



★ CHINA POLICY SERIES

# CHINA AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Becoming a world power

EDITED BY XIAOMING HUANG  
AND ROBERT G. PATMAN

ROUTLEDGE

# China and the International System

Becoming a world power

Edited by Xiaoming Huang and  
Robert G. Patman



First published 2013  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group,  
an informa business*

© 2013 selection and editorial material, Xiaoming Huang and  
Robert G. Patman; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial  
material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted  
in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and  
Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or  
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means,  
now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording,  
or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in  
writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or  
registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation  
without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

China and the international system: becoming a world power/ edited by  
Xiaoming Huang and Robert G. Patman.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. China—Foreign relations—1976- I. Huang, Xiaoming.

DS777.55.C4467355 2013

327.51—dc23

2012038096

ISBN: 978-0-415-63966-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-203-43612-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman  
by Cenveo Publisher Services



Printed and bound in Great Britain by  
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

# China and the International System

This book considers the evolving relationship between China and the international system, and the interaction between a China of profound change in its identity, capability, and influence, and an international system that is itself experiencing a process of far-reaching transformation. It develops an analytical framework that allows us to capture, understand, and explain a more dynamic pattern of agent–structure interaction in China’s relationship with the international system.

By demonstrating a more dynamic and mutually constitutive relationship between China and the international system, the book explores the extent to which both transform themselves in the process, and provides a fuller and more effective assessment of the evolving nature of the relationship. In doing so, it addresses key issues in the current literature on the relationship of China and the international system, and helps close the gap in our knowledge of the conditions and consequences of change and stability in the international system as a result of the change in distributions of power, capability, and influence among nation-states.

**Xiaoming Huang** is Professor of International Relations and Director of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

**Robert G. Patman** is Professor of International Relations and Director of the Master of International Studies program at the University of Otago, New Zealand.

## **China policy series**

Series Editor: Zheng Yongnian

*China Policy Institute, University of Nottingham, UK*

- 1. China and the New International Order**  
*Edited by Wang Gungwu and Zheng Yongnian*
- 2. China's Opening Society**  
The non-state sector and governance  
*Edited by Zheng Yongnian and Joseph Fewsmith*
- 3. Zhao Ziyang and China's Political Future**  
*Edited by Guoguang Wu and Helen Lansdowne*
- 4. Hainan – State, Society, and Business in a Chinese Province**  
*Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard*
- 5. Non-Governmental Organizations in China**  
The rise of dependent autonomy  
*Yiyi Lu*
- 6. Power and Sustainability of the Chinese State**  
*Edited by Keun Lee, Joon-Han Kim and Wing Thyee Woo*
- 7. China's Information and Communications Technology Revolution**  
Social changes and state responses  
*Edited by Xiaoling Zhang and Yongnian Zheng*
- 8. Socialist China, Capitalist China**  
Social tension and political adaptation under economic globalisation  
*Edited by Guoguang Wu and Helen Lansdowne*
- 9. Environmental Activism in China**  
*Lei Xei*
- 10. China's Rise in the World ICT Industry**  
Industrial strategies and the catch-up development model  
*Lutao Ning*
- 11. China's Local Administration**  
Traditions and changes in the sub-national hierarchy  
*Edited by Jae-Ho Chung and Tao-chiu Lam*

- 12. The Chinese Communist Party as Organizational Emperor**  
Culture, reproduction  
and transformation  
*Zheng Yongnian*
- 13. China's Trade Unions – How Autonomous Are They?**  
*Masaharu Hishida,  
Kazuko Kojima, Tomoaki Ishii  
and Jian Qiao*
- 14. Legitimizing the Chinese Communist Party since Tiananmen**  
A critical analysis of  
the stability discourse  
*Peter Sandby-Thomas*
- 15. China and International Relations**  
The Chinese view and  
the contribution of Wang Gungwu  
*Zheng Yongnian*
- 16. The Challenge of Labour in China**  
Strikes and the changing labour  
regime in global factories  
*Chris King-chi Chan*
- 17. The Impact of China's 1989 Tiananmen Massacre**  
*Edited by Jean-Philippe Béja*
- 18. The Institutional Dynamics of China's Great Transformation**  
*Edited by Xiaoming Huang*
- 19. Higher Education in Contemporary China**  
Beyond expansion  
*Edited by W. John Morgan and  
Bin Wu*
- 20. China's Crisis Management**  
*Edited by Jae Ho Chung*
- 21. China Engages Global Governance**  
A new world order in  
the making?  
*Gerald Chan, Pak K. Lee and  
Lai-Ha Chan*
- 22. Political Culture and Participation in Rural China**  
*Yang Zhong*
- 23. China's Soft Power and International Relations**  
*Hongyi Lai and Yiyi Lu*
- 24. China's Climate Policy**  
*Chen Gang*
- 25. Chinese Society – Change and Transformation**  
*Edited by Li Peilin*
- 26. China's Challenges to Human Security**  
Foreign relations and global  
implications  
*Edited by Guoguang Wu*
- 27. China's Internal and International Migration**  
*Edited by Li Peilin and Laurence  
Roulleau-Berger*
- 28. The Rise of Think Tanks in China**  
*Xufeng Zhu*
- 29. Governing Health in Contemporary China**  
*Yanzhong Huang*

**30. New Dynamics in Cross-Taiwan  
Straits Relations**

How far can the  
rapprochement go?

*Edited by Weixing Hu*

**32. China and the  
International System**

Becoming a world power

*Edited by Xiaoming Huang and  
Robert G. Patman*

**31. China and the European Union**

*Edited by Lisheng Dong,  
Zhengxu Wang and Henk Dekker*

# Abbreviations

ACCF	ASEAN–China Cooperation Fund
ACFTA	ASEAN–China Free Trade Agreement
ACJCC	ASEAN–China Joint Cooperation Committee
AMF	Asian Monetary Fund
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN+3	ASEAN and China, Japan, and Korea
ASEM	Asia–Europe Meeting
ASL	anti-secession law
BASIC	countries of Brazil, South Africa, India, and China
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BRIC	countries of Brazil, Russia, India, and China
BRICS	countries of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CASS	China Academy of Social Sciences
CCGA	Chicago Council of Global Affairs
CCTV	China Central Television
CDB	China Development Bank
CEPA	Closer Economic Partnership Agreement
CICIR	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations
CLVM	Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Myanmar
CNKI	China National Knowledge Index
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
COP16	16th edition of Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
CPC	Communist Party of China
CRS	Congressional Research Service
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
EEZ	exclusive economic zone
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EU	European Union
FAS	Free Associated States
FDI	foreign direct investment
FOCAC	Forum on China–Africa Cooperation



FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
FTA	free trade area
FTAAP	Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	gross domestic product
GMS	Greater Mekong Subregion
IEA	International Energy Agency
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IR	international relations
IWEP	Institute of World Economics and Politics
LDC	least developed country
MEA	Ministry of Economic Affairs
MES	Market Economy Status
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce
MRC	Mekong River Commission
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NPC	National People's Congress
NRDC	National Reform and Development Commission
ODA	official development assistance
ODI	overseas direct investment
PC	Pacific Community
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
PICs	Pacific Island countries
PIF	Pacific Island Forum
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRC	People's Republic of China
PTA	preferential trade agreement
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SARS	severe acute respiratory syndrome
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SDRs	special drawing rights
SPF	South Pacific Forum
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNU	United Nations University
USCBC	United States–China Business Council
USNIC	United States National Intelligence Council
WTO	World Trade Organization

# Contributors

**John Bailey** has a BA (Hons) in Politics, and MA (Distinction) in International Relations and Security from the University of Liverpool, UK. He has previously worked at the United Kingdom Home Office, and is currently a researcher for the Welsh Parliament Assembly Member for Wrexham, Lesley Griffiths (Labour). His research interests focus on power transition theory, the international relations of Asia, and Sino-US relations.

**Marco Bünte** is a research fellow at the Institute of Asian Studies of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA). Dr Bünte holds a BA, an MA, and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Münster, Germany. Dr Bünte's research interests lie in the field of comparative politics, democratization in Southeast Asia, decentralization, local politics in Southeast Asia, authoritarian resilience in Southeast Asia, and China's engagement in Southeast Asia. Dr Bünte is co-editor of the *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. Dr Bünte is the author of *Democratization in Post-Suharto Indonesia* (Routledge, 2009).

**Gerald Chan** is Professor and Head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. He has taught at Cambridge and Durham in the UK, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. Professor Chan's key research area is Chinese international relations. He is currently working on a project with Pak K. Lee and Lai-Ha Chan on China and global governance. Professor Chan is the author of *China's Compliance in Global Affairs: Trade, Arms Control, Environmental Protection, Human Rights* (World Scientific Publishing Company, 2006).

**Lai-Ha Chan** is Chancellor's Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the UTS China Research Centre, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia. Her major research interests include Chinese international relations, China's participation in global governance as well as management of non-traditional security issues, particularly infectious diseases. She has published in *PLOS Medicine*, *Global Public Health*, *China Security*, *Third World Quarterly*, and *Contemporary Politics*. She is the author of *China Engages Global Health Governance: Responsible Stakeholder or System-Transformer?* (Palgrave, 2011).

**Xiaoming Huang** is Professor of International Relations and Director of New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Professor Huang received his PhD in International Relations from University of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA, and both his BA and MA in International Relations from Peking University, China. Professor Huang teaches East Asian politics, international relations of East Asia, and China's politics and international relations at Victoria University. His research falls in the area of East Asia's political economy, modern development of China, and international relations of East Asia. His publications have appeared in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, *Asian Survey*, *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, among others. He is the author of *The Rise and Fall of the East Asian Growth System, 1951–2000: Institutional Competitiveness and Rapid Economic Growth* (Routledge, 2005).

**Canrong Jin** is Professor of International Relations and Associate Dean of the School of International Studies at Renmin University of China. His education background includes a BA from Fudan University, an MA from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and a PhD from Peking University, China. Before joining Renmin University, he worked for the Institute of American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). His research focuses on American politics, American foreign policy, Sino-US relations, and China's foreign policy. He has published 50 academic papers, seven books, and five translated books. As the first columnist in international politics in mainland China, Professor Jin wrote for the column "Focusing on America" in *World Affairs*.

**Nicholas Khoo** is Lecturer in the Department of Politics at the University of Otago, New Zealand. He holds a PhD from Columbia University, an MA from Johns Hopkins University, and a BA from the University of California at Irvine (all USA). Dr Khoo's research interests cover Chinese foreign policy, the international relations of Asia, international relations theory, and security studies. His publications appear in *International Security*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, *Cold War History*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*. Dr Khoo is the author of *Collateral Damage: Sino-Soviet Rivalry and the Termination of the Sino-Vietnamese Alliance* (Columbia University Press, 2011).

**Marc Lanteigne** is a senior lecturer at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, and a researcher with the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre. He received his PhD at McGill University in Montréal, Canada and taught previously at the University of St Andrews, Scotland, and Dalhousie University in Halifax, Canada. Dr Lanteigne specializes in Chinese foreign policy and the country's engagement with regional and international organizations. He has published articles on Chinese and Asian regional policies in

*The China Quarterly*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Politics*, and *The World Today*. In addition to China and Hong Kong, he has researched in Chile, Iceland, India, Japan, Malaysia, and the United States, and was a visiting researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in 2009. His current projects include Beijing's emerging cross-regional diplomacy via economic linkages and free trade and China's comparative engagement of the South Pacific region. Dr Lanteigne is the author of *China and International Institutions: Alternate Paths to Global Power* (Routledge, 2005) and *Chinese Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2009).

**Pak K. Lee** is Lecturer in Chinese Politics and International Relations/ International Political Economy in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Kent, UK. His current research focuses on China's participation in global governance in general and in global energy governance in particular.

**Katherine Morton** is Associate Dean of the Research College of Asia and the Pacific, and Senior Fellow at the Department of International Relations, School of International, Political & Strategic Studies, Australian National University, and a specialist on China and Global Politics with over a decade of experience working on environmental problems at the local, national, and international levels. She has a particular interest in the development of equitable solutions, both globally and locally, that reconcile environmental protection with development needs. For the past six years, she has been conducting research on the Tibetan Plateau looking at the emergence of environmentalism, and more recently the local and regional impacts of climate change. Other research projects include a study on the domestic drivers of China's response to global environmental cooperation, the role of indigenous knowledge and creativity in responding to climate change, and regional environmental security in the Himalayas. She is also the Chief Investigator in a Ford Foundation-funded collaborative research project on Sino-Australian security relations. Dr Morton is the author of *International Aid and China's Environment: Taming the Yellow Dragon* (Routledge, 2006).

**Dirk Nabers** is a research fellow at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) and Head of GIGA Research 4: Power, Norms, and Governance in International Relations. He studied Political Science, Modern History, and Economics at the University of Münster, Germany and the International Christian University Tokyo, Japan and received a PhD in 1999. His research interests include international relations theory, security policies, comparative regionalism, and regional powers. Dr Nabers' publications appear in *International Studies Review* and the *Library of Essays in International Relations*. He is an editor of *Regional Leadership in the Global System: Ideas, Interests, and Strategies of Regional Powers* (Ashgate, 2010).

**Robert G. Patman** is Professor of International Relations and Director of the Master of International Studies program at the University of Otago, New Zealand. His research interests center on international relations, US foreign

policy, post-Cold War security, and the relationship between order and justice in a globalizing world. He is the author or editor of eight books. He is also co-editor for the Praeger Series on *The Ethics of American Foreign Policy*, and an editor for the scholarly journal *International Studies Perspectives*. His latest book is a single authored volume called *Strategic Shortfall: The "Somalia Syndrome" and the March to 9/11* (Praeger, 2010). He is a Fulbright Senior Scholar; a Senior Fellow at the Center of Strategic Studies, Wellington; and provides regular contributions to the national and international media on global issues and events.

**Peter E. Robertson** is Winthrop Professor of Economics at the Business School of the University of Western Australia. Prior to joining the School in July 2009, he was an Associate Professor at the University of New South Wales, Australia and an Assistant Director at the Research Division of the former Productivity Commission. He was educated at the University of Otago, New Zealand, the University of New England, Australia, and Simon Fraser University, Canada. He has established a research record in the fields of economic growth, international trade, and environmental economics. Professor Robertson's current research interests are centered on interactions between economic growth and international trade, such as the effect of the growth of India and China on the international economy, the effects of international trade on human capital accumulation, and the impact of international flows of skilled labor. He has published widely in economics journals such as *International Economic Review*, *Review of International Economics*, *Economics Letters*, *Oxford Economics Papers*, and *Explorations in Economic History*.

**David Shambaugh** is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and Director of the China Policy Program at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, USA. Professor Shambaugh received his PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan, an MA in International Affairs from Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and a BA in East Asian Studies from the George Washington University (all USA). Before joining the faculty at George Washington, he taught at the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, where he also served as Editor of *The China Quarterly*. He also served as Director of the Asia Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1985–6), as an analyst in the Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1976–7) and the National Security Council (1977–8), and has been a Non-resident Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at The Brookings Institution since 1998. Professor Shambaugh is recognized internationally as an authority on contemporary Chinese affairs and the international politics and security of the Asia-Pacific region. He is a widely published author of numerous books, articles, book chapters, and newspaper editorials. He has previously authored six and edited 16 volumes. Professor Shambaugh is a frequent commentator in international media, and has contributed to leading scholarly journals such as *International Security*, *Foreign Affairs*, *The China Quarterly*,

and *The China Journal*. Professor Shambaugh is the author of *China's Communist Party: Atrophy & Adaptation* (University of California Press, 2009).

**Ian Taylor** is Professor of International Relations at the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland, and a Professor Extraordinary in Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. Professor Taylor holds a PhD from the University of Stellenbosch and an MPhil from the University of Hong Kong. Prior to joining St Andrews, Professor Taylor taught African politics at the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Botswana, for four years, as well as at Dalhousie University in Canada, the University of Hong Kong, Mbarara University of Science and Technology, Uganda, Renmin University of China, the University of Stellenbosch, and Zhejiang Normal University. Professor Taylor is an international authority on Sino-African relations. His research interests cover development issues, Africa's political economy and its international relations, and Chinese foreign policy. He has published extensively on Chinese's international policy, Africa's international relations, and Sino-African relations. Professor Taylor is the author of *China and Africa* (Routledge, 2006).

**Jian Yang** is a senior lecturer at the Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand. Dr Yang received his BA and first MA from Chinese universities and gained his second MA and PhD in International Relations at the Australian National University. His primary research and teaching areas are China's foreign relations, foreign policy-making, international relations in the Asia-Pacific region, environmental politics, human security, and Chinese politics. He teaches international relations in Asia-Pacific, international relations theory and great power relations. Dr Yang is the author of *Congress and US China Policy: 1989–1999* (Nova, 2000).

**Suisheng Zhao** is Professor and Executive Director of the Center for China–US Cooperation at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver, USA. Professor Zhao received a PhD in Political Science from the University of California at San Diego, USA, an MA in Sociology from the University of Missouri, USA, and an MA in Economics from Peking University, China. A Campbell National Fellow at Hoover Institution of Stanford University, China, he was Associate Professor of Political Science/International Studies at Washington College in Maryland, Associate Professor of Government/East Asian Politics at Colby College in Maine, and Visiting Assistant Professor at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California–San Diego (all USA). Professor Zhao is the author and editor of nine books, including *China and the United States: Cooperation and Competition in Northeast Asia* (Palgrave, 2008). His articles have appeared in *Political Science Quarterly*, *The Wilson Quarterly*, *Washington Quarterly*, *International Politik*, *The China Quarterly*, *World Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, *Asian Affairs*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Communism and Post-Communist Studies*, and *Problems of Post-Communism*.

# Contents

<i>List of tables and figures</i>	ix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	xiii
1 Introduction: China and the international system – structure, society, and context	1
XIAOMING HUANG AND ROBERT G. PATMAN	
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>Contending identities and evolving interests: China in search of itself</b>	<b>19</b>
2 Chinese thinking about world order	21
DAVID SHAMBAUGH	
3 Core interests and great power responsibilities: the evolving pattern of China's foreign policy	32
SUISHENG ZHAO	
4 International structure and China's strategy and options	57
CANRONG JIN	
<b>PART II</b>	
<b>Transforming wealth and capacity to institutional power, policy outcomes, and political influence</b>	<b>69</b>
5 Commercial diplomacy: preferential trade agreements and soft power projection	71
MARC LANTEIGNE	

viii *Contents*

- 6 China's quest for greater influence in global economic governance:  
accomplishments and limitations 89  
GERALD CHAN, PAK K. LEE, AND LAI-HA CHAN
- 7 Turning material capabilities into leadership:  
China in Southeast Asia 108  
MARCO BÜNTE AND DIRK NABERS
- 8 China and the evolving regional order in the South Pacific 125  
JIAN YANG

**PART III**

**The international system and rising power:  
impact, interaction, and mutual constitution 141**

- 9 Measuring the impact of the Chinese economy 143  
PETER E. ROBERTSON
- 10 Fear and China's rise: responses from Northeast Asia 154  
NICHOLAS KHOO AND JOHN BAILEY
- 11 China and global climate policy-making:  
leadership in a state of flux 169  
KATHERINE MORTON
- 12 Global economy, development imperatives,  
and mutual interests: China and Africa 181  
IAN TAYLOR
- 13 Conclusion: a rising China in a changing  
international system 197  
XIAOMING HUANG

*Bibliography* 209

*Index* 231



# Tables and Figures

## Table

5.1 China's preferential trade agreements	73
---	----

## Figures

1.1 Total purchasing power parity-converted gross domestic product in international dollars	6
1.2 Purchasing power parity-converted gross domestic product per person in total employment in international dollars	6
1.3 Government effectiveness. The higher the values, the more effective the government	7
1.4 Foreign direct investment inflows as share of world total	7
1.5 Foreign direct investment outflows as share of world total	8
1.6 Total reserves including gold as share of world total	8
1.7 Exports of goods and services as share of world total	9
1.8 Imports of goods and services as share of world total	9
1.9 Military expenditure as share of world total	10
1.10 Armed forces personnel as share of world total	10
1.11 China's voting shares in the International Monetary Fund (IMF)	11
2.1 Orientations of publications in international relations (IR) journals in China, 2005–2009	24
2.2 Liberal international relations (IR) discourse in IR journals in China, 2005–2009	24
2.3 Number of articles published on soft power in Chinese academic journals, 2003–2009	29
6.1 China's growing power in the World Bank	92
6.2 Projected quotas shares in the International Monetary Fund after the reform agreed in 2010	95
6.3 The appreciation of the yuan	102
7.1 China's role in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) foreign trade in 2009	114
7.2 Sources of foreign direct investment flows to ASEAN, 2007–2009	115
8.1 China's trade with 14 South Pacific Island nations	131