252/chat-with-chinese-author-xiao-jiansheng/University%20of%20California,Irvine).
64. Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p.392.
65. Liu Dun, 'A New Survey'.
66. Toynbee, *A Study*, p.63.
67. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West*, p.497.
68. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Vol. II, p.501.
69. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, pp.140–1.
70. Christian Wolmar, *Blood, Iron and Gold*, p.210.
71. David Pong, 'Confucian Patriotism', p.647.
72. Wolmar, *Blood, Iron and Gold*, pp.210, 211.
73. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, p.43ff.
74. *ibid.*, Introduction, *passim* and pp.7–8.
75. Horesh and Landes, pp.17–20.
76. Wang Hui, pp.82–3.
77. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West*, pp.26–7.
78. Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p.619.
79. *ibid.*, p.35.
80. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.49.
81. See the website <http://www.interbrand.com/en/best-global-brands/best-global-brands-2008/best-global-brands-2011.aspx>.
82. http://www.millwardbrown.com/BrandZ/Top_100_Global_Brands.aspx Millward Brown.
83. 2011 R&D EU Scoreboard, http://iri.jrc.ec.europa.eu/research/docs/2011/SB2011_World_top_1400.pdf.
84. *Marketing Weekly* 180210.
85. WIPO IP Facts and Figures, 2012 edn, see Data and Graphs Figure B.3, <http://www.wipo.int/ipstats/en/>.
86. *Medical News Today* 250507, <http://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/72220.php>.
87. Alan Vandemolen of Edelman quoted in *FT* 190111.
88. *Guardian* 021208.
89. United Nations Radio 260908, <http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/english/detail/35865.html>.
90. *Guardian* 170707.
91. SCMP 270311.
92. SCMP 280911, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=5b6259a49faa2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s-ews>.
93. Lu Xun, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*, trans. and introduced by William A. Lyell (1990), p.xxx.
94. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, p.137.
95. Lu Xun, *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*, p.xxxi.
96. SCMP 080309.
97. *Global Times* 211011, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/680288/Voices.aspx>.
98. See http://www.booz.com/global/home/what_we_think/global-innovation-1000/top-innovators-spenders/51180614.
99. Adam Segal writing in the CNN weblog 100311. <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2011/03/10/why-american-innovation-will-beat-out-china/>.
100. *Economist* 150410, <http://www.economist.com/node/15879359>.

101. FT 161011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/0b05d818-de75-11e0-a2c0-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1b01KJBpp>.
102. Tai Ming Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.334.
103. Book review of Karl Gerth, *As China Goes, So Goes the World*, <http://www.globalforesight-books.org/Book-of-the-Month/as-china-goes-gerth.html>.
104. Reuters 140411, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/04/14/us-china-usa-cyberespionage-idUSTRE73D24220110414?pageNumber=1>.
105. The Law Journal Feeds 010411, <http://law.journalfeeds.com/information-technology/wake-forest-intellectual-property-law-journal/the-rising-threat-of-corporate-espionage-%E2%80%93it%E2%80%99s-electric/20110401/>.
106. Zorina B. Khan, *The Democratisation of Invention* (2005), Preface.
107. China.org.cn 151011, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-10/15/content_23626282_2.htm.
108. Adam Segal writing in the CNN weblog 100311, <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2011/03/10/why-american-innovation-will-beat-out-china/>.
109. Addressing multinational executives in Guangzhou, FT 301111.
110. Gerth, p.155.
111. 280711 BBC, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-14321131>.
112. BBC 280711, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-14321787>.
113. Global Times 280911, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/677381/The-signal-of-Shanghai-subway-crash.aspx>.
114. World Affairs March/April 2011, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/articles/2011-MarApr/full-Morais-MA-2011.html>.
115. See the discussion in Chapter 11 above about India, Japan and Russia.
116. Global Times 261011, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/680930/Public-trust-is-withering-on-Chinas-bigger-projects.aspx>.
117. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, pp.61, 66.
118. See China Daily 190712, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2012-07/19/content_15601041.htm.
119. IPS News 040811, <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=56741>.
120. China Daily 280108, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2008-01/28/content_6424054.htm.
121. People's Daily 220201, http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/english/200102/22/eng20010222_63087.html.
122. Morris, *Why the West Rules*, p.201.
123. For example, Douglas J. Keenan, 'Astro-Historiographic Chronologies of Early China are Unfounded', *East Asian History* 23 (2002), <http://www.informath.org/pubs/EAH02a.pdf>.
124. China.org.cn 151011, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-10/15/content_23626282_2.htm.
125. Pan Su-yan, *University Autonomy, the State and Social Change in China*, pp.61–2.
126. *ibid.*, p.162.
127. See Marie-Carine Lall and Edward Vickers, *Education as a Political Tool in Asia*, pp.67–77.
128. Huan Xin, President of the Mainland Students Association at Shue Yan University, quoted in SCMP 231011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=3f27c26117523310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Education&s=Lifestyle>.
129. SCMP 310312, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=d7cf231fe3466310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Columns+%26+Insight&s=Opinion>.
130. Tai Ming Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.335.
131. 'Why Half a Nobel Prize Again?' on a website dated 010109, <http://www.21pinglun.com/?p=285>.
132. FT 040110, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c67477f4-f8cf-11de-beb8-00144feab49a.html#axzz1GB5SRvY>.

133. SCMP 011011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=62e2893c4ab2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
134. Stanislas Dehaene, *The Number Sense*, pp.102–3.
135. China Daily 250707.
136. People's Daily online 120309, <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6612934.html>.
137. http://www.mla.org/pdf/06enrollmentsurvey_final.pdf.
138. http://www.mla.org/pdf/2009_enrollment_survey_pr.pdf.
139. Scott McGinnis, 'Heritage as a Gateway: Chinese as a Heritage Language', p.3.
140. Ali Allawi, *The Crisis of Islamic Civilisation*, p.134.
141. Private conversation with Wally Olins in London, 2011.
142. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, p.142.
143. Andrew Simpson (ed.), *Language and National Identity in Asia*, pp.151–2.
144. *ibid.*, p.152.
145. *From State to Nation: The Forging of the Han through Language Policy in the PRC and Taiwan* (2005), p.394, http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv3/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__journal_of_international_law_and_politics/documents/documents/ecm_pro_059617.pdf.
146. Simpson (ed.), *Language and National Identity in Asia*, p.155.
147. Gernet, p.330.
148. Spengler, *The Decline*, Vol. II, p.145.
149. See work by the researcher Patrick Hassell Zein, <http://www.zein.se/patrick/3000en.html>.
150. Economist 230409.
151. LA Times 120710, <http://articles.latimes.com/2010/jul/12/world/la-fg-china-characters-20100712>.
152. Private conversation with Thomas Rawski, 2010.
153. NYT 160489.
154. NRC, Office of Scientific and Engineering Personnel, 'Foreign and Foreign-Born Engineers in the United States', 1988, http://books.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=1525&page=5.
155. NSF, National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics (NCSES), 'Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities: Summary Report 2007–08', Table 11, <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/nsf10309/pdf/tab11.pdf>.
156. SCMP 040411.
157. Damian Harper and David Elmer, *Shanghai City Guide*, p.32.
158. Global Times 230911, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/676549/1-of-Shanghais-population-from-overseas.aspx>. The fabled 400,000 Russians in Beijing are largely traders who travel in and out.
159. NBS of the People's Republic of China 290411, http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/newsand-comingevents/t20110429_402722638.htm.
160. Moses Abramovitz, 'Catching Up, Forging Ahead, and Falling Behind', *Journal of Economic History*, 46, No. 2, The Tasks of Economic History (June 1986), pp.405–6, <http://www.cenet.org.cn/userfiles/2007-9-25/20070925002223921.pdf>.

4 Finance

1. C. Fred Bergsten, 'A Proposed Strategy to Correct the Chinese Exchange Rate', Congressional Testimony Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2010, <http://www.iie.com/publications/testimony/bergsten20100916.pdf>.
2. SCMP 15031. In May 2008, the economist John Greenwood estimated that 85 per cent of foreign exchange reserves appeared to be balanced by commercial bank reserves at the PBC and bank purchases of PBC bonds.
3. John Greenwood, 'The Costs and Implications of PBC Sterilisation', 2008, Cato, <http://www.cato.org/pubs/journal/cj28n2/cj28n2-4.pdf>.
4. Time 100809.
5. Estimates of interest received and paid were made in Gagnon, Lardy and Borst, 'The Internal Cost of China's Currency Policy' (Peterson Institute, 2011). Published on a weblog, <http://www.piie.com/blogs/china/?p=422>.

6. See *Daily Telegraph* 100512, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9258317/Chinese-sovereign-wealth-fund-stops-buying-European-government-debt.html>.
7. See US Treasury weblinks for major foreign holders of debt and for total debt outstanding: <http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/data-chart-center/tic/Documents/mfh.txt>, <http://www.treasurydirect.gov/govt/reports/pd/mspd/2011/opds072011.pdf>.
8. Professor John Taylor, Stanford University 260712, http://johnbtaylorsblog.blogspot.hk/2012_07_01_archive.html.
9. *Sunday Telegraph* 190910.
10. SCMP 131009.
11. *Newsweek* 200910.
12. *Newsweek* 111010; such policies come with severe social cost, as we note in Japan with the doubling in old-age poverty and the trebling in shoplifting by the elderly.
13. Booz & Co., *The 12th Five-year Plan*, April 2011, p.5.
14. See the work of Wang Shaogang and Ha Angang.
15. The Open Budget Survey 2008, p.7.
16. *Economic Observer* 110411, <http://www.eeo.com.cn/ens/2011/0519/201661.shtml>.
17. *Economist* 201110, http://www.economist.com/node/17528136?story_id=17528136.
18. For example, with the Zhejiang bond issue. See SCMP 071011. <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=74986ef0a1ad2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Companies+%26+Finance&s=Business>.
19. Reuters 030810, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE6721D320100803>.
20. *Economist* 110310.
21. SCMP 240310.
22. FT 300912, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/3/b4d68d96-0981-11e2-a424-00144feabdc0.html#axzz283KiNUN7>.
23. Wang Xiaolu, deputy director of the national economic research institute under the China Reform Foundation in 2007. Cited in *China Daily* 120510.
24. However, the US defence budget is also sometimes said to be understated. Joe Stiglitz, the Nobel Prize-winning economist, has written in considerable detail about the lacunae in America's declarations of military expenditure. He makes this point particularly strongly in connection with the official budgeting for the Iraq War in his book, J. Stiglitz and L. Bilmes, *The Three Trillion Dollar War*.
25. Bloomberg 040309.
26. SIPRI Yearbook 2011, <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2012/files/SIPRIYB12Summary.pdf>. In this context, we should note that America's habit of contracting what are effectively mercenaries in Afghanistan and Iraq has led to official charges of up to \$60 billion of waste, with perhaps another \$60 billion to come (Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, *Transforming Wartime Contracting*. Final Report to US Congress 2011, www.wartimecontracting.gov, pp.1 and 6).
27. See the debate in the 2011 NPC, reported in SCMP 100311.
28. See Nicholas Borst PIIE 110512, <http://www.piie.com/blogs/china/?p=1258>.
29. Li Ruogu, *Institutional Suitability*, pp.258, 260.
30. The Agricultural Development Bank of China, the China Development Bank and the Export–Import Bank of China.
31. Detailed analysis in WSJ 090311, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703883504576186252054344030.html>.
32. SCMP 280912, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1048977/boom-city-dongguan-faces-bankruptcy>.
33. Gagnon and Hinterschweiger, *The Global Outlook for Government Debt over the Next 25 Years* (Peterson Institute, 2011), p.30, http://www.piie.com/publications/chapters_preview/6215/iie6215.pdf.
34. FT 220910.
35. Including Credit Suisse analysts, reported in SCMP 131011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=dd2d4eeb409f2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Companies+%26+Finance&s=Business>.
36. *ibid.*

37. Survey by US law firm Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw Pittman in 2011, cited in SCMP 050311.
38. A report from China's National Bureau of Economic Research cited in SCMP 170311.
39. Richard Podpiera, *Progress in China's Banking Sector Reform: Has Bank Behavior Changed?* (IMF, 2006).
40. Deputy Governor Hu Xiaolian cited on the PBC website 310510 <http://www.pbc.gov.cn/english/detail.asp?col=6500&ID=191>.
41. FT 310311.
42. Estimated by researchers GaveKal and quoted in SCMP 101011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=28538b95b19e2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Columns&s=Business>.
43. FT 091011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/a83e5cf4-f02c-11e0-977b-00144feab49a.html#axzz1aLUTKtMO>.
44. A survey by the firm Alibaba and Peking University cited in SCMP 151011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=6b1abea2fe203310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
45. FT 091011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/a83e5cf4-f02c-11e0-977b-00144feab49a.html#axzz1aLUTKtMO>.
46. Ferri and Liu, 'Honour thy Creditors'.
47. SCMP 260909.
48. SCMP 131011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=190d4eeb409f2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Companies+%26+Finance&s=Business>.
49. SCMP 200910.
50. See *Economist* 190512, <http://www.economist.com/node/21555552>.
51. SCMP 180409.
52. See Erica Downs and Michal Meidan, 'Business and Politics in China: The Oil Executive Reshuffle of 2011', *China Security*, Issue 19.
53. SCMP 150311.
54. Reported by *China Daily* 110311 on People's Forum website, <http://www.peopleforum.cn/viewthread.php?tid=77163>.
55. IMF, *People's Republic of China: Financial System Stability Assessment* (2011), <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2011/cr11321.pdf>, p.7.

5 Social Welfare: Missing Umbrella

1. SCMP 240310 and *Times* 101210.
2. See World Bank, 'From Poor Areas to Poor People' (March 2009).
3. *ibid.*, pp.iv–viii.
4. For example, Dr Hu Biliang, deputy director of the China Centre for Rural Governance Research, cited in SCMP 060311.
5. Professor Zheng Fengtian of Renmin University and Shen Wen CPPCC delegate, cited in SCMP 010411.
6. Global Hunger index IFPRI 2010, <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ghi10.pdf>.
7. ADB Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific 2010, http://www.adb.org/documents/books/key_indicators/.
8. Parekh, MacInnes and Kenway, 'Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion 2010' (Joseph Rowntree Foundation), <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/poverty-social-exclusion-2010-full.pdf>.
9. <http://www.fns.usda.gov/pd/34SNAPmonthly.htm>.
10. *Economist* 091010.
11. Ding Ning Ning, 'Conceptions, Policies and Challenges Arising from Daily Life'.
12. World Bank *Meeting the Challenges of Secondary Education*, p.260.
13. Ding Ning Ning, 'Conceptions, Policies and Challenges'.
14. China.org.cn 151011. http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-10/15/content_23626282_2.htm.
15. SCMP 021010.
16. OECD, *Review of Tertiary Education, China* (2009), p.83.

17. China.org.cn 151011, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-10/15/content_23626282_2.htm.
18. University World News 100711, <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20110708162827633>.
19. *Daily Telegraph* 281108.
20. SCMP 130309.
21. The UK's *Daily Mail* in 2012 carried a photograph of dozens of Chinese students studying for the *gaokao* while receiving intravenous drips of energy supplement: *Daily Mail* 070512, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2140719/Education-bosses-hook-Chinese-high-school-students-IV-drips-energy-boosts-help-graduate.html>.
22. AEI Research on the *gaokao*, 2009.
23. MGI, 'Addressing China's Looming Talent Shortage' (2005), http://www.google.ch/#hl=en&sugexp=gsihc&cp=53&gs_id=3&xhr=t&q=GI+%E2%80%9CAddressing+China%E2%80%99s+Looming+Talent+Shortage%E2%80%9D+2005&pf=p&scient=psy&site=&source=hp&rlz=1W1GGLL_en&pbx=1&oq=GI+%E2%80%9CAddressing+China%E2%80%99s+Looming+Talent+Shortage%E2%80%9D+2005&aq=f&aql=&gs_sm=&gs_upl=&bav=on.2,or.r_gc.r_pw.&fp=e38e133e1426acae&biw=1280&bih=541.
24. See also Kumar Goldman and Liu, 2008. Interestingly, a survey by the Indian Manufacturers' Council of domestic businessmen, at about the same time, came to almost the same conclusion – 75–90 per cent unsuitable – for similar reasons.
25. See Shanghai Jiaotong University, <http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU2011.html>.
26. SCMP 130309.
27. A McKinsey quarterly survey published in 2008, cited by *FT* 070509, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/2c827696-3a9d-11de-8a2d-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1GB5SRVY>.
28. OECD, *Education at a Glance* (2010), <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/45/39/45926093.pdf>.
29. See *WSJ* 220812, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390443545504577566752847208984.html>.
30. It appears at first sight that there is more cheating in the SATS in the US. However, on closer examination, the cheating in US exams seems substantially to be associated with Asian students.
31. SCMP 070510.
32. See work by the UN's Population Division, statisticians at the University of Washington and Cai Yong at the University of North Carolina cited in BBC 190912, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-19630110>. See also Gu Baochang and Cai Yong, 'Fertility Prospects in China', UN Population Division, 2011.
33. *Daily Telegraph* 040709.
34. Gu Baochang and Cai Yong, 'Fertility Prospects in China'.
35. Gavin W. Jones, 'Recent Fertility Trends, Policy Responses and Fertility Prospects in Low Fertility Countries of East and Southeast Asia', UN Population Division 2011.
36. Gu Baochang and Cai Yong, 'Fertility Prospects in China'.
37. Li Shuzhuo, 'Imbalanced Sex Ratio at Birth and Comprehensive Intervention in China', *Daily Telegraph* 310510. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/7787661/Chinese-hiding-three-million-babies-a-year.html>.
38. Chen Wei, 'Sex Ratios at Birth in China'.
39. See Frank Dikotter's *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period* (1995) and the review, http://www.galtoninstitute.org.uk/Newsletters/GINL9703/dikotter_review.htm.
40. SCMP 260310.
41. Those who can currently benefit from this liberalisation are few and they must be parents with no siblings.
42. Jones, 'Recent Fertility Trends'.
43. *Economist* 220811, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/08/populations>.
44. UN Population Division 2011, http://esa.un.org/wpp/P-WPP/htm/PWPP_Total-Population.htm.
45. See Avraham Ebenstein and Ethan Jennings, 'Bare Branches', Prostitution, and HIV in China', p.8 http://pluto.huji.ac.il/~ebenstein/Ebenstein_Jennings_HIV_in_China_March_2008.pdf.
46. For an alternative view that the economic effect of population ageing can be mitigated, see David E. Bloom, David Canning and Günther Fink, 'Implications of Population Aging for

- Economic Growth', Harvard Initiative for Global Health 2011, http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/pgda/WorkingPapers/2011/PGDA_WP_64.pdf.
47. See UN statistics amended in 2011 on *Guardian* weblog 060511, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/may/06/world-population-country-un#data>.
48. Liu Zhifeng, Vice Minister of Construction, in *People's Daily* 090802.
49. See Huang Youqin and Chengdong Yi, 'Second Home Ownership in Transitional Urban China' (forthcoming in *Housing Studies* in 2011, Vol. 26 No. 3) 2010 http://www.albany.edu/~yhuang/Second%20Home_HS_V2_WithTables.pdf.
50. Joyce Yanyun Man, *Affordable Housing in China* (2011). This compares with 67 per cent (and falling) in America, 70 per cent in Britain and 57 per cent in France, <http://www.lincolnst.edu/pubs/PubDetail.aspx?pubid=1871&URL=Affordable-Housing-in-China&Page=5>.
51. See GCIS 250512, <http://www.gcis.com.cn/GCIS%20Commentary/China%20Home%20Ownership%20Rate%20-%20Misleading%20Statistics.htm>.
52. A CASS Blue Paper quoted in *People's Daily* 081209, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90782/90872/6835669.html>.
53. A JP Morgan analyst writing in SCMP 011010.
54. Heikki Oksanen, 'The Chinese Pension System', p.3.
55. *ibid.*, p.3.
56. *Beijing Review* 230511, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/print/txt/2011-05/23/content_359562.htm.
57. BBC 160512, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-18091107>.
58. BBC 160512, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-18091107>.
59. SCMP 091010.
60. *New York Times* 220307.
61. SCMP 091010.
62. Richard Jackson, 'China's Long March to Retirement Reform', 2009, CSIS.
63. *Shanghai Daily* 150612, http://www.china.org.cn/business/2012-06/15/content_25654231.htm.
64. Aviva, *Mind the Gap. Quantifying Europe's Pensions Gap* (2010), http://www.aviva.com/europe-pensions-gap/downloads/regional_uk.pdf.
65. See *Beijing Review* 230812, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/print/txt/2012-08/20/content_477184.htm.
66. *FT* 130509.
67. *ibid.*
68. See Pew Global Attitudes China Report 2012, <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2012/10/Pew-Global-Attitudes-China-Report-FINAL-October-10-2012.pdf>.
69. *FT* 130509.
70. Herd, Hu and Koen, *Improving China's Health Care System* (OECD, 2010), <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/fulltext/5kmlh4v2fv31.pdf?expires=1295569444&id=0000&accname=guest&checksum=F2E2CF276D191AF460FAD3D230254D3A.P15>.
71. WHO, *World Health Statistics* (2007). <http://www.who.int/whosis/whostat2007.pdf>.
72. See BBC 221012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-11861919>.
73. SCMP 140311.
74. Oxfam, 'Blind Optimism' (2009), p.20, note 69, citing W. C. Hsiao, *Harvard China Review* 5: 64–70 (2004).
75. Yu, Meng *et al.*, 'How Does the New Cooperative Medical Scheme Influence Health Service Utilization?'
76. *FT* 130509.
77. SCMP 090410.
78. GE's <http://www.healthymagination.com/blog/health-of-nations/>.
79. *The Lancet* 081108.
80. SCMP 081011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=da69d9b697ed2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
81. The George Institute 250510, <http://www.georgeinstitute.org.cn/news-and-events-china/news/unmasking-china-s-secret-killer>.
82. *Guardian* 200509 and Frank Lu, Liu and Shen, 'The Impact of Mental Health on Labour Market Outcomes in China'. See Abstract.

83. Phillips, Zhang, Shi *et al.* 'Prevalence, Treatment, and Associated Disability of Mental Disorders in Four Provinces in China during 2001–05: an Epidemiological Survey', *The Lancet* 373, No. 9680, pp.2041–53 (13 June 2009).
84. Xiao Park *et al.* 'Mental Health Care in China: Recent Changes and Future Challenges', *Harvard Health Policy Review* 6, No. 2 (Fall 2005), <http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~hhpr/currentissue/park.pdf>.
85. Oxfam, 'Blind Optimism', (2009) citing Blumenthal and Hsiao *NEJM* 353 (2005): 1165–7.
86. See Siwan Anderson, 'The Economics of Dowry and Brideprice', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, No. 4 (Fall 2007), 151–74, <http://faculty.arts.ubc.ca/asiwan/documents/siwan-jep.pdf>.
87. Xinhua News 040110, <http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/counselorsreport/europereport/201001/20100106721756.html>.
88. PlayFair 2008, http://www.playfair2008.org/docs/playfair_2008-report.pdf.
89. SCMP 210910.
90. FT 140410.
91. SCMP 070510.
92. BBC 301011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-15510423> and Bloomberg 311011 <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2011-10-31/china-mining-accident-deaths-near-100-may-boost-coal-imports.html>.
93. *Guardian* 270709.
94. *IHT* 011009.
95. The most recent Korean figure is in FT 300511. The others are from OECD, *Society at a Glance 2009: OECD Social Indicators* (2009), <http://puck.sourceoecd.org/pdf/societyatglance2009/812009011e-08-04.pdf>.
96. Freedom House, *The Global State of Workers' Rights* (2010), http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/92.pdf.
97. CASS, 'Migration and Labour Mobility in China'.
98. *IHT* 080109.
99. FT 121208.
100. SCMP 250311.
101. SCMP 051010.
102. CASS, *Migration and Labour Mobility in China*, p.27.
103. *China Daily* 120510, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-05/12/content_9837073.htm <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/inequality/ta2.pdf>.
104. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-12-09/china-s-wealth-gap-soars-as-xi-pledges-to-narrow-income-divide.html>.
105. SCMP 260910.
106. Song Xiaowu, President of the China Society for Economic Reform, and Zhang Dongsheng, Director of the Income Department of the National Development and Reform Commission, quoted in *China Daily* 020310, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-03/02/content_9521611.htm.
107. SCMP 261011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=7baecf3f1cb33310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=arkets&ss=Business>.
108. SCMP 291011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=43f92dda07b43310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&ss=ews>.
109. Forbes Rich list cited in SCMP 110311; Merrill Lynch and Capgemini, *Asia-Pacific Wealth Report*, cited in SCMP 091010.
110. CNTV 251111, <http://english.cntv.cn/program/china24/20111125/103154.shtml>.
111. The Ministry of Public Security quoted in SCMP 260910.
112. See Pew Global Attitudes China Report 2012, <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2012/10/Pew-Global-Attitudes-China-Report-FINAL-October-10-2012.pdf>.
113. See report in *Global Times* 081211, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/687701/Wealth-gap-widely-felt-in-China-newspaper.aspx>.
114. J. R. Logan (ed.), *Urban Transition in China*, Notes, p.2.

115. *Guardian* 200509.
116. See Das Gupta, Ebenstein and Sharygin, 'China's, Marriage Market and Upcoming Challenges for Elderly Men', World Bank 2010, <http://paa2011.princeton.edu/papers/110036>.
117. Lou and Jiwei, *Public Finance in China*, p.204. Essay by Dahlman, Zeng and Wang 'Financing Lifelong Learning'.
118. Frank Dikotter, 'Reading the Body: Genetic Knowledge and Social Marginalization in the People's Republic of China', p.13, http://web.mac.com/dikotter/Dikotter/Publications_files/Reading%20the%20Body.pdf.

6 The Environment

1. World Bank, 'Addressing China's Water Scarcity' 2009 Pxx http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSPContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/01/14/000333037_20090114011126/Rendered/PDF/471110PUB0CHA0101OFFICIAL0USE0ONLY1.pdf.
2. Blacksmith Institute, 'The World's Worst Polluted Places' (2007), p.6.
3. World Bank and the Chinese State Council's Development Research Centre in the report *China 2030* (2011), p.70, n. 30, http://www.citymayors.com/environment/world_pollution.html.
4. See Micah Muscolino, *Global Dimensions of Modern China's Environmental History* (University of Illinois, 2009). <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/6.1/muscolino.html>.
5. Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants*, p.xvii.
6. Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black*, p.45.
7. See Tu Wei-ming, for example, on Qian Mu, Tang Jungyi and Feng Youlan. <http://www.amacad.org/publications/fall2001/weiming.aspx>
8. See IEA 2 IEA 'Global carbon-dioxide emissions increase by 1.0 Gt in 2011 to record high' 240512, <http://www.iea.org/newsroomandevents/news/2012/may/name,27216,en.html>.
9. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', p.210.
10. SCMP 030312, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=3b378d30d63d5310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&ss=ews>.
11. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', p.211.
12. Yunnan's Child Lead Prevention and Cure Office cited in SCMP 180310.
13. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', p.211.
14. 2030 Water Resources Group.
15. Lijin Zhong and Arthur P. J. Mol, *Water Price Reforms in China: Policy-making and Implementation*, Water Resources Management 220509, p.377, http://www.wri.org.cn/files/wri/documents/water%20tariff%20reform_fulltext_2010Issue2.pdf.
16. SCMP 010411.
17. SCMP 060311.
18. Reported on the respected science website Physorg citing local Chinese media referring to Rizhao city in Shandong province: <http://www.physorg.com/news/2011-02-china-drought-global-impact.html>.
19. NYT 080211, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/09/business/global/09food.html>.
20. Norwegian Refugee Council, *Future Floods of Refugees* (2008). See diagram on p.15.
21. McKinsey Climate Change, *From Bread Basket to Dust Bowl* (2009), p.13, http://209.172.180.99/locations/chinatraditional/From_Bread_Basket_Dust_Bowl_EN.pdf.
22. SCMP 010411.
23. See AFP 121011, http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5gG5jnCXw_sZSiyVs5jI1EkaADpXA?docId=CNG.d9529d7f75a4ac19ba01d71e2ca6c731.401.
24. Timothy Brook, *The Troubled Empire*, p.59.
25. Zhong and Mol, *Water Price Reforms in China*, p.383, http://www.wri.org.cn/files/wri/documents/water%20tariff%20reform_fulltext_2010Issue2.pdf.
26. *ibid.*, p.387.
27. Xinhua 010211, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-02/01/c_13716274.htm.
28. Associated Press cited in SCMP 180411.

29. *Guardian* 240510, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2010/may/24/chinese-hydroengineers-propose-tibet-dam> and Professor Brahma Chellaney writing in SCMP 181011 <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=2f52984a4b113310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Columns+%26+Insight&s=Opinion>.
30. Associated Press cited in SCMP 180411 and see the thinking of Isabel Hilton 090212, <http://chinawaterrisk.org/opinions/diverting-the-brahmaputra-much-ado-about-nothing/>
31. Gong Jing, Cui Zheng, writing in Caixin's *New Century Weekly*, reproduced 100112, <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4722-China-s-thirst-for-water-transfer>.
32. OECD cited in *Observer/Guardian* 170707.
33. Hu Siyi, Vice Minister of Water Resources, cited by CCTV 160212, <http://english.cntv.cn/20120216/115325.shtml>.
34. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', p.212.
35. NYT 030611 citing the Ministry of Environmental Protection, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/04/world/asia/04china.html?_r=1&ref=waterpollution.
36. Qu and Fan, 'The Current State of Water Quality and Technology Development', p.519.
37. Lijin Zhong and Cy Jones, *China Needs Comprehensive and Cost-effective Strategies to Address Water Pollution* (World Resources Institute, 2011), <http://www.wri.org/stories/2011/06/china-needs-comprehensive-and-cost-effective-strategies-address-water-pollution>.
38. WB, *Addressing China's Water Scarcity* (2009), p.14, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSCContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/01/14/000333037_20090114011126/Rendered/PDF/471110PUB0CHA0101OFFICIAL0USE0ONLY1.pdf.
39. The 2012 *Good Beach Guide* reviewed in *Guardian* 030512, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2012/may/03/rain-water-quality-uk-beaches?INTCMP=SRCH>.
40. See, for example, BBC 231105, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4462760.stm>.
41. *Caixin* 140212, <http://english.caixin.com/2012-02-14/100356513.html>.
42. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', pp.210–11.
43. Xinhua 130511, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2010/china/2011-05/13/c_13873675.htm.
44. Qu and Fan, 'The Current State of Water Quality', p.521.
45. *ibid.*, p.520.
46. Xue, Zhang, Ye *et al.*, 'Land Subsidence in China', p.713.
47. Xu, Shen and Cai, 'The State of Land Subsidence and Prediction Approaches', 2007.
48. Li, Huang and Zhou, 'Land Subsidence Prediction by Various Grey Models', abstract.
49. Yin, Zhang and Li, 'Urbanisation and Land Subsidence in China', p.1.
50. *ibid.*, p.5.
51. Xue, Zhang, Ye *et al.*, 'Land Subsidence in China', p.719.
52. Xu, Zhang, Shen *et al.*, 'Geo-hazards with Characteristics and Prevention Measures', p.482.
53. Xue, Zhang, Ye *et al.*, 'Land Subsidence in China', p.716.
54. Xu, Zhang, Shen *et al.*, 'Geo-hazards with Characteristics and Prevention Measures', p.495.
55. Xue, Zhang, Ye *et al.*, 'Land Subsidence in China', p.719.
56. *ibid.*, p.720.
57. But not only: the humble potato is also to blame. Since its arrival (but particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), farmers have gravitated to ever more remote – and higher – regions of the country, where new land could be found suitable for the new crop. The result of such upland land clearance and then cultivation was often erosion. The soil was washed downwards and silted up the rivers. Micah S. Muscolino, 'Global Dimensions of Modern China's Environmental History', *World History Connected*, 6 (2009), <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/6.1/muscolino.html>.
58. Huang and Chan, 'Human-induced Landslides', p.2766.
59. *ibid.*, p.2771.
60. SCMP 080509.
61. The minister, was quoted in AFP 121011, http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5gG5jnCXw_sZSiYVs5jI1EkaADpXA?docId=CNG.d9529d7f75a4ac19ba-01d71e2ca6c731.401.
62. SCMP 080509.

63. Yan Tan, *Resettlement in the Three Gorges Project*, p.1.
64. Yang, Milliman *et al.*, '50,000 Dams Later', p.14.
65. SCMP 080509.
66. *China Daily* 121007; Peter H. Gleick, *The Three Gorges Dam Project, Yangtze River, China*, Water Brief 3, The World's Water (2008–9), p.145 <http://www.worldwater.org/data20082009/WB03.pdf>, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-10/12/content_6167689.htm.
67. Yan Tan, *Resettlement in the Three Gorges Project*, p.75ff.
68. Dai, Yao *et al.*, 'A Study on the Relationship between Water Levels and Seismic Activity in the Three Gorges Reservoir', Institute of Seismology, China Earthquake Administration, Wuhan (trans. and published in English by Probe International 2011), <http://probeinternational.org/library/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/3-Gorges-Report-26-5.pdf>.
69. L. M. High Land, 'Geographical Overview of the Three Gorges Dam and Reservoir, China – Geologic Hazards and Environmental Impacts: US Geological Survey Report 2008-1241', Slide 12 http://pubs.usgs.gov/of/2008/1241/pdf/OF08-1241_508.pdf.
70. Peter H. Gleick, 'The Three Gorges Dam Project, Yangtze River, China', Water Brief 3, The World's Water 2008–9, pp.144–5, <http://www.worldwater.org/data20082009/WB03.pdf>.
71. *Nature News* 250511, <http://www.nature.com/news/2011/110525/full/news.2011.315.html>.
72. See SCMP 190412.
73. Probe International, 'Seismic Regions always a Risk' 160410, <http://journal.probeinternational.org/2010/04/16/building-dams-in-china%E2%80%99s-seismic-regions-always-a-risk/>.
74. *Nature News* 250511, <http://www.nature.com/news/2011/110525/full/news.2011.315.html>.
75. For example Ban Gu (AD 32–92) Shi, Yan, Yuan *et al.* 'Wind Erosion Research in China', p.366.
76. National Meteorological Bureau of China cited in *ibid.*
77. Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants*, p.9.
78. Yancheva, Nowaczyk, Ingram, 'Influence of the Intertropical Convergence Zone'. However, Zhang and Lu and Zhang, Tian *et al.* disagree about the dry conditions before the fall of the Tang but agree about the cold.
79. Xinhua 170612 said 27.33 per cent, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-06/17/c_131658899.htm. However, strangely, X. Y. Zhao of the Chinese Academy of Sciences gave the same data twelve years earlier, in 2000. Has the desert grown or contracted? Both statements are made. As always in China statistics can mislead. <http://www.klter.org/EVENTS/Conference00/html/Xueyong%20Zhao.htm>. State Forestry Administration figures cited by Chinese Embassy Botswana website 2007 <http://bw.china-embassy.org/eng/xwdt/t366582.htm>.
80. Liu, Zhang, Wang *et al.*, 'Soil Degradation', p.87.
81. e.g. Elizabeth Economy in *Foreign Affairs* 070907 reproduced on <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/great-leap-backward-and-Food-and-Agriculture-Organisation-Drylands-development-and-combating-desertification> 1997 <http://www.fao.org/docrep/W7539E/w7539e03.htm>.
82. See Al Jazeera 081212, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/12/2012126123056457256.html>.
83. BBC 040111.
84. Shi, Yan, Yuan *et al.* p.366.
85. The growth of the cashmere market has been identified as a major contributor to overgrazing. While America keeps 9 million goats and sheep, China reportedly has 366 million on the same land area, and these herds have devastated much of China's grassland.
86. CAS, http://english.cas.cn/Ne/CASE/201011/t20101112_61341.shtml.
87. Probe International 200710, <http://journal.probeinternational.org/2010/07/20/beijings-water-crisis-unabated-neighbours-pay-the-price/>.
88. Probe International 2008, p.12, <http://www.probeinternational.org/files/Beijing%20Water%20Report%20Update%202010.pdf>.
89. See Probe International 221112, <http://journal.probeinternational.org/2012/11/22/sucking-beijing-dry/>.
90. SCMP 290212, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=aee4974b674c5310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.

91. Probe International 150709, <http://journal.probeinternational.org/2009/07/15/beijings-water-crisis-and-economic-collapse/>.
92. See Ministry of Water Resources (accessed 060113) <http://www.mwr.gov.cn/english/swcc.html>.
93. See Reuters 211108, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2008/11/21/us-china-erosion-idUSTRE4AK1J220081121>.
94. Shi, Yan, Yuan *et al.*, 'Wind Erosion in China', p.375.
95. Cao, Chen, Shankman *et al.*, p.240.
96. John McKinnon of EU–China Biodiversity Programme quoted in *Guardian* 110309.
97. Shi, Yan, Yuan *et al.*, 'Wind Erosion in China', p.381.
98. See Yale University's 'environment 360' 170112, http://e360.yale.edu/feature/chinas_reforestation_programs_big_success_or_just_an_illusion/2484/.
99. Cao, Chen, Shankman *et al.*, 'Excessive Reliance on Afforestation', p.241.
100. *ibid.*, p.241.
101. Treehugger weblog 060607 Living, Green Wall Fends Off Encroaching Desert: TreeHugger Via : 'Green Wall of China' Aims to Hold Back Desert. http://www.treehugger.com/files/2007/06/living_green_wall.php.
102. Cao, Chen, Shankman *et al.*, p.240.
103. *Daily Telegraph* 040308.
104. US EPA cited in *LA Daily Times* 290706.
105. Article Elizabeth Economy in a 2007 edition of *Foreign Affairs*.
106. See Yale University's 'environment 360', 170112 http://e360.yale.edu/feature/chinas_reforestation_programs_big_success_or_just_an_illusion/2484/.
107. Tian Yanfang, China's Imports of Russian Timber', p.3.
108. With the development of the Tarim and Daqing basins, China is now Asia's largest oil producer, but this is unfortunately not significant.
109. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', p.212.
110. BBC 150909.
111. *Daily Telegraph* 100109.
112. Water issues have certainly arisen elsewhere: they led to the temporary closure in 2003 of nuclear power plants supplying three-quarters of France's electricity, and to anger about excessive water consumption by solar facilities in California and Nevada. See *IHT* 011009, *Times* 300511 and *SCMP* 270311.
113. Energy Information Administration, USA, May 2011, <http://www.eia.gov/cabs/china/Full.html>.
114. *SCMP* 280910.
115. Tao and Watson, 'China's Energy Transition', 2009.
116. Li Ruogu, *Institutional Suitability*, p.403.
117. Economy, Elizabeth, p.75.
118. William P. Alford, and Benjamin L. Liebman, 'Clean Air, Clear Processes?', *Hastings Law Journal* 52, No. 3 (2001), pp.9, 29, http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/676_CLEAN_AIR_5_03.pdf.
119. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', p.224.
120. Ho and Vermeer (eds), *China's Limits to Growth*, p.39.
121. See Greenpeace 131009, <http://www.greenpeace.org/eastasia/news/stories/toxics/2009/silent-giants-news/>.
122. Vennemo, Aunan *et al.*, 'Environmental Pollution in China', p.221.
123. Reuters 060111; Zhang Ping of NDRC speaking to Xinhua, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/01/06/us-china-energy-intensity-idUSTRE7051OE20110106>.
124. Professor Tang Hao of South China Normal University 161210, <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4008-Relic-of-a-planned-economy>.
125. W. P. Alford and B. L. Liebman, 'Clean Air, Clear Processes?', p.31.
126. *China Daily* 310109, www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-01/31/content_7433211.htm.
127. Zhong and Mol, 'Water Price Reforms in China: Policy-making and Implementation', p.388.
128. *SCMP* 080411.

129. Zhao Dagong, 'The Xiamen Demonstrations and Growing Civil Consciousness', *Human Rights in China* (2007), http://www.hrichina.org/sites/default/files/oldsite/PDFs/CRF3.2007/CRF-2007_3_Xiamen.pdf; Xinhua 151207, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/environment/235761.htm>; *China Daily* 300507, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-05/30/content_882936.htm.
130. NDRC, 'China's Climate Change Programme' (2007), p.19.
131. Pew Survey 2009, p.87.
132. *Guardian* 231209.
133. *SCMP* 300409.
134. *SCMP* 161009.
135. McGregor, p.75.
136. Pew Survey 2009.
137. *SCMP* 220308.
138. *US–China Economic and Security Review Report* (2007), p.173.
139. See *FT* 280211. <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/3671a476-4359-11e0-8f0d-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1obk8G133>.
140. Ho and Vermeer, *China's Limits to Growth*, p.21.
141. *Asia Sentinel* 261107, http://www.asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=898&Itemid=31.
142. *SCMP* 100509.

7 Threats to Social Stability

1. Xinhua 080409.
2. *People's Daily* 140311, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90785/7318786.html>
3. *FT* 100712. <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/86a82f3e-bc69-11e1-a470-00144feabdc0.html#axzz20Pwvk96E>.
4. BBC 080110.
5. BBC 081012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-19843176>.
6. See www.chinaview.cn 100309, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/10/content_10987127.htm.
7. For example, see *SCMP* 160409 and *NYT* 250810, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/26/world/asia/26corrupt.html>.
8. See www.chinaview.cn 100309, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/10/content_10987127.htm.
9. *China Daily's* blog 060110, <http://bbs.chinadaily.com.cn/redirect.php?gid=2&tid=657246&goto=lastpost>.
10. See *Daily Telegraph* 261112, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/9702910/Chinese-sex-tape-scandal-unearts-corruption-in-Bo-Xilai-Chongqing.html>.
11. See www.chinaview.cn 100309, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/10/content_10987127.htm.
12. *Caixin* 080212, <http://english.caixin.com/2012-02-08/100354426.html>. It has been noted in the CCPCC that government administrative spending, including cars, receptions and overseas travel total 18.6 per cent of government spending (compared to 2.8 per cent in Japan): *SCMP* 030312 <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=3bf931b8954d5310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&ss=ews>.
13. *FT* 210911, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/a5f7a660-e421-11e0-b4e9-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1Ye4vRF6u>.
14. Lemos, *The End of the Chinese Dream*, p.32.
15. Gong Ting, *The Politics of Corruption in Contemporary China*, p.135.
16. In Ann Elliott, Kimberly (ed.), *Corruption and the Global Economy*, p.72.
17. *Der Spiegel* 270207, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,465007-5,00.html>.
18. *SCMP* 180410.
19. *ibid.*
20. *SCMP* 110399.
21. *SCMP* 160409.

22. *Global Times* 261011, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/680930/Public-trust-is-withering-on-Chinas-bigger-projects.aspx>.
23. See 2012 Transparency International Survey, <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results>.
24. CEIP, 'Corruption Threatens China's Future' 2007.
25. Gong and Shi, 'Management Corruption in China's Industrial Restructuring', 2009.
26. Wang Hui, *The End of Revolution* (2011 edn), p.27.
27. Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State*, p.157.
28. *China Daily* 170310.
29. It has even been suggested that some members of the CCPCC – the Chinese parliament's upper house – had bought their memberships: SCMP 090312, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=1645bd404e2f5310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Hong+Kong&s=ews>.
30. Bloomberg 060311, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-03-06/china-s-spending-on-internal-police-force-in-2010-outstrips-defense-budget.html>.
31. See Dr Theresa Hesketh, 'Ratio of Males to Females in China', *British Medical Journal* 090409, <http://www.bmj.com/content/338/bmj.b483.full>.
32. One wonders if this might be another example of failed statistics.
33. Gu and Roy 'Sex Ratio at Birth in China' (1995).
34. Gerth, *As China Goes*, p.160.
35. Guangdong's family planning chief, Zhang Feng, interviewed in SCMP 260910.
36. *Beijing Today* 140610, <http://www.beijingtoday.com.cn/outlook/sex-ratio-discrepancy-declines-baby-steps-to-narrow-gender-imbalance>.
37. See the Population Reference Bureau, Washington DC, <http://www.prb.org/Articles/2012/china-census-excess-males.aspx>. For the growing crime rate, see NBC News 140904, http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/5953508/ns/world_news-t/china-grapples-legacy-its-missing-girls/. Also see 'Sex Ratios and Crime' 2007, pp.4 and 16, <ftp://ftp.iza.org/RePEc/Discussionpaper/dp3214.pdf>; Li Shuzhuo, 'Imbalanced Sex Ratio at Birth and Comprehensive Intervention in China' UN Family Planning Association 2007 p.8, <http://www.unfpa.org/gender/docs/studies/china.pdf>.
38. Institute of Child Health, UCL press office 280806.
39. Gerth, *As China Goes*, p.164.
40. VOA 240111, <http://blogs.voanews.com/breaking-news/2011/01/24/experts-say-chinas-gender-ratio-contributes-to-human-trafficking/>.
41. Extreme markets embrace a wide range of unorthodox produce from rare species for consumption or rejuvenation to prisoners' organs for transplants (which he writes about), to other areas such as arms and drugs: Gerth, *As China Goes*, Ch. 7 'Extreme Markets'.
42. Chen, Zhang *et al.*, 'Syphilis in China', *The Lancet*
43. Tucker, Chen *et al.*, 'Syphilis and Social Upheaval in China', *NEJM* 060510.
44. Das Gupta, Chung and Li, 'Is There an Incipient Turnaround in Asia's "Missing Girls" Phenomenon?', 2009.
45. *People's Daily* 210602.
46. *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report* Vol. 1 (US State Department, 2011), p.188.
47. *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report* Vol. 1 (US State Department, 2009), p.193.
48. Statement by the Ministry of Public Security cited in Xinhua 250612, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-06/25/c_123328672.htm.
49. See UN *World Drug Report* 2008, http://www.unodc.org/documents/wdr/WDR_2008/WDR_2008_eng_web.pdf
50. Q. Deng, Q. Tang, R. S. Schottenfeld, W. Hao and M. C. Chawarski, 'Drug Use in Rural China: a Preliminary Investigation in Hunan Province', <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/21906200>.
51. SCMP 311011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=5c3ec1bb18553310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
52. Logan, *Urban China in Transition*, pp.272–3.
53. SCMP 091107.
54. Reuters 290308.

55. SCMP 101009.
56. SCMP 110410.
57. SCMP 260910.
58. Serious Organised Crime Agency cited in *London Evening Standard* 290108.
59. 'Organised Crime Threats Assessment (OCTA) 2009', Europol.
60. Roberto Saviano, *Gomorra: Italy's Other Mafia*, pp.7 and 43.
61. Dr Joel Brenner interviewed by the *Daily Telegraph* 101008.
62. See GunPolicy.org, <http://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/china>. They cite the Small Arms Survey 2007, p.67.
63. *ibid.*
64. *Jane's* 210508.
65. BBC 030810.
66. *Pakistan Daily Times* 020406.
67. SIPRI, <http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php>.
68. Internet Business Law Services citing *People's Daily* online. http://www.ibls.com/internet_law_news_portal_view.aspx?s=latestnews&id=1689.
69. *China Daily* 150109.

8 Threats to Civil Stability

1. Wang Hui, *The End of the Revolution*, p.12.
2. *Daily Telegraph* 240308, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1582645/Chinese-intellectuals-call-for-talks-with-Tibet.html>.
3. Yu Jianrong, part 4. Yu Jianrong gave a lecture at the Ministry of Finance to the Beijing Lawyers' Association in December 2009. A detailed transcript appears on Berkeley University's 'China Digital Times' news website: <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2010/03/yu-jianrong-maintaining-a-baseline-of-social-stability-part-4/>.
4. *China Daily* 100311, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2011-03/10/content_12151446.htm.
5. *FT* 070311, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/f70936b0-4811-11e0-b323-00144feab49a.html>.
6. Quoted in *NYT* 081208, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/09/world/asia/09china.html>.
7. Office of the High Commission on Human Rights 251209, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Media.aspx>.
8. *FT* 281209.
9. *Le Figaro* 261209.
10. *IHT* 060109; *Daily Telegraph* 120310, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/7425759/China-arrests-more-than-1000-people-for-endangering-state-security.html>.
11. Bloomberg 290110.
12. *ibid.*, 170809.
13. SCMP 040410.
14. A detailed transcript appears on Berkeley University's 'China Digital Times' news website, which is the source of the quotations: <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2010/03/yu-jianrong-maintaining-a-baseline-of-social-stability>.
15. *Washington Post* 140108, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/01/13/AR2008011302383.html>.
16. <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2010/03/yu-jianrong-maintaining-a-baseline-of-social-stability-part-i/>, *passim*.
17. *FT* 121205.
18. Human Rights Watch 010606.
19. *China Daily* 010708.
20. SCMP 250410.
21. Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, p.35 citing sources.
22. Wang Hui, *The End of the Revolution*, p.23.
23. *FT* 290512, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/897c10b6-a983-11e1-9972-00144feabdc0.html#axllzwBV9podm>.
24. McGregor, pp.109–10.

25. Mulvenon, 'Soldiers of Fortune', pp.9–10, n. 28, citing Baum, 'Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping', pp.304–6.
26. Quoted in *The Times* 070608.
27. Myron Weiner, and Sharon Stanton Russell (eds), *Demography and National Security*, p.289.
28. Eric Teichman, *Journey to Turkistan*, p.18.
29. James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, p.45.
30. *ibid.*
31. It is hard to be more specific about the causes of unrest, as the opinions of dissidents in Urumqi and Kashgar are not widely accessible.
32. Adrienne M. Dwyer, 'The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse', p.x.
33. *IHT* 060109.
34. *NYT* 181008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/19/world/asia/19xinjiang.html>.
35. *Cib* magazine 100209, <http://www.cibmagazine.com.cn/Features/Focus.asp?id=819>.
36. *FT* 250511.
37. *SCMP* 081009.
38. Quilliam Foundation 290310.
39. See *SCMP* 190910, <http://www.scmp.com/article/725199/hong-kong-beacon-culture>.
40. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, p.138.
41. See *Economist* 021003, <http://www.economist.com/node/2102073>.
42. *SCMP* 051010.
43. *SCMP* 010411.
44. *ibid.*
45. O'Brien (ed.), *Popular Protest in China*, p.116.
46. *China Aid News* 150811 see notes 104, 105 <http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/10/excerpts-from-cecc-report-freedom-of.html>.
47. Wang Zuoan, deputy director of the State Administration for Religious Affairs, cited in *SCMP* 251011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=03897cd47d633310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
48. *NYT* 270409.
49. Thomas Lum, 'China and Falan Gong', p.3.
50. Nick Couldry and James Curran (eds), *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World*, p.212.
51. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.22.
52. Lum, 'China and Falan Gong', p.7.
53. *ibid.*, p.1.
54. *CBC News* 120709.
55. *FT* 240410.
56. *BBC* 021205.
57. *ibid.*, 070510.
58. Report to the UN General Assembly by the Special Rapporteur on Torture 050210.
59. *SCMP* 140309.
60. *SCMP* 110412. It is disturbing to note that disabled dissidents seem capable of becoming disabled while in police custody, which theoretically should be the safest environment in all China: <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=b246f07f75c96310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
61. *FT* 250410.
62. *ibid.*
63. *China Daily* 161009, 290709, 170507, 240409, 290509, 310709. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-10/16/content_8801506.htm, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-07/29/content_8484166.htm, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2007-05/17/content_874453.htm, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2009-05/29/content_7951683.htm.
64. *The Times* 280711.
65. *Global Times* 031110, <http://china.globaltimes.cn/society/2010-11/588872.html>.
66. *WSJ* blog 080311, <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2011/03/08/chinas-foreign-minister-to-foreign-press-don%e2%80%99t-believe-your-lying-eyes-jasmine-protests/>.

67. *SCMP* 031010.
68. *Independent* 200412, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/investigations-surrounding-death-of-briton-bring-state-funding-into-focus-7661517.html?printService=print>.
69. Berkman Centre 090507, <http://opennet.net/research/profiles/china>.
70. *BBC* 140110.
71. A Survey by *Nature* magazine. *Nature* 463, 1012–1013 (2010) published online 240210 doi:10.1038/4631012a, <http://www.nature.com/news/2010/100224/full/4631012a.html>.
72. Cited by Yang Guobin in O'Brien (ed.), *Popular Protest in China* (2008), p.131. Sourced from Kevin J. O'Brien, 'Collective Action in the Chinese Countryside', *China Journal* 48 (2002), p.144.
73. CASS, *Surveying Internet Usage and Impact in Twelve Chinese Cities* (2003), p.13, <http://www.policyarchive.org/handle/10207/bitstreams/15539.pdf>.
74. One of the great ironies of 2010 came when something called the 'Iranian Cyber Army' hacked into Baidu.com (a portal that has over 60 per cent of the search market in China) and took it off line for three and a half hours. Various websites mentioned that the inserted Farsi text stated: 'The Iranian Cyber army has been created to strike back against Zionist and pro-democracy websites' (120110, reported on several blogs including <http://www.qlineorientalist.com/IranRises/category/uncategorized/>). Perhaps Baidu is not the most obvious place to strike back at pro-democracy views.
75. Estimate of the US State Department cited by *Daily Telegraph* 230711.
76. The World Economic Forum survey for 2009–10 reckons that China has more judicial independence than a quarter of the member countries of the European Union. However, this probably relates more to commercial cases (and perhaps says more about the EU than it does about China).
77. *CNN* 180912 citing Chinese Supreme People's Court <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/09/17/world/asia/china-wang-trial-starts/index.html>.
78. Zhou Ruijin, a deputy editor-in-chief of the *People's Daily*, reported in *SCMP* 051011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=e4f138cd67fc2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
79. Quoted in *Daily Telegraph* 271109.
80. A survey by Yu Jianrong at CASS cited in HRW, 'An Alleyway in Hell' (2009), p.8.
81. Chen, Xi, 'Collective Petitioning and Institutional Conversion', in O'Brien, *Popular Protest in China*, pp.54–70.
82. Of course, there is not one unambiguous form of Western democracy: it ranges from Switzerland (where politicians might be accused of contracting out much decision-making to the public rather than taking responsibility themselves) to Britain (where politicians feel their role is not to reflect public opinion but to 'lead' it). In the latter, legislation is passed which the MPs know is opposed by a majority of the public (but not all at the same time, so it does not necessarily affect the result of the next election). We have recently seen the appearance of a new idea – the European Union. There, citizens of different countries are asked to vote on seemingly important issues, such as constitutions; but if an infelicitous response is given by a constituent country, the electorate is told by the unelected leadership to go away and think again. The embryonic 'state' is by its nature committed to a strategic policy of ever deeper union, and so alternative choices by the electorate, axiomatically, require rejection. If the acceptable answer is given, the opportunity to opine never recurs. The European Union is founded on an institutionalised contempt for public opinion and an innate fear of democracy.
83. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, p.126.
84. Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. J. E. C. Weldon (1897), p.145.
85. *SCMP* 280912, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1048977/boom-city-dongguan-faces-bankruptcy>.
86. Fishkin, He, Lusk, and Siu, 'Deliberative Democracy in an Unlikely Place: Deliberative Polling in China', *B.J.Pol.S.*, p.1 of 14 Copyright © Cambridge University Press, 2010, <http://cdd.stanford.edu/research/papers/2010/fishkin-bjps-china.pdf>.
87. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996), p.310.
88. David Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party*, p.37.

9 Identity: Future of State and Party

1. Using the Gini coefficients from the UNDP and the CIA, albeit in different years.
2. See the Hurun Rich List 2012, <http://www.hurun.net/usen/NewsShow.aspx?nid=349>.
3. *ibid.*
4. See Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *L'Empire éclaté, passim*.
5. Rebecca Karl's preface to Wang Hui, p.ix.
6. See the search of the *Yinhe* in Chapter 10 above.
7. *FT* 160110.
8. McGregor, pp.31–2.
9. *FT* 120210.
10. Wang Hui, p.13.
11. *WSJ* 010609.
12. *NYT* 251012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/26/business/global/family-of-wen-jiabao-holds-a-hidden-fortune-in-china.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>.
13. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.63.
14. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, p.66, citing Pei Minxin and see <http://www.chinatoday.com/org/cpc>.
15. Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party*, pp.35–6.
16. Zhou Ruijin's article in *Yanhuang Chunqiu*, cited in SCMP 051011. <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=e4f138cd67fc2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
17. An example of this might be Hu Jiwei, former chief editor of the Communist Party's *People's Daily*, who, in 2010, called for the release of arrested Nobel Prize-winner Liu Xiaobo.
18. See his essay in O'Brien (ed.), *Popular Protest in China*.
19. *The Times* 280711.
20. Quoted in O'Brien (ed.), *Popular Protest in China*, p.66.
21. Wang Hui, p.10.
22. See discussion in Wang Hui, pp.xviii–xix.
23. 'The Third Eye' pseudonymously authored by a 'Luoyi Ningge'er', cited in SCMP 100894.
24. *Global Times* 200812, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/DesktopModules/DnnForge%20-%20NewsArticles/Print.aspx?tabid=99&tabmoduleid=94&articleid=727926&moduleid=405&-PortalID=0>.
25. *Global Times* 290912, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/736020.shtml>.
26. *Economist* 061210, <http://www.economist.com/node/17601499>.
27. Goodman, *Beijing Street Voices*, p.5.
28. Remarks on successive drafts of the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China (Remarks by Deng Xiaoping) March 1980–June 1981, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengx p/vol2/text/b1420.html>.
29. Deng Xiaoping on 25 October 1980 cited by *People's Daily*, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol2/text/b1420.html>.
30. Steve Tsang, 'Consultative Leninism: China's New Political Framework', *Journal of Contemporary China* (2009), p.868.
31. Wang Hui, p.7.
32. SCMP 250310.
33. Bailey, *China in the Twentieth Century*, p.19.
34. Economy, Elizabeth, p.268.
35. SCMP 151011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=a803bea2fe203310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
36. SCMP 251011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=03897cd47d633310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
37. Yu Jianrong, Part 8.
38. *FT* 290509.
39. *Guardian* 200809.

40. *People's Daily* online 170810 citing Ba Shusong, <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90778/90862/7106935.html>.
41. *People's Daily* 030311, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90778/7306287.html>.
42. *Southern Weekly* 170507, English trans.: http://www.zonaeuropa.com/20070519_1.htm.
43. The choice of Confucius in the name is interesting, and would have been unthinkable forty years ago. Mao was vitriolic in his condemnation of Confucianism. Presumably this now forms part of the 30 per cent of his thinking and action which was deemed bad. Never in the history of mathematics has 30 per cent represented so large a proportion.
44. Brook, *Troubled Empire*, pp.87–8.
45. *Guardian* 070207.
46. *Economist* 021008.
47. Lecture by F. T. Ying of Chinese University Hong Kong 230309.
48. *ibid.*
49. *ibid.*
50. Carrère d'Encausse, *L'Empire éclaté*, p.246.
51. Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, pp.72–5.
52. Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World*, p.421.
53. The *hanwang* movement is an ethnic nationalist movement seeking to uphold the position (even including the clothing) of the Han race as opposed to, say, the Manchu or Mongol citizens of the PRC. See: Leibold, 'More Than a Category: Han Supremacism on the Chinese Internet'.
54. *ibid.*
55. *ibid.*
56. Tsang, 'Consultative Leninism', p.876.
57. Simpson (ed.), *Language and National Identity in Asia*, pp.149, 150.
58. Pew Survey 2008.
59. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, *passim*.
60. See 'Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities in China' (2005), http://english.gov.cn/official/2005-07/28/content_18127.htm.
61. Cited in William Easterly 'The Middle Class Consensus and Economic Development' WB 2001 P2 http://willameasterly.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/34_easterly_middleclassconsensus_prp.pdf.
62. Wang Lequan, former Party Secretary of Xinjiang, describing the friction there. Rodger Doyle in *Scientific American* (September 1998) *NYT* 181008; <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/19/world/asia/19xinjiang.html>.

10 America and China: Common Interests, Mutual Antagonisms

1. See *FT* 301011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/bd30c094-0151-11e1-b177-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1cM9PxArj> Boston Consulting Group press release 050511. <http://www.bcg.com/media/PressReleaseDetails.aspx?id=tcn:12-75973>.
2. *Think Progress* 020812, <http://thinkprogress.org/economy/2012/08/02/627021/workers-low-wage-jobs/?mobile=nc>.
3. *Observer* 171099, jointly investigated with Politiken of Copenhagen, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/1999/oct/17/balkans>.
4. *ibid.*
5. Di Hua at Stanford University, <http://news.stanford.edu/pr/94/940218Arc4432.html>.
6. According to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, countries must seek prior consent from maritime countries before conducting scientific investigation, including surveillance activities inside their 'economic exclusion zone'. The US has so far declined to ratify this convention, although this will probably change – not least because it also governs claims over the Arctic waters, where there is a scramble for energy resources.
7. This should be set in context: in mid-2011, China held 8 per cent of total US public debt; thus 92 per cent was supplied either domestically or from other foreign investors.
8. Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2011, <http://pewglobal.org/files/2011/07/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Balance-of-Power-U.S.-Image-Report-FINAL-July-13-2011.pdf>.

9. William S. Cohen, former Secretary of State for Defence, writing in *IHT* 231111.
10. *Economist* 261111.
11. *ibid.*
12. International Council on Security and Development, 'The Struggle for Kabul' December 2008.
13. *Economist* 220809.
14. *FT* 060107, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/929cf220-9d2a-11db-8ec6-0000779e2340.html#axzz27TSZwCN0>.
15. Congressional Research Service 270712, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/pakaid.pdf>.
16. Serge Michailof, 'Sortir du piège afghan', *Commentaire* (2009).
17. Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, *Transforming Wartime Contracting*, Final Report to US Congress (2011), Foreword and p.2, www.wartimecontracting.gov.
18. *ibid.*, p.4.
19. *ibid.*, p.31.
20. Remarkd at a Forbes conference in Kuala Lumpur in September 2009.
21. Gary Hufbauer, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*, *passim*.
22. *NYT* 220209.
23. *ibid.*
24. Wu Sike cited in *SCMP* 110311.
25. Pew Survey, 2008.
26. See the Pew Global Attitudes Survey 130612.
27. Pew Global Attitudes Survey, 2011.
28. It is difficult to understand how the Republican Party of traditional conservatives like Bob Taft, Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan got hijacked by a morality-light, big government utopian like George W. Bush.

11 Great Power Relationships

1. *FT* 150910, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/80292cc2-c0f7-11df-99c4-00144feab49a.html#axzz1GB5SRReVY>.
2. Rose Fisher and Huttentuck, p.5.
3. Katherine Villers, 'Is the Border Dispute a Symptom or a Cause of the Antagonism between India and China?', unpublished paper.
4. John George Stoessinger, *Why Nations go to War*, p.409.
5. *Guardian* 271111, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/27/china-india-dalai-lama-border-row>.
6. An article in *The Hindu* cited in Shashank Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents* (2011) p.4, <http://shashankjoshi.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/sino-indian-relations-pdf.pdf>.
7. A. K. Anthony, Indian Defence Minister, and others cited in *FT* 161210, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/2bafc45c-093c-11e0-ada6-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1KVKIVzj2>.
8. Villers, 'Border Dispute'.
9. Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.11.
10. Walter Ladwig's 'Delhi's Pacific Ambition: Naval Power' cited in Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.11.
11. *FT* 210510, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/833aca0e-646f-11df-8cba-00144feab49a.html#axzz1GB5SRReVY>.
12. *Economist* 181110, http://www.economist.com/node/17527970?story_id=17527970.
13. 'Charting our Water Future' (2009), 2030WaterResourcesGroup@mckinsey.com.
14. Rohan D'Souza, 'How Not to Discuss Water with China' 180112, <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4730-How-not-to-discuss-water-with-China>.
15. See Carnegie Endowment, 'A Crisis to Come? China, India, and Water Rivalry' 130911, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/13/crisis-to-come-china-india-and-water-rivalry/54wg>.
16. George Fernandes in *Tribune of India* 270903.
17. Lt. Col. J. S. Kohli in the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, 138, No. 571 (January–March 2008).

18. *The Dawn* 240210.
19. BBC 080110.
20. *SMH* 270709, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/rally-around-flag-china-tells-diaspora-20090726-dxin.html>.
21. J. Mohan Malik, *India-China Relations* (Berkshire Publishing Group LLC, 2009), http://www.apcss.org/core/BIOS/malik/India-China_Relations.pdf.
22. Bharat Karnad, *India's Nuclear Policy* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International, 2008), cited in Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.12.
23. *ibid.*, p.1.
24. Teresita Schaffer in *FT* 100809.
25. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/us-china-joint-statement-171109>.
26. Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.22.
27. *FT* 150910, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/80292cc2-c0f7-11df-99c4-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1KE8ntAlj>.
28. See *Economist* 170312, <http://www.economist.com/node/21550315>.
29. *FT* 160709, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d78a3788-71a0-11de-a821-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1KVS9mfZC>.
30. *India 2039: An Affluent Society in One Generation*, Report prepared by the Centennial Group for the ADB cited in *FT* 080709, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/2739f53e-6b57-11de-861d-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1KEimuFmx>.
31. P. V. Naik quoted in *FT* 161210, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/2bafc45c-093c-11e0-ada6-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1KVKIVzj2>.
32. Arundhati Ghose quoted in *FT* 130709.
33. Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.7.
34. MGI, 'Addressing China's Looming Talent Shortage', pp.5–6.
35. For China, see Xinhua 180112, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-01/18/c_131366513.htm. For India, see *Times of India* 160612, http://articles.timesofindia.india-times.com/2012-06-16/edit-page/32255812_1_indian-economy-foreign-direct-investment-fdi.
36. *FT* 151009, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/08e50726-b923-11de-98ee-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1KW6faWIL>.
37. See, for example, Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West 1872–1949*.
38. Pranab Bardhan, Professor of Economics at the University of California, Berkeley, in Yale Global online, cited in *SCMP* 240410.
39. See *Time Science and Space* 310712 <http://science.time.com/2012/07/31/how-climate-change-and-the-monsoons-affect-indias-blackouts/>.
40. *Daily Telegraph* 251010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/8085940/Speed-justice-in-India-clears-100000-cases-in-one-day.html>.
41. See Eva Pils, 'Chinese Property Law as an Image of PRC History' (2010), http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1564448.
42. See Pew China Survey 2012, <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2012/10/Pew-Global-Attitudes-China-Report-FINAL-October-10-2012.pdf>.
43. See James Bradley in *NYT* 051209 and surrounding debate, e.g. Jonathan Tremblay in *History News Network* 120809, <http://hnn.us/articles/121196.html>.
44. See Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanjing*. No one seems to recall the Nanjing Massacre of 1912, just twenty-five years previously, when Han slaughtered 'an incalculable number' of Manchu men, women and children and the Manchu city was reduced to 'scorched earth' (Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, p.198).
45. In 1988 the Japanese distributor of Bertolucci's film *The Last Emperor* cut the brief scene depicting the Rape of Nanking: Chang, *The Rape of Nanjing*, p.210.
46. *ibid.*, *passim*.
47. Reproduced from *Freezing Point* by Ming Pao, a Hong Kong newspaper, 270106.
48. *Korea Times* 080510, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2011/04/113_65556.html.
49. *SCMP* 031012 and AFR, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1052588/six-chinese-ships-return-waters-near-diaoyus-overs-tokyos-protests>.
50. See *FT* 130809, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/99704548-8800-11de-82e4-00144feabdc0.html#axzz2Geb3K4gw>.

51. James J. Przystup, *Japan-China Relations: All's Well that Ends Well* (2010) CSIS, http://csis.org/files/publication/1001qjapan_china.pdf.
52. See Yoshihara and Holmes 'The Japanese Archipelago through Chinese Eyes'.
53. *ibid.*
54. SCMP 310112, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=7b02d32ca4f25310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
55. *Washington Free Beacon* 300912, <http://freebeacon.com/white-house-hack-attack/>.
56. See Pew Global Survey 2012, <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2012/06/Pew-Global-Attitudes--U.S.-Image-Report-FINAL-June-13-2012.pdf>.
57. *IHT* 060712.
58. Foreign Policy blog 280910, http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/09/28/japan_sends_china_12_billion_in_aid_every_year.
59. Michael McDevitt, *Asia Policy* No. 1 (January 2006), p.74.
60. Jason J. Blazevic, 'The Taiwan Dilemma', p.155.
61. *ibid.*, p.145.
62. *FT* 140309.
63. Yomiuri 270512, <http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/dy/national/T120526002703.htm>.
64. *Defense Programs and Budget of Japan: Overview of FY2011 Budget* (Ministry of Defence, Tokyo, 2011), p.29, http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_budget/pdf/230401.pdf.
65. The Fukuda doctrine – enunciated on Premier Fukuda's 1977 tour of South East Asia – begins 'Japan would never become a military great power.' This was reaffirmed by his son, Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda, in 2007.
66. Professor Kazuo Ogoura in *Japan Times* 230908.
67. Karl Kulessa, reported by Reuters 290408.
68. UNDP *Russia Facing Demographic Challenges* (2009), p.184.
69. *ibid.*, pp.13, 67, 71.
70. UNICEF and Rosstat, *Youth in Russia* (2010), p.21, <http://www.unrussia.ru/en/public.html>.
71. US State Department's International Narcotics Control Strategy Report Vol. 1 (2009), p.464, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/156575.pdf>.
72. Spence, *The Search*, pp.94, 129; UN World Drug Report 2012, p.23, http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/WDR2012/WDR_2012_web_small.pdf. In fact official estimates range up to 3.6 per cent (Russian Federal Drug Service, March 2008, cited by the US State Department's International Narcotics Control Strategy Report Vol. 1, 2009, p.494), <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/120054.pdf>.
73. Spence, p.129.
74. UNICEF and Rosstat, *Youth in Russia*, p.29.
75. Nicholas Eberstadt, 'Drunken Nation: Russia's Depopulation Bomb', *World Affairs* 090409.
76. *FT* 110810, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/cfd28a08-a57b-11df-a5b7-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1JkMvxj5Q>.
77. Lilia Shevtsova of the Carnegie Institute cited in *FT* 130810, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5d8e8594-a6fe-11df-90e5-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1JkHkBC54>.
78. UNICEF and Rosstat, *Youth in Russia* p.25.
79. *ibid.*, p.27.
80. Pavel Astakhov, head of the Russian parliamentary commission on children's rights, interviewed by *Moscow Times* 240810.
81. The Russian government is quoted as saying a million or more in a video on the Russia Today website 221007. The highest estimate is 5 million (RIA-Novosti 020607).
82. This is a combination of those sent to orphanages (around 120,000 annually) and the unknown numbers going to live on the streets. If the minimum number of street children is only 1 million and children are aged 3-15, it suggests 80,000 annually. For the numbers going to orphanages, see Boris Altshuler, a member of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation, writing for the Open Democracy website 310510, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/boris-altshuler/children-in-care-russian-orphan-industry>.
83. *NYT* 190209.
84. *Daily Telegraph* 120809.
85. *FT* 100910, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b67770fe-bcfb-11df-954b-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JkACPM00>.

86. *Time* 190410.
87. *FT* 140410.
88. e.g. President Magomedov of Dagestan cited in *FT* 220510, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/e490b8ca-6539-11df-b648-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1Jk9Kr2ru>.
89. Lucian Kim, the author, writing in *NYT* 300111, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/31/opinion/31iht-edkim31.html?sq=cracks%20in%20the%20russian%20regime&st=cse&adxnlnl=1&sc=1&adxnlnl=1296572274-f+Uwv8YoahtXZUk6xKbK8g>.
90. Lev Gudkov, director of the Levada Centre, an independent pollster, *FT* 150311, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7dd04742-4f29-11e0-9038-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JgBfKCrC>.
91. From Transparency International and the World Economic Forum.
92. William Browder, a prominent critic of Russia, writing in *FT* 060709, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/2172e246-6a53-11de-ad04-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1JkWHWEcw>.
93. Igor Yurgens, head of a liberal think tank, advising Mr Medvedev, *FT* 150311, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7dd04742-4f29-11e0-9038-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JgBfKCrC>.
94. *FT* 230311, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/76647ffa-5569-11e0-a2b1-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JhiG2AXi>.
95. RIA Novosti 051212 <http://en.rian.ru/business/20121205/177936835.html>.
96. *Guardian* 291111, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/nov/29/putin-russia-car-boot-sale>.
97. *FT* 130810, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5d8e8594-a6fe-11df-90e5-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1JkHkBC54>.
98. *FT* 041209, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/41ae3176-e075-11de-8494-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JkOJ0uRL>.
99. Victor Erofeev writing in *IHT* 260911, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/27/opinion/27iht-ederofeyev27.html>.
100. *FT* 160810, <http://cachef.ft.com/cms/s/0/948014ac-a968-11df-a6f2-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1JkPZgwCX>.
101. *FT* 030809.
102. *Natural Gas Daily* 150612, <http://interfaxenergy.com/natural-gas-news-analysis/russia-and-the-caspian/curtain-rises-on-turkmen-gas/>.
103. G. Rozman, *Sino-Soviet Relations*, p.412.
104. *WSJ* 040509.
105. *FT* 190310.
106. *FT* 050709, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/9817e45e-698c-11de-bc9f-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1JkqARiJQ>.
107. *FT* 281209, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/1b48d786-f351-11de-a888-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JkFRyqZn>.
108. *FT* 200809, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ef405120-8db4-11de-93df-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1JkRX8v7j>.
109. *FT* 170909.
110. Jakobson, Holtom *et al.*, *China's Energy and Security Relations with Russia* (SIPRI, 2011), p.vi. <http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRI29.pdf>
111. Tai Ming Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.341.
112. Evan S. Medeiros, 'China's International Behaviour', Rand (2009), p.109.
113. *Washington Times* 010812, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2012/aug/1/inside-china-aide-to-consulate-defector-charged/?page=all>.
114. Allen Whiting's note to Henry Kissinger 160869, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB49/sino.sov.9.pdf>.
115. *People's Daily* 110210, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90777/90853/6893082.html>.
116. Rozman, *Sino-Soviet Relations*, p.411.
117. Jakobson, Holtom *et al.*, *China's Energy and Security Relations with Russia*.
118. See Dr Richard Weitz in RIA Novosti 140411, http://en.rian.ru/valdai_op/20110414/163523421.html.
119. Dmytryshyn, p.lx
120. Byron Tzou, *China and International Law*, p.80.
121. *ibid.*, p.81.

122. Carrère d'Encausse, *L'Empire éclaté*, p.113.
123. Stephan, *The Russian Far East*, p.18.
124. UNDP, *Russia Facing Demographic Challenges*, p.80.
125. Dennis Donahue, *The Future of Work in Russia: Population Projections and the Labor Force* (2004), p.12.
126. Bobo Lo, 'Ten Things Everyone should Know about the Sino-Russian Relationship' (2008), p.4.
127. Information from an academic in Beijing, April 2009.

12 Central Asia

1. Jeremy Allouche, 'The Governance of Central Asian Waters: National Interests versus Regional Cooperation' (2007), UNIDIR, p.52, quoting the *IHT* 080307.
2. Toynbee, *A Study*, p.284.
3. Dwyer, 'The Xinjiang Conflict', p.x.
4. Edmund Waite, Post-Communism 2008: 'Islam and Post-Communism', p.2.
5. SITE Jihadist Threat Monitoring Service website referenced by BBC 080911, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-14834042>.
6. Sir Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks*, p.42.
7. Dwyer, 'The Xinjiang Conflict', p.xi.
8. SCMP 160511.
9. See *Guardian* 301111.
10. <http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/drones#2012chart>.
11. Stanford Law School and NYU School of Law, *Living Under Drones* (2012), pp.32–3, http://livingunderdrones.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Stanford_NYU_LIVING_UNDER_DRONES.pdf.
12. See Arms Control Association November 2012, <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Nuclearweaponswhohaswhat>.
13. Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.14.
14. *ibid.*, p.1.
15. *ibid.*, p.8.
16. Bidwai and Vanaik, *New Nukes: India, Pakistan and Global Nuclear Disarmament*, pp.175, 177.
17. NYT 281109.
18. Private conference in Switzerland, 2010.
19. *Global Asia* 300609.
20. *ibid.*
21. *The Times* 110809.
22. *The Times* 170110.
23. *India Today* 101109.
24. FT 180312, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/a888d1fc-6f12-11e1-afb8-00144feab49a.html#axzz1pXI6hkTt>.
25. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime cited by IRIN, the UN news agency, <http://www.drugaddictiontreatment.com/addiction-in-the-news/addiction-news/drug-addiction-growing-in-afghanistan/>.
26. Afghan Ministry of Counter-Narcotics cited by IRIN. <http://www.drugaddictiontreatment.com/addiction-in-the-news/addiction-news/drug-addiction-growing-in-afghanistan/>.
27. Bruce Goldberger, Professor of Pathology at the University of Florida, interviewed on ABC News 200410, <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/WorldNews/exclusive-skyrocketing-heroin-opium-ensnaring-afghan-children/story?id=10423575&page=1>.
28. *Guardian* 170809.
29. NYT 180210.
30. *Daily Telegraph* 280711.
31. FT 030911.
32. Oxfam *Afghanistan: No Time to Lose* (2011), <http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/afghanistan-no-time-to-lose-20110510-en.pdf>.
33. BBC 060911, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-14809579>.

34. *IHT* 020210.
35. *Economist* 220809.
36. *Times of India* 161009.
37. NYT 150409.
38. Private conversation with the author, January 2010.
39. See *The Times* 251111.
40. *IHT* 020210.
41. Serge Michailof, 'Commentaire', p.344.
42. See *Guardian* 021211.
43. See CNN 051211, http://edition.cnn.com/2011/12/05/world/asia/afghanistan-bonn-conference/index.html?eref=rss_igoogle_cnn.
44. A report sponsored by UNICEF, WHO and the American and British governments, cited in *Guardian* 011211.
45. Brookings Institution 160512, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/programs/foreign%20policy/afghanistan%20index/index20120516>.
46. *Washington Post* 220209.
47. Martha Brill Olcott cited in Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 'Will Central Asia Have Another "Second Chance?"'; Olcott, Kaiser and Sestanovich, Discussion Transcript 2005, p.12, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/2005/09/15/will-central-asia-have-another-second-chance/398u>.
48. Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (2002), p.245.
49. See BBC 051211, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-15132461>.

13 Undeclared War in the Fourth Dimension?

1. Steven Hildreth, 'Cyberwarfare', CRS (2001), p.12.
2. Xinhua 170810, <http://english.cpc.people.com.cn/66102/7106549.html>.
3. SCMP 200411.
4. USCESRC 2010, p.237, http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2010/10_annual_report.php.
5. USCESRR 2008, p.162, http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2008/08_annual_report.php.
6. William Lynn III, 'The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy, One Year Later: Defending against the Next Cyberattack', *Foreign Affairs* (2011), <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68305/william-j-lynn-iii/the-pentagons-cyberstrategy-one-year-later>.
7. Larry Wortzel quoted in *WSJ* 231009, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB125616872684400273.html>.
8. USCESRR 2009, p.169, http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2009/09_annual_report.php.
9. See USCESR 2007 cited in the *Guardian* 201108, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2008/nov/20/china-us-military-hacking>.
10. Laura Knapp, 'Interpreting Chinese Cyber Attacks of 2007', p.7.
11. *ibid.*, pp.7, 12.
12. *ibid.*, p.12.
13. *ibid.*, pp.11–12.
14. *ibid.*, p.8.
15. USCESRR 2010, p.239, http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2010/10_annual_report.php.
16. *ibid.*
17. Bloomberg, *Business Week* 130611, <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2011-06-13/imf-state-backed-cyber-attack-follows-hacks-of-lab-g-20.html>.
18. <http://www.infosecurity-us.com/view/8386/symantec-reveals-china-and-rar-files-are-arising-threat/> 260310.
19. Bloomberg, *Business Week* 130611.
20. *Washington Free Beacon* 300912, <http://freebeacon.com/white-house-hack-attack/>.
21. Lynn III, 'The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy, One Year Later'.
22. *Guardian* 260609.
23. USCESRR 2010, p.237.
24. *Washington Free Beacon* 300912.
25. *Threat Post* 270411. http://threatpost.com/en_us/blogs/glass-dragon-chinas-cyber-offense-obscures-woeful-defense-042711.

26. *FT* 091210.
27. Bloomberg 230711, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-07-21/spies-connected-to-china-said-to-have-carried-out-hacking-of-imf-computers.html>.
28. Reuters 140411, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/04/14/us-china-usa-cyberespionage-idUSTRE73D24220110414?pageNumber=1>.
29. *Washington Post* blog 030708, <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/securityfix/2008/07/lithuania-weather-cyber-attack-1.html>.
30. CSM 210910, <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/2010/0921/Stuxnet-malware-is-weapon-out-to-destroy-Iran-s-Bushehr-nuclear-plant>.
31. See *FT* 081108 and see: Government Executive 041207, <http://www.govexec.com/defense/2007/12/us-british-officials-target-chinese-as-source-of-cyberattacks/25874/>.
32. *Der Spiegel* 100409, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,618478,00.html>.
33. UPI 030508, http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2008/05/03/Is-China-attacking-Belgian-computers/UPI-70831209790694/.
34. AFP 131208, <http://www.france24.com/en/20081211-france-claims-cyber-attack-its-beijing-embassy-website->.
35. *Shadows in the Cloud: Investigating Cyber Espionage 2.0*. 060410, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/29435784/SHADOWS-IN-THE-CLOUD-Investigating-Cyber-Espionage-2-0>.
36. AFP 070311, <http://gadgets.ndtv.com/others/news/china-hacked-into-secret-south-korea-military-files-226801>.
37. *Irish Times* 230711 citing the *FT*.
38. Bloomberg 230711, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-07-21/spies-connected-to-china-said-to-have-carried-out-hacking-of-imf-computers.html>.
39. Dark Visitor 110311, <http://www.thedarkvisitor.com/2011/03/us-1-perp-attacking-chinas-classified-networks/> <http://www.rising-global.com/About-Us/About-Us.html>.
40. *People's Daily* 140311, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/98649/7319285.html>.
41. *FT* 090709.
42. *NYT* cited in SCMP 300309.
43. Julian Spencer citing Reuters in CSM 040308, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/terrorism-security/2008/0304/p99s01-duts.html>, and the website netlexfrance.net on 290309, <http://www.netlexfrance.net/29/03/2009/the-snooping-dragon>; *Washington Times* 120509.
44. *China Daily* 060510.
45. Cited in CSM 140907, <http://www.newsmax.com/Newsfront/china-cyberwar/2007/09/14/id/321684>.
46. Knapp, 'Interpreting Chinese Cyber Attacks', pp.25–6.
47. R. McMahon, 'U.S. Internet Providers and the "Great Firewall of China"', (CFR) 2011.
48. Cited in CSM 140907, <http://www.newsmax.com/Newsfront/china-cyberwar/2007/09/14/id/321684>.
49. Knapp, 'Interpreting Chinese Cyber Attacks', p.27.
50. *FT* 121011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/33dc83e4-c800-11e0-9501-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1adwXUjr9>.
51. US Senate Intelligence Committee Report 220709, http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2009_rpt/srpt111-55.pdf.
52. USCESRR 2011, http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2011/annual_report_full_11.pdf, p.50.
53. US Senate Intelligence Committee Report 220709, http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2009_rpt/srpt111-55.pdf.
54. Office of the Director of National Intelligence, 'Remarks by the National Counterintelligence Executive Dr. Joel F. Brenner' 030409, <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=37389>.
55. *Washington Times* 120509.
56. BBC 180907, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7001856.stm>.
57. USCESRR 2009, p.167, http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2009/09_annual_report.php.
58. *IHT* 010609.
59. Reuters 140411, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/04/14/us-china-usa-cyberespionage-idUSTRE73D24220110414?pageNumber=1>.
60. Martin Libicki, *Cyberdeterrence and Cyberwar*, (Rand, 2009).
61. NATO and Cyber Defence 2009, <http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=1782>.
62. Bruce Schneier, chief security officer of BT, cited by the BBC 160211.

63. Kerr, Rollins and Theohary, 'The Stuxnet Computer Worm: Harbinger of an Emerging Warfare Capability', Congressional Research Service (2010), p.1, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R41524.pdf>.
64. US Senate Intelligence Committee Report, pp.50ff., http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2009_rpt/srpt111-55.pdf.

14 Nervous Neighbours

1. e.g. Chen Xiangyang of the Chinese Institute of Contemporary International Relations cited in SCMP 040510.
2. *IHS Jane's* 2012, reported in SCMP 260212.
3. The SIPRI *Yearbook 2012* contains much valuable information in this field, <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2012/06>.
4. A.F.P. Bloomberg, cited in SCMP 200312, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=d82aa5d1edb26310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
5. The Nixon–Schumann meeting, New York, 180969, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB49/sino.sov.22.pdf>.
6. Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, p.158.
7. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung quoted in SCMP 100410.
8. SCMP 200312, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=db3fb414f0b26310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Asia+%26+World&s=ews>.
9. SCMP 200312, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=db3fb414f0b26310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Asia+%26+World&s=ews>.
10. *Economist* 061210, <http://www.economist.com/node/17601499>.
11. *Daily News and Analysis* 080812, http://www.dnaindia.com/analysis/column_high-stakes-and-rising-tension-in-the-south-china-sea_1725204.
12. SCMP 200409.
13. US Embassy, Hanoi, 070409, http://vietnam.usembassy.gov/mccain_dav040709.html.
14. *ibid*.
15. Richard Halloran writing in the (Honolulu) *Star Advertiser* 200311, http://www.staradvertiser.com/editorials/guesteditorials/20110320__A_long_reconciliation.html.
16. *WSJ* 030612, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303918204577443961224587928.html>.
17. Dr Subhash Kapila, South Asia Analysis Group 010605, <http://saag.org/papers14/paper1397.html>.
18. *ibid*.
19. See SCMP 020509 Naval training from 2000 See: 01. 06. 2005 South Asia Analysis Group.
20. *Defense Industry Daily* 290312, <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/Vietnam-Reportedly-Set-to-Buy-Russian-Kilo-Class-Subs-05396/>.
21. The deepwater harbour of Cam Ranh Bay has had a chequered history: it was a Russian base in 1905 and from the late 1970s until 2002; it was an American base in the late 1960s and early 1970s (and may be again in the 21st century); it was a Japanese base in the 1940s; it might be a Russian and an Indian base in the 21st century.
22. SCMP 290411, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=ce5195a790c9f210VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=Asia+%26+World&s=ews>.
23. *Defense Industry Daily* 150212 (accessed 290312), <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/Vietnam-Reportedly-Set-to-Buy-Russian-Kilo-Class-Subs-05396/>.
24. SCMP 040410.
25. SCMP 280409.
26. *Economist* 151009.
27. *FT* 270312, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/84ed5296-77e5-11e1-b437-00144feab49a.html?ftcamp=rss#axzz1qTh6ddSv>.

28. The Centre for a New American Security, cited in *Le Figaro* 040612.
29. FT 011011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/520bcbd2-eb4f-11e0-9a41-00144feab49a.html#axzz1ZQz5wm2y>.
30. FT 300912, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/62eb2ea8-06e1-11e2-92b5-00144feabdc0.html#axzz283KiNUN7>.
31. Zhuang Guotu, director of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Xiamen University, interviewed in *Global Times* 110612, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/714263.shtml>.
32. *Times of India* 230612, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-06-23/india/32381541_1_sino-bhutanese-jigme-y-thinley-thimphu.
33. *Indian Express* 280612, <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/bhutan-buffer/967453/3>.
34. Xinhua 140112, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-01/14/c_131360593.htm.
35. FT 300512, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/717c28fc-a979-11e1-9772-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1x67jRFMd>.
36. Its people are three inches shorter than South Koreans.
37. *Global Times* 210512, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/710439/NK-frees-all-Chinese-crew.aspx> and also BBC 210512 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-18141009>.
38. *Economist* 120512, <http://www.economist.com/node/21554582>.
39. FT 160810, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7c2afef8-a855-11df-86dd-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1GB5SRVY>.
40. K. Brown, 'Options for a Democratic Taiwan' (2009), p.2.
41. Global Views Survey Research Center 2504–11, http://www.taiwansecurity.org/2011/GVMaApproval_Independence-042511.pdf.
42. *Taipei Times* 150412, <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/front/archives/2012/04/15/2003530364>.
43. A poll in June 2006, by the magazine *Global Views Monthly*: Chen Mumin, 'The Taiwan Factor in China–Japan Relations' 2007.
44. BBC 090306 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4789072.stm>.
45. *Asia Times* 190305.
46. *Asian Survey* 47, No. 5 (Sept–Oct 2007) pp.790–810; Jing Sun Assistant Professor, University of Denver, <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.1525/as.2007.47.5.790?uid=3738032&uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21101128567207>.
47. FT 301209, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d4ba7782-f4e2-11de-9cba-00144feab49a.html#axzz1GB5SRVY>.
48. ABS-CBN News 030611, <http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/-depth/06/02/11/china-fired-filipino-fishermen-jackson-atoll>.
49. *Global Times* 290911, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/677717/Time-to-teach-those-around-South-China-Sea-a-lesson.aspx>.
50. ABS-CBN 230612, <http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/-depth/06/23/12/chinese-navy-admiral-targets-philippine-ships>.
51. Allouche, 'The Governance of Central Asian Waters: National Interests versus Regional Cooperation', p.52.
52. Ksenia Muratshina, Ural Federal University 290512, http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=437.
53. Zherelina Vinokurov *et al.*, 'Transboundary Water Problems in the Basin of the Irtysh River' (NATO workshop, 2003); cited frequently in the *Caucasus Times*.
54. Radio Free Europe 130706, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1069833.html>.
55. Ksenia Muratshina, Ural Federal University 290512.
56. *Guardian* 281111.

15 China in the World

1. The widely cited, but unreferenced, '24 character strategy' which reads 'Observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; never claim leadership; make some contributions'.

2. FT 210510, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/e3af4fd6-646f-11df-8cba-00144feab49a.html#axzz1GB5SRVY>.
3. Brown, *Friends and Enemies*, p.152.
4. Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2011 <http://pewglobal.org/files/2011/07/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Balance-of-Power-U.S.-Image-Report-FINAL-July-13-2011.pdf>.
5. Zhuang Guotu, director of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Xiamen University, interviewed in *Global Times* 110612, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/714263.shtml>.
6. Though ten years ago it would not have expected the Iraqi and Afghan ambassadors to Norway to have heeded its request for them not to attend the Nobel Prize ceremony.
7. SCMP 090412, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnextoid=2bee126d09396310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s=ews>.
8. Gamer (ed.) *Understanding Contemporary China*, p.86, citing Mulvenon, 'Soldiers of Fortune'.
9. Cheung, 'The Chinese Defense Economy's Long March from Imitation to Innovation', p.326.
10. *ibid.*, p.348.
11. Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.11.
12. Tai Ming Cheung writing in the WSJ blog 130111, <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinareal-time/2011/01/13/what-the-j-20-says-about-chinas-defense-sector/>.
13. Israel is also known to have covertly transferred American technology to China, including that for killer drones in 1994–2004, but it is not proven that nuclear technology was transferred: John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, pp.75–6.
14. Thomas C. Reed and Danny B. Stillman, *The Nuclear Express* (2008).
15. Carl E. Behrens, 'Nuclear Non-proliferation Issues' (CRS, 2006); p.14; Shirley A. Kan, *et al.*, 'China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues' (CRS, 2006), and Reed and Stillman, 'Nuclear Express'. See discussion in NYT 081208, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/09/science/09bomb.html?pagewanted=all&_moc.semityn.www. At an early stage, Beijing officials privately acknowledged proliferation of nuclear weapons but said rather disarmingly that the quality was not very good. (Private conversation with a British official, 2011.)
16. See for example the report sponsored by Professor Phillip Karber of Georgetown University, cited in *Washington Post* 301111, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/georgetown-students-shed-light-on-chinas-tunnel-system-for-nuclear-weapons/2011/11/16/gIQA6AmKAO_story.html.
17. Professor Michael Sheehan of Swansea University writing in BBC 290911, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-15089720>.
18. Nirav Patel, 'Chinese Disaster Relief Operations' (2009).
19. See Fedex website: <http://news.van.fedex.com/intl/cn?node=10345>.
20. SCMP 160311.
21. Song Xiaojun, a defence specialist, cited in SCMP 050311.
22. 'Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century 2009', p.34.
23. AFP 120509.
24. *Economist* 041210.
25. Christopher J. Pehrson, p.24.
26. Professor Brahma Chellaney cited in FT 210510, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/833aca0e-646f-11df-8cba-00144feab49a.html#axzz1GB5SRVY>.
27. P. Chacko Joseph, 'China's "String of Pearls" Strategy around India in Tatters', *Frontier India* (2009). <http://frontierindia.org/chinas-string-of-pearls-strategy-around-india-in-tatters/>.
28. *Daily Star* 230112, <http://www.dredgingtoday.com/2012/01/23/sonadia-island-port-is-of-strategic-importance-china-says/>.
29. Media Center for National Development of Sri Lanka 010911, <http://www.development.lk/news.php?news=1380>.
30. Zhuang Guotu, director of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Xiamen University, interviewed in *Global Times* 110612, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/714263.shtml>.
31. SMH 270709.
32. Xinhua 110312, <http://english.cntv.cn/20120311/110556.shtml>.

33. *China Daily* 250406, <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/5064f317866fb84ae45c8d14.html>.
34. Xinhua 220409.
35. Cited in FT 030311.
36. Professor Brautigam of American University discusses this in 'China in Africa: The Real Story', <http://www.chinaafricaarealstory.com/2010/03/china-and-african-land-grab-drc-oil.html>.
37. Jamestown Foundation, 'Changes in Beijing's Approach to Overseas Basing?' 240909.
38. Quoted in *Washington Times* 071211, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/dec/7/inside-china-818785095/?page=all>.
39. US–China Commission, *The Evolving Role of China in International Institutions*, p.89, <http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/TheEvolvingRoleofChinainInternationalInstitutions.pdf>.
40. Author's conversation in 2009 with a house owner in East Africa who let out his house.
41. Author's conversation with an official in the UK Home Office, December 2009.
42. FT 300112, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/86cbd2ba-4b60-11e1-a325-00144feabdc0.html>.
43. *Guardian* 281003.
44. It seems to arm Mugabe's police in Zimbabwe and yet the anti-government demonstrators in Cairo's Tahrir Square were wearing Chinese-manufactured gas masks: *Economist* 261111.
45. Fang Cheng *et al.*, *China's International Aid Policy and its Implications for Global Governance* (Research Center for Chinese Politics & Business, Indiana University, 2012), pp.23–4, <http://www.indiana.edu/~rccpb/pdf/Cheng%20RCCPB%2029%20Aid%20June%202012.pdf>.
46. FT 070509, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/57d45a62-3a84-11de-8a2d-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1GB5SRvY>.
47. SCMP 051111, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=6a249c5a29e63310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s-ews>.
48. *IHT* 301211.
49. Calculated by the Japan Centre for International Exchange: *Economist* 061210.
50. Freedom House, *Undermining Democracy* (2009), pp.24–5, http://old.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/83.pdf.
51. Freedom House *Undermining Democracy* (2009), pp.24–5. http://old.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/83.pdf.
52. US dispatch published by Wikileaks, cited by FT 030311.
53. FT 051110, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/4b89e260-e7ec-11df-b158-00144feab49a.html#axzz1GB5SRvY>.
54. FT 090311.
55. Wu Sike, China's senior Middle East envoy cited in SCMP 110311.
56. 'Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council', <http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/102/32810.html>.
57. See Contributors to UN Peace-keeping Operations, 30 November 2012, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2012/Nov12_1.pdf.
58. The MINURSO mandate established by the UN 290491.
59. Jacques, *When China Rules the World*, p.327.
60. US–China Commission, *The Evolving Role of China in International Institutions*, p.84.
61. Stephan, *The Russian Far East*, p.18.
62. See Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2012, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/13/chapter-4-rating-countries-and-institutions/>.
63. I refer here to the anti-American riots. See Horeh, *Shanghai's Bund*, p.46, and F. L. Hawks-Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai*, p.147.
64. Johnston, *Cultural Realism*, pp.26–7.
65. Alastair Iain Johnston, 'China's Militarized Interstate Dispute Behaviour 1949–1992: A First Cut at the Data', *China Quarterly* 153, No. 1 (1998), p.29, <http://www.ou.edu/uschina/texts/Johnston.98.CQ.pdf>.
66. Alastair Johnston cited in Joshi, *China and India: Awkward Ascents*, p.16.
67. Brecher, Wilkenfeld and Moser's work *Crises in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 2 cited in Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*, p.256.
68. *ibid.*

69. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, p.107.
70. Research by Feng Kacheng: <http://www.fangkc.com/2010/10/hurt-the-feelings-of-chinese-people/>.
71. ABC News 020310.
72. *Economist* 061210, <http://www.economist.com/node/17601499>.
73. FT 280911, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/873843be-e9bd-11e0-bb3e-00144feab49a.html#axzz1ZQz5wm2y>.
74. SCMP 180411.
75. Professor Dominic Lieven writing in FT 140510, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5bcb205c-5eef-11df-af86-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JkCjbKnQ>.
76. An essay written in 250507: Okazaki Institute, <http://www.okazaki-inst.jp>.
77. Professor Alan Dupont in *The Australian* 120410, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/opinion/many-shared-interests-but-few-shared-values-with-china/story-e6frg6zo-1225852475053>.
78. *ibid.*

16 Outcomes

1. *Foreign Affairs* October 1999.
2. Eric Jones, 'Agenda', p.502.
3. An essay written in 250507: Okazaki Institute.
4. *ibid.*
5. Medeiros, 'China's International Behaviour'.
6. e.g. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*.
7. 'China's Unhappy Neo-Leftists', *Diplomatic Courier* 220409, <http://www.diplomaticcourier.org/kmitan/articleback.php?newsid=361>, *Unhappy China* is a collection of essays by five authors who argue that China has been too deferential to a Western world that is hostile towards it: <http://economistonline.muogao.com/2009/03/unhappy-china.html>. The writer team is composed of famous media persons, cultural workers and scholars: Song Qiang (宋强), one of the authors of 'China Can Say No', has experience as a journalist, editor and TV script writer. Song Xiao Jun (宋小军) is a commentator on CCTV and Phoenix TV, a well-known nationalist leader with military training. Wang Xiaodong (王小东) was sent to Japan to study Business Management after he decided to stop his study of Mathematics in Beijing University. He is famous for his criticism on 'reversed racism' (逆向种族主义), meaning the self-criticism of Chinese towards their own behaviour. Huang Jisu (黄纪苏) is a sociologist and editor of the Chinese version of *Journal of International Social Science*. Liu Yang (刘仰) is an experienced media worker in issues related to culture, history and economy: <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/03/13/china-is-unhappy/>.
8. *Le Point* 231209, translation by the author.
9. See the interview with Xiao Jiansheng, <http://asiancorrespondent.com/28252/chat-with-chinese-author-xiao-jiansheng/> University of California, Irvine.
10. See Bloomberg 091212, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-12-09/china-s-wealth-gap-soars-as-xi-pledges-to-narrow-income-divide.html>.
11. Ministry of Industry and Information Technology cited by *Caixin* 090312, <http://english.caixin.com/2012-03-09/100366407.html>.
12. Eric, *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia*, p.165.
13. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, p.144.
14. Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen*, p.222.
15. Yuan Weishi in *Freezing Point* 110106.
16. FT 041209, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/41ae3176-e075-11de-8494-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1JkOJ0uRL>.
17. J. W. F. Jenner in 'Tyranny of History' cited by Peter Hays Gries in *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics and Diplomacy*, p.45.
18. See <http://www.prb.org/pdf10/immigration-update2010.pdf>.
19. See National Bureau of Statistics 290411, http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/newsandcomin-gevents/t20110429_402722638.htm.

20. SCMP 110412, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=f036f07f75c96310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s-ews>.
21. See the preface to Susan Greenfield's, *Tomorrow's People*, p.xi. Ian Morris discusses this in his book *Why the West Rules – for Now*.
22. For a discussion of the science see Greenfield *Tomorrow's People* (passim). For the implications see for example *Why the West Rules*, Morris, pp.617–19.
23. Cao Cong Wilson Institute, May 2008.
24. Ashley J. Tellis. 'Preserving Hegemony: The Strategic Tasks Facing the United States', *Global Asia* (Spring 2009).
25. Brecher and Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, p.80.
26. Hibbert, *The Dragon Wakes*, p.367.
27. FT 101011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/482df932-f324-11e0-8383-00144feab49a.html#axzz1aWsRSsLc>.
28. Reported in the FT weblog 141011, <http://blogs.ft.com/the-world/2011/10/chinas-fear-of-the-talent-show/#axzz1b7iT7GCY>.
29. *Time* 071209.
30. *The Times* 260109.
31. Admission by David Kilcullen, adviser to Gen. Petraeus: FT 130509, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/46c20ab0-3f59-11de-ae4f-00144feabdc0.html>.
32. One Israeli minister estimated that potentially 1,000 international war crimes lawsuits might be outstanding against military and security officials for such incidents: Avigdor Lieberman quoted in *Times* online 061009, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article6862322.ece>.
33. Brecher and Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, p.85.
34. *Time* 150210.
35. Li Ruogu, *Institutional Stability*, pp.189, 190.
36. Alastair Johnston, *Cultural Realism*, p.230 *et passim*.
37. SCMP 240909.
38. *ibid.* 'The legendary six-part CCTV miniseries *River Elegy* ... in June of 1988. ... the documentary ... hit academic circles like an atomic bomb. The series' content – a sweeping, brutally painful critique of the deep structure of Chinese culture ... informal discussion sessions on the topics of the program were organized at Tsinghua other universities throughout China.' <http://www.thechinabeat.org/?p=3607> Bo Yang 'The Ugly Chinaman and the Crisis of Chinese Culture'. The Taiwanese-resident author criticises Chinese culture and the book was banned in China. <http://www.amazon.com/Ugly-Chinaman-Crisis-Chinese-Culture/dp/1863731164>.
39. SCMP 070510.
40. FT 031011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/7885de20-edab-11e0-a9a9-00144feab49a.html#axzz1ZhorvPCY>.
41. SCMP 051011, <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/menuitem.2af62ecb329d3d7733492d9253a0a0a0/?vgnnextoid=e00438cd67fc2310VgnVCM100000360a0a0aRCRD&ss=China&s-ews>.
42. For a description of the extraordinary development of Chinese consumer society, see Gerth, *As China Goes*.

Bibliography

Books

- Adshead, S. A. M. *Province and Politics in Late Imperial China: Viceregal Government in Szechwan, 1898–1911*, 1984
- Allawi, Ali A. *The Crisis of Islamic Civilisation*, 2009
- Aristotle *Politics*, tr. J. E. C. Welldon, 1897
- Bailey, Paul John *China in the Twentieth Century*, 2001
- Baumler, Alan *The Chinese and Opium under the Republic: Worse Than Floods and Wild Beasts*, 2007
- Becker, Jasper *City of Heavenly Tranquillity: Beijing in the History of China*, 2008
- Bekerman, Zwi and Ezra Kopelowitz (eds) *Cultural Education – Cultural Sustainability: Minority, Diaspora, Indigenous, and Ethno-religious Groups in Multicultural Societies*, 2008
- Bidwai, Praful and Anchin Vanaik *New Nukes: India, Pakistan and Global Nuclear Disarmament*, 1999
- Brecher, Michael and Jonathan Wilkenfeld *A Study of Crisis*, 1997
- Breznitz, Danny and Michael Murphree *The Run of the Red Queen: Government, Innovation, Globalization, and Economic Growth in China*, 2011
- Brook, Timothy *The Chinese State in Ming Society*, 2005
- *The Troubled Empire. China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties*, 2010
- Brown, Kerry *Friends and Enemies: The Past, Present and Future of the Communist Party in China*, 2009
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power*, 2012
- Butterfield, Herbert *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931), 1973
- Carrère d'Encausse, Hélène *L'Empire éclaté*, 1978
- Castaneda, Jorge *Companero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara*, 1997
- Chang, Iris *The Rape of Nanking*, 2012
- Chao, Kang *Man and Land in Chinese History*, 1986
- Chesneaux, Jean *Peasant Revolts in China 1840–1949*, tr. C. A. Curwen, 1973
- Chiang, Madame Kai Shek, *Conversations with Mikhail Borodin*, 1978
- Ching, Frank *Ancestors*, 1988
- Chong, Woei-lien (ed.) *China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: Master Narratives and Post-Mao Counternarratives*, 2002
- Connaughton, Richard *The War of the Rising Sun and the Tumbling Bear: A Military History of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–5*, 1988
- Couldry, Nick and Curran, James (eds) *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World*, 2003
- Dardess, John W. *Governing China 150–1850*, 2010
- Dehaene, Stanislas *The Number Sense: How the Mind Creates Mathematics*, 1999