

The Long Game

China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order

RUSH DOSHI

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction 1

1. “A Coherent Body of Thought and Action”: Grand Strategy and Hegemonic Order 15
2. “The Party Leads Everything”: Nationalism, Leninism, and the Chinese Communist Party 25

PART I “HIDING CAPABILITIES AND BIDDING TIME”:
BLUNTING AS CHINA'S FIRST DISPLACEMENT
STRATEGY (1989–2008)

3. “New Cold Wars Have Begun”: The Trifecta and the New American Threat 47
4. “Grasping the Assassin’s Mace”: Implementing Military Blunting 68
5. “Demonstrate Benign Intentions”: Implementing Political Blunting 101
6. “Permanent Normal Trading Relations”: Implementing Economic Blunting 134

PART II "ACTIVELY ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING":
BUILDING AS CHINA'S SECOND DISPLACEMENT
STRATEGY (2009–2016)

7. "A Change in the Balance of Power": The Financial Crisis and the Dawn of Building 159
8. "Make More Offensive Moves": Implementing Military Building 183
9. "Establish Regional Architecture": Implementing Political Building 208
10. "Aboard Our Development Train": Implementing Economic Building 235

PART III "GREAT CHANGES UNSEEN IN A
CENTURY": GLOBAL EXPANSION AS CHINA'S THIRD
DISPLACEMENT STRATEGY (2017 AND BEYOND)

11. "Toward the World's Center Stage": American Decline and China's Global Ambition 261
12. "Standing Tall and Seeing Far": The Ways and Means of China's Global Expansion 277
13. An Asymmetric Strategy for US-China Competition 297

Conclusion 330

Appendix 335

Notes 341

Index 403