

China's leaders have continuously expanded the scope of national security



Xi Jinping's term has seen the biggest expansion of the concept

LEADER	KEY EVENTS	PERCEIVED THREATS	TYPES OF SECURITY
 Mao Zedong 1949-1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean War (1950-1953) • Vietnam War (1955-1975) • Sino-Soviet Split and Sino-Soviet Border Conflict (1956-1966, 1969) • Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposition to the party and enemies within • Foreign invasion • Nuclear attack 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political security • Territorial security • Military security
 Deng Xiaoping 1978-1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Start of reform and opening-up (1978) • China-Vietnam War (1979) • Tiananmen Square protests (1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposition to the party and enemies within • Foreign invasion • Nuclear attack 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic security • Cultural security
 Jiang Zemin 1989-2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fall of Soviet Union (1991) • Taiwan Strait Crisis (1996) • Falun Gong protests on Tiananmen Square (1999-2001) • NATO bombing of Chinese embassy in Belgrade (1999) • 9/11 attacks (2001) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US hegemonism and Western military alliances • Terrorist attacks • Foreign interference • Unequal economic opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Societal security • Technological security • Information security (<i>later subsumed under cybersecurity</i>)
 Hu Jintao 2002-2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SARS outbreak (2003) • Environmental and labor protests (~2003--2012) • Iraq War (2003-2011) • Global Financial Crisis (2008) • Urumqi Riots (2009) • Arab Spring (2010-2012) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Three evils" of terrorism, separatism and extremism • Ideological weakening (political liberal thinking) • Revolution • Social unrest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological security • Resource security • Nuclear security
 Xi Jinping 2012-today	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US Pivot to Asia (2012) • Bo Xilai scandal (2012) • Protests in Hong Kong (2012-2019) • COVID-19 pandemic (2020-today) • Russia's invasion of Ukraine (2022-today) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western-led coalition to contain China • Global reputational damage • Separatism (Xinjiang, Hong Kong, Taiwan) • Alternative power and interest networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cybersecurity • Security of overseas interests • Biosecurity • Space security • Polar security • Deep-sea security

Note: The overview only includes party leaders with direct contributions to China's national security concept. Dates are based on years in which leaders held key party positions, not state functions.

Chinas Economic Security

Scott C. Dulebohn



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Table of Contents Chinas Economic Security

1. Understanding the eBook Chinas Economic Security
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Chinas Economic Security
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Chinas Economic Security
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Chinas Economic Security
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Chinas Economic Security
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Chinas Economic Security User Reviews and Ratings

- Chinas Economic Security and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Chinas Economic Security Free and Paid eBooks
 - Chinas Economic Security Public Domain eBooks
 - Chinas Economic Security eBook Subscription Services
 - Chinas Economic Security Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Chinas Economic Security eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Chinas Economic Security Compatibility with Devices
 - Chinas Economic Security Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Chinas Economic Security
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Chinas Economic Security
 - Interactive Elements Chinas Economic Security
- 8. Staying Engaged with Chinas Economic Security
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Chinas Economic Security
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Chinas Economic Security
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Chinas Economic Security
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Chinas Economic Security
 - Setting Reading Goals Chinas Economic Security
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Chinas Economic Security
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Chinas Economic Security
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources

13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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