CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding the commitment towards the Peaceful Development Policy, China's development of its People's Liberation Army (PLA) Navy into global-reach capabilities is analyzed to be a result of several scientific factors in accordance to the middle-ground Maritime Power theory. The PLA Navy's development within its operational environment is influenced by physical and economic objective factors, whereas the psychological environment is impacted by the subjective political factors. Through Kearsley's theory, the physical factors analysis examines China's complex geographic locale, and large area of land along with its contested maritime domain. Whilst the economic factors show how China's high GDP as well as large population size supports China's naval development, and additionally the influence of its vast merchant fleet size. Lastly, the political factors accommodate the effect of rich maritime tradition, authoritarian government, and maritime threat assessment from political-military interactions.

In summary, each of the indicators consisted within the physical, economic, and political factors generates the need (if not support) to develop the capabilities of the PLA Navy. Nevertheless, the extent of naval development into global-reach capacity is only a result of several variables with different degrees of influence. The driving factors of global-reach naval development are China's maritime chokepoints, vast merchant fleet size, rich maritime tradition, authoritarian government with militaristic traits, as well as the extensive maritime threats arising

from its political-military interactions within the international arena. Furthermore, the extent of naval development up to global-reach level is also supported by the factors of high and growing GDP along with China's massive population however limited by moderate tertiary educational levels. On the other hand, factors such as China's drastic sea climate, lengthy coastline, large area of land, and maritime domain are analyzed to have no grounds in promoting China's naval development to the extent of global-reach level.

Within the objective physical factors, the geographic locale encourages the PLA Navy development from three standpoints. From environmental circumstances, Chinese seas experience drastic changes in temperature along with seasons of typhoons and cyclones resulting in the need to develop a climate-resilient navy. Nonetheless, the influence of China's maritime climate characteristics subsides as it does not explain the drive behind the development of global-reach capable navy which would need to account the entire maritime climate of all seas. Moreover, China's highly vulnerable coastline with lengthy and flat topography also demands a powerful coastal defense navy instead of global-reach capabilities. Conversely, the extent and significancy of China's maritime chokepoints, ranging from the Taiwan Strait to the Persian Gulf, pushes China to build a global-reach capable navy in order to maintain the ultimate security of its maritime military and trade passages.

The massive area of land composing the PRC as the second largest country also drives China to develop its navy into larger and more advanced capacity than most, due to the higher need for protection. Yet the land area factor only drives

China's naval development as far as the forward defense hierarchy and does not explain Beijing's aim for global-reach capabilities. In consideration of Beijing's strong desire in safeguarding its seas shown by its defense papers and speech acts, the factor of maritime domain area becomes significant in constituting PLA Naval development into region defense capabilities.

Proceeding to less tangible yet still quantifiable economic factors, China's extremely high numbers of GDP and its growth supports the PLA Navy's global-reach development with availability of financial resources for the costly protection and modernization. Regardless of moderate levels in GDP per capita, China perpetually increases its defense budget for the PLA Navy with emphasis on procurement, personnel, and operations as well as maintenance, thus further bolstering extensive global-reach naval development. Aside from GDP, China's large and growing merchant fleet size, which may conduct worldwide transactions, promotes the urgency of protection from contemporary threats. As a single cargo transaction may involve ample national security, the merchant fleet size factor urges China to develop global-reach capabilities by naval hardware and escort missions.

As Beijing holds the record for largest population worldwide, in spite of the existence of those in poverty, China is considered to have better standpoint to support its naval development. Nevertheless, the analysis of China's education levels revealed that tertiary school enrollment rates are still moderate. Thus, the supporting capacity of the Chinese population subsides within the PLA Navy's global-reach development, nonetheless is still examined as a significant factor with limited support.

In set of non-quantifiable and subjective political factors, the impact of China's rich maritime tradition is demonstrated by the Chinese Dream where it explicitly hopes to restore the greatness of the earlier dynasties within the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Thus, China is driven to develop a global-reach capable navy by recalling the glorious maritime power possessed in the early Ming dynasty. Additionally, Beijing's maritime heritage has also played its part in present affairs as China utilized its navigational charts constituted by the renowned naval explorer, Admiral Zheng He, in the 14th century to support its South China Sea claims. Therefore, the extent of influence from China's maritime tradition is analyzed as strong in driving China to develop a global-reach capable PLA Navy.

The PRC's authoritarian government with highly concentrated power within Xi Jinping constitutes less complicated defense procurement for the PLA Navy as it requires less debate compared to democratic systems. With Xi's considerable militaristic traits and tendency to prioritize the PLA, the factor of government type becomes even more impactful to the global-reach naval development. Further psychobiography research on Xi Jinping is required to identify whether the driving force of this development is dominated by the Chinese government itself.

The last subjective factor assesses China's maritime threats that have risen from political-military interactions. Several findings include the Chinese reunification and Taiwan separatism issue, as well as the East and South China Sea dispute, are analyzed as drivers in China's PLA Navy development to a certain extent yet not as extensive as global-reach capacity. Exceedingly, the involvement of the United States in all of the aforementioned conflicts due to US-China

hegemonic tensions constitutes the need for China to develop a global-reach maritime power to compete with the (already) global-reach capable US navy, regardless if the dispute only extends regionally.

In spite of the outcomes elaborated above, this research is still subject to limitations as it has not reviewed the entire factor and output variables indicated in Kearsley's Maritime Power Theory. Moreover, as Kearsley's theoretical model constructs the decision-making process as a black box, the analysis is finite due to the inability to comprehend how the input factors are deliberated within China's decision-making mechanism. Thus, the author recommends further studies of Chinese DMP to be incorporated in the analysis of China's global-reach naval development through Kearsley's Maritime Power Theory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "2020 China Military Power Report U.S. Department of Defense." U.S. Department of Defense, 2020. https://media.defense.gov/2020/Sep/01/2002488689/-1/-1/1/2020-DOD-CHINA-MILITARY-POWER-REPORT-FINAL.PDF.
- "A First: Chinese Naval Vessel Enters Senkaku Contiguous Zone in East China Sea." The Diplomat, December 7, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/06/a-first-chinese-naval-vessel-enters-senkaku-contiguous-zone-in-east-chinasea/.
- "Are Maritime Law Enforcement Forces Destabilizing Asia?" ChinaPower Project, August 26, 2020. https://chinapower.csis.org/maritime-forces-destabilizing-asia/.
- "Are Maritime Law Enforcement Forces Destabilizing Asia?" ChinaPower Project, August 26, 2020. https://chinapower.csis.org/maritime-forces-destabilizing-asia/.
- "Are Maritime Law Enforcement Forces Destabilizing Asia?" ChinaPower Project. CSIS, August 26, 2020. https://chinapower.csis.org/maritime-forces-destabilizing-asia/.
- "Cambodian Navy to Hold Training Exercise with Chinese Ships." Tempo. TEMPO.CO, February 24, 2016. https://en.tempo.co/read/747704/cambodian-navy-to-hold-training-exercise-with-chinese-ships.
- "Chapter Six: Asia." The Military Balance 120, no. 1 (2020): 220–323. https://doi.org/10.1080/04597222.2020.1707967.
- "China Completes Construction of Lighthouses in Disputed South China Sea."

 Reuters. Thomson Reuters, October 10, 2015.

 https://www.reuters.com/article/cnews-us-china-southchinasea-idCAKCN0S402920151010.
- "China Holds Simultaneous Military Drills in Four Seas, Again." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, September 28, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-defence-idUSKBN26J1KW.
- "China Navy Confirms Carrier Conducted Drills in South China Sea." CNBC. CNBC, January 3, 2017. https://www.cnbc.com/2017/01/02/china-navy-confirms-carrier-conducted-drills-in-south-china-sea.html.
- "China Navy Drills in Pacific as Tension with Taiwan Rises." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, April 21, 2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-military-idUSKBN1HS06N.

- "China Protests American Fonops near Paracel Islands." The Maritime Executive, October 12, 2017. https://www.maritime-executive.com/article/china-protests-american-fonops-near-paracel-islands.
- "China Reveals Large Destroyer's Replenishment Training for 1st Time." China reveals large destroyer's replenishment training for 1st time China Military, March 13, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-05/13/content_9812373.htm.
- "China Says Aircraft Carrier Group on Way to South China Sea for Drills." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, December 21, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-taiwan-idUSKBN28V03C.
- "China Says Military Drills Ahead of Taiwan Inauguration Part of Annual Plan."

 Reuters. Thomson Reuters, May 18, 2016.

 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-taiwan-security-idUSKCN0Y90CL.
- "China Sends New Naval Fleet for Escort Mission." Xinhua, August 29, 2019. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-08/29/c_138348595_2.htm.
- "China Should Become 'Maritime Power', Hu Jintao Says." South China Morning Post, July 18, 2018. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1077858/china-should-becomemaritime-power-hu-jintao-says.
- "China vs the World: Here's a Look at Naval Power in the Pacific in Numbers." The Economic Times, September 17, 2021. https://m.economictimes.com/news/defence/china-vs-the-world-heres-a-look-at-naval-power-in-the-pacific-in-numbers/articleshow/86285514.cms.
- "China Works on Undersea Cables between Paracel Island Outposts." Radio Free Asia, October 11, 2020. https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/undersea-paracels-06082020190921.html.
- "China, Russia Send Ships after U.S. Aircraft Carrier." The Salt Lake Tribune, April 16, 2017. https://archive.sltrib.com/article.php?id=5183435&itype=CMSID.
- "China's Activities in the South China Sea (China's Development Activities on the Features and Trends in Related Countries)." Japan Ministry of Defense, September 2021. https://www.mod.go.jp/en/d_act/sec_env/pdf/ch_dact_b_e_210906.pdf.
- "China's Activities in the South China Sea." Japan Ministry of Defense, March 2021. https://www.mod.go.jp/en/d_act/sec_env/pdf/ch_d-act_b_e_210421.pdf.

- "China's National Defense in 2008." Andrew S. Erickson, January 2009. http://www.andrewerickson.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/China-Defense-White-Paper_2008_English-Chinese.pdf.
- "China's Peaceful Development." China's peaceful development, 2011. http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2014/09/09/content_2814 74986284646.htm.
- "China's 1st Home Built Aircraft Carrier CNS Shandong Gets Ready for Action." Latest Asian, Middle-East, EurAsian, Indian News, August 12, 2020. https://eurasiantimes.com/chinas-1st-home-built-aircraft-carrier-cns-shandong-gets-ready-for-action/.
- "China's Geography." Columbia. Accessed January 4, 2022. http://www.columbia.edu/~rz7/work.html.
- "China's Liaoning Aircraft Carrier Returns Home from a Month of Training." South China Morning Post, May 2, 2020. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3082532/chinas-liaoning-aircraft-carrier-returns-home-month-training.
- "China's Maritime Strategy: Indo-Pacific Defense Forum." Indo-Pacific Defense Forum |, January 28, 2019. https://ipdefenseforum.com/2019/01/chinas-maritime-strategy/.
- "China's Military Strategy." Ministry of National Defense, June 23, 2021. http://eng.mod.gov.cn/publications/2021-06/23/content_4887928.htm.
- "China's Naval Parade in South China Sea Showcases Growing Prowess of Navy: State Media." The Straits Times, April 16, 2018. https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/chinas-naval-parade-in-south-china-sea-showcases-growing-prowess-of-navy-state-media.
- "Chinese Naval Frigate Escorts Merchant Ship of UNWFP." China Military, February 5, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-02/05/content_7933156.htm.
- "Chinese Navy Ship Weifang Docked in Kenya." Xinhua, January 29, 2020. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-12/08/c_138615528.htm.
- "Chinese Navy Succeeds in 1st Overseas Evacuation Mission for Foreigners." Global Times, April 4, 2015. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/915301.shtml.
- "Chinese Navy to Conduct Drill in South China Sea." CCTV news, May 5, 2016. http://english.cctv.com/2016/05/05/ARTImdHOghjhtk2rbtuLDnD5160505.shtml.

- "Chinese Sub Docks at Malaysian Port for Second Time This Year." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, September 13, 2017. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-malaysia-southchinasea-idUSKCN1BO17P.
- "Climate of China." 中华人民共和国外交部. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/cggb/eng/gyzg/jbgq/t216954.htm#:~:text=C hina%20has%20a%20climate%20dominated,latitude%20are%20warm%2 0and%20moist.
- "Coastal and Marine Ecosystems Marine Jurisdictions: Coastline Length." Web Archive, April 19, 2012. https://web.archive.org/web/20120419075053/http://earthtrends.wri.org/text/coastal-marine/variable-61.html.
- "Diplomatic Bluebook." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2006. https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/index.html.
- "Force Majeure: China's Coast Guard Law in Context." Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, March 30, 2021. https://amti.csis.org/force-majeure-chinas-coast-guard-law-in-context/.
- "Full Text: China's Peaceful Development Road." People's Daily Online. Accessed January 4, 2022. http://en.people.cn/200512/22/eng20051222_230059.html.
- "Hu Jintao, Let Us Join Hands To Promote The Peaceful Development Of Cross-Straits Relations And Strive With A United Resolve For The Great Rejuvenation Of The Chinese Nation." USC US-China Institute, December 31, 2008. https://china.usc.edu/hu-jintao-let-us-join-hands-promotepeaceful-development-cross-straits-relations-and-strive-united.
- "Hu Says China Committed to Peaceful Development." Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey, November 8, 2012. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cetur//eng/xwdt/t987237.htm.
- "Japan 'Carefully' Monitoring Chinese Aircraft Carrier." Anadolu Ajansı, December 26, 2016. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/japan-carefully-monitoring-chinese-aircraft-carrier/714079.
- "Japan Detects Apparent Chinese Submarine Traveling near Amami-Oshima Island." The Japan Times, June 21, 2020. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2020/06/21/national/japan-detects-foreign-submarine-amami-oshima/.
- "Japan Says Armed Chinese Coastguard Ship Seen near Disputed Islands." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, December 23, 2015. https://www.reuters.com/article/uschina-japan-islands-idUSKBN0U606H20151223.

- "Land Area." China through a Lens. Accessed January 4, 2022. http://www.china.org.cn/english/zhuanti/china2003/73162.htm.
- "Largest Countries in the World (by Area)." Worldometer. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.worldometers.info/geography/largest-countries-in-the-world/.
- "Law of the People's Republic of China on National Defence." Database of Laws and Regulations, n.d. http://www.npc.gov.cn/zgrdw/englishnpc/Law/2007-12/11/content_1383547.htm.
- "Laws of the People's Republic of China." AsianLII, February 25, 1992. http://www.asianlii.org/cn/legis/cen/laws/lotprocottsatcz739/.
- "Mid-Year Population for 2021," 2021. https://gia.info.gov.hk/general/202108/12/P2021081200387_374401_1_16 28753173830.pdf.
- "Pak-China Naval Collaboration Gains More Importance Due to CPEC'." DAWN.COM, November 21, 2016. https://www.dawn.com/news/1297739.
- "Preamble to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea." United Nations. United Nations. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/part5.ht m.
- "Singapore and China Conclude Inaugural Bilateral Naval Exercise." The Straits Times, October 18, 2016. https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/singapore-and-china-conclude-inaugural-bilateral-naval-exercise.
- "Speech by President Xi Jinping at the United Nations Office at Geneva." Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Iraq, January 23, 2017. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/ceiq/eng/zygx/t1432869.htm.
- "Tensions in the East China Sea | Global Conflict Tracker." Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations, n.d. https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/tensions-east-china-sea.
- "Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea | Global Conflict Tracker." Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations, n.d. https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/territorial-disputes-south-china-sea.
- "The Ming Voyages: Asia for Educators: Columbia University." The Ming Voyages | Asia for Educators | Columbia University, n.d.

- http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1000ce_mingvoyages.htm#am bitions.
- "The Recent History of the South China Sea: A Timeline." Crisis Group, November 29, 2021. https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/south-chinasea/recent-history-south-china-sea-timeline.
- "The Recent History of the South China Sea: A Timeline." Crisis Group, November 29, 2021. https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/south-china-sea/recent-history-south-china-sea-timeline.
- "Timeline: China's Maritime Disputes." Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations, n.d. https://www.cfr.org/timeline/chinas-maritime-disputes.
- "Total Population." National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2020. https://data.stats.gov.cn/english/easyquery.htm?cn=C01.
- "Water Temperature of the South China Sea Real Time Map and Monthly Temperatures." SeaTemperatu.re. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.seatemperatu.re/seas-and-oceans/south-china-sea/.
- "XI Addresses 3rd Paris Peace Forum." Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Kuching, November 12, 2020. https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cgkuching//eng/news/t1831895.htm.
- "Xi Jinping Says Modernized Army Key to National Rejuvenation." CGTN, October 23, 2020. https://news.cgtn.com/news/2020-10-23/Xi-Jinping-modernized-army-key-to-national-rejuvenation--UOHd54iBQ4/index.html.
- "Xi Jinping: Peaceful Development and Win-Win Cooperation the Only Viable Option." CGTN, November 19, 2018. https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d774e34516a4e30457a6333566d54/index. html.
- "Xi Reaffirms China's Commitment to Peaceful Development Path." Xinhua, September 19, 2018. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-09/19/c_137479505.htm.
- "Xi Says Beijing Wants South China Sea Issue Resolved Peacefully." The Japan Times, November 7, 2015. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/11/07/asia-pacific/xi-says-beijing-wants-south-china-sea-issue-resolved-peacefully/.

- "Zheng He ." Khan Academy, n.d. https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/big-history-project/expansion-interconnection/exploration-interconnection/a/zheng-he.
- ADB. "Poverty: People's Republic of China." Asian Development Bank. Asian Development Bank, September 24, 2021. https://www.adb.org/countries/prc/poverty.
- Al Jazeera. "China Holds New Naval Drill as Xi Steps up Military Rhetoric." Military News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, October 14, 2020. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/10/14/china-holds-war-games-as-xi-steps-up-rhetoric.
- Al Jazeera. "China Shadows Two US Ships through the Taiwan Strait." Military News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, December 31, 2020. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/12/31/china-shadows-two-us-ships-through-the-taiwan-strait.
- Ali, Idrees. "Exclusive: China Denies Qingdao Port Visit for U.S. Warship amid Tensions." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, August 28, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-military-exclusive-idUSKCN1VI09P.
- Ali, Idrees. "U.S. Warship Challenges China's Claims in South China Sea." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, October 21, 2016. https://www.reuters.com/article/ussouthchinasea-usa-exclusive-idUSKCN12L109.
- Auto, Hermes. "China Shows off New Destroyer as President Xi Jinping Views Naval Parade." The Straits Times, April 23, 2019. https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/chinese-people-love-peace-president-xi-says-as-he-kicks-off-major-naval-parade.
- Bakacak, Mustafa. "Chinese Navy Fleet Docks at Istanbul Port Turkey News." Hürriyet Daily News, July 19, 2017. https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/chinese-navy-fleet-docks-at-istanbul-port--115704.
- Bank, World. "GDP (Current US\$)." World Bank, 2020. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD.
- Bank, World. "GDP per Capita (Current US\$)." World Bank, 2020. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD.
- Baptista, Eduardo. "Chinese Military Ramps up Coastal Drills." South China Morning Post, August 23, 2020. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3098507/chinese-armed-forces-continue-ramp-coastal-exercises-announcing.
- Beauchamp-Mustafaga, Nathan. "Where to next?: PLA Considerations for Overseas Base Site Selection." Jamestown, October 19, 2020.

- https://jamestown.org/program/where-to-next-pla-considerations-for-overseas-base-site-selection/.
- Berlinger, Joshua. "China Closes off Big Chunk of Ocean for Military Drills." CNN. Cable News Network, July 26, 2017. https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/26/asia/china-military-yellow-sea/index.html.
- Bickford, Thomas J. "Haiyang Qiangguo: China as a Maritime Power," March 15, 2016. https://www.cna.org/cna_files/pdf/Haiyang-Qiangguo.pdf.
- Blanchard, Ben. "China, U.S. Look Past Tensions with Joint Relief Drill." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, November 18, 2016. https://www.reuters.com/article/uschina-usa-defence-idUSKBN13D0H2.
- Blum, Samantha. "Chinese Views of US Hegemony." Journal of Contemporary China 12, no. 35 (2003): 239–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/1067056022000054597.
- Bodeen, Christopher. "China Begins Naval Exercise in the South China Sea." Navy Times. Navy Times, July 1, 2019. https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/07/01/china-begins-naval-exercise-in-the-south-china-sea/.
- Bodeen, Christopher. "China to Close Part of South China Sea for Military Exercise." Navy Times. Navy Times, August 8, 2017. https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2016/07/18/china-to-close-part-of-south-china-sea-for-military-exercise/.
- Bougon, Francois. Inside the Mind of Xi Jinping. London: HURST, 2018.
- Brewster, Murray. "Chinese Jets Buzzed Canadian Naval Ships in East China Sea | CBC News." CBCnews. CBC/Radio Canada, June 27, 2019. https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/china-fighters-buzzed-regina-asterix-east-china-sea-1.5193149.
- Bridges, Ryan, and George Friedman. "China's Maritime Choke Points." Geopolitical Futures, April 19, 2019. https://geopoliticalfutures.com/chinas-maritime-choke-points/.
- Browne, Ryan, and Barbara Starr. "Chinese Fighter Jet Performed 'Unsafe' Intercept of US Navy Plane." CNN. Cable News Network, July 25, 2017. https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/24/politics/chinese-jet-intercept-us-navy-plane/index.html.
- Bryman, Alan. Social Research Methods. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Burke, Matthew M., and Chiyomi Sumida. "China Reportedly Responds to Trump's Taiwan Call by Flying Nuclear-Capable Bomber." Stars and Stripes, December 12, 2016. https://www.stripes.com/news/china-reportedly-responds-to-trump-s-taiwan-call-by-flying-nuclear-capable-bomber-1.443999.

- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre, Jeffrey Becker, Sam Bateman, David Shinn, James M Dorsey, Abhijit Singh, Jon Fraenkel, et al. "China's Djibouti Naval Base Increasing Its Power." East Asia Forum, May 16, 2020. https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/05/16/chinas-djibouti-naval-base-increasing-its-power/.
- Cartwright, Mark. "The Seven Voyages of Zheng He." World History Encyclopedia. World History Encyclopedia, February 7, 2019. https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1334/the-seven-voyages-of-zheng-he/
- Chan, Minnie. "Another Sea Trial for China's New Warship 'Suggests Technical Problems'." South China Morning Post, August 6, 2019. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3021707/another-seatrial-chinas-first-home-grown-aircraft-carrier.
- Chan, Minnie. "China Launches Joint Naval Drills with Malaysia in Strait of Malacca with More than 1,000 PLA Troops." South China Morning Post, September 18, 2015. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1859259/china-launches-joint-naval-drills-malaysia-strait.
- Chan, Minnie. "China Plans Facility to Let Naval Flotilla Dock at Djibouti Base." South China Morning Post, July 20, 2018. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2112926/china-plans-build-djibouti-facility-allow-naval.
- Chan, Minnie. "China Tests New Warships in Live-Fire Drills near Vietnam." South China Morning Post, August 16, 2019. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3023197/china-puts-new-weapons-and-warships-through-paces-live-fire.
- Chan, Minnie. "China's PLA Navy Sends New Surveillance Planes on Submarine Hunt in Disputed Waters." South China Morning Post, July 1, 2015. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1830431/chinas-pla-navy-sends-new-surveillance-planes-submarine.
- Chan, Minnie. "Chinese Bombers 'Can Breach Cold War Line of Containment'." South China Morning Post, November 25, 2017. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2121411/chinese-air-force-patrols-over-south-china-sea-show.
- Chan, Minnie. "Drills with Russia Put Chinese Navy to the Test in Unfamiliar Waters." South China Morning Post, September 15, 2017. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2111231/drills-russia-put-chinese-navy-test-unfamiliar-waters.

- Cheng, Stephen. "How China's First Floating Nuclear Power Station Will Endure Extreme Weather." South China Morning Post, December 14, 2021. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/science/article/3159566/chinas-first-floating-nuclear-reactor-may-withstand-once-10000?module=perpetual_scroll_0&pgtype=article&campaign=3159566.
- Chengqing, Xue, Cui Xiaoyang, and Wang Jie. "Multinational Maritime Exercise Aman-19 Concludes in Pakistan." Multinational maritime exercise AMAN-19 concludes in Pakistan China Military, February 13, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-02/13/content_9425931.htm.
- City News Service. "Three Chinese Navy Ships Begin 4-Day San Diego Visit." KPBS Public Media, December 6, 2016. https://www.kpbs.org/news/military/2016/12/06/three-chinese-navy-ships-to-dock-at-b-street-pier.
- Cook, Damen. "China's Most Important South China Sea Military Base." The Diplomat, March 16, 2017. https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/chinas-most-important-south-china-sea-military-base/.
- Curini, Luigi, and Robert J. Franzese. The Sage Handbook of Research Methods in Political Science and International Relations. London: SAGE Publications, 2020.
- Danliang, Zhao. "Chinese Navy Ship Xi'an Arrives in Lisbon for Technical Renewal." Chinese navy ship Xi'an arrives in Lisbon for technical renewal China Military, August 7, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-08/07/content 9582726.htm.
- DeAeth, Duncan. "Chinese Navy Conducts 5 Days of Military Exercises in S. China Sea: Taiwan News: 2019-07-01 11:22:00." Taiwan News. Taiwan News, July 1, 2019. https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3735702.
- Dehghanpishes, Babak, and Larry King. "Iran and China Conduct Naval Drill in Gulf." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, June 18, 2017. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-china-military-drill-idUSKBN1990EF.
- Dreyfuss, Leah, and Mara Karlin. "All That XI Wants: China Attempts to Ace Bases Overseas." Brookings, September 2021. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/FP_20190930_china_basing_karlin_dreyfuss.pdf
- Eckstein, Megan. "3 Chinese Warships Visit Pearl Harbor during Global Relationship-Building Tour." USNI News, December 14, 2015. https://news.usni.org/2015/12/14/3-chinese-warships-visit-pearl-harbor-during-global-relationship-building-tour.
- Economist Intelligence Unit. "Democracy Index 2020: In Sickness and In Health." Economist Intelligence Unit, 2020. https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-

- 438/images/democracy-index-2020.pdf?mkt_tok=eyJpIjoiTmpnek5EaGtNMk14WVRKbCIsInQiOiJxdHpRekdcL29DRkM3dGlsSjUyOVRvOU5HQkRSUjVLWVgwd0F0NnI1Nmh5d1Y4bEdUbnRzXC9qK0c5b0ErOFRQTFplV0tscDZ6cnk2VjdkTkRoOWhrQUl0VGlKbEo5Wml5QjFSZ0VISTE3Y29QWVRLYnpTZGRGaFBoa0lQVXlWYlJcLyJ9.
- Edwards, Jim. "500 Years Ago, China Destroyed Its World-Dominating Navy Because Its Political Elite Was Afraid of Free Trade." The Independent. Independent Digital News and Media, March 8, 2017. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/500-years-ago-china-destroyed-its-worlddominating-navy-because-its-political-elite-was-afraid-of-free-trade-a7612276.html.
- Feng, John. "Chinese Forces Flex Muscles in South China Sea during U.S. Navy Transit." Newsweek. Newsweek, December 9, 2020. https://www.newsweek.com/chinese-forces-flex-muscles-south-china-sea-during-u-s-navy-transit-1553457.
- Feng, John. "Four Chinese Warplanes Buzz Taiwan Radars in One Day." Newsweek. Newsweek, December 17, 2020. https://www.newsweek.com/four-chinese-warplanes-buzz-taiwan-radars-one-day-1555540.
- Forsythe, Michael, and Jane Perlez. "South China Sea Buildup Brings Beijing Closer to Realizing Control." The New York Times. The New York Times, March 8, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/09/world/asia/south-china-sea-militarization.html.
- Friling, Yonat. "Exclusive: China Sends Surface-to-Air Missiles to Contested Island in Provocative Move." Fox News. FOX News Network, February 17, 2016. https://www.foxnews.com/world/exclusive-china-sends-surface-to-air-missiles-to-contested-island-in-provocative-move.
- Friling, Yonat. "Exclusive: China Sends Surface-to-Air Missiles to Contested Island in Provocative Move." Fox News. FOX News Network, February 17, 2016. https://www.foxnews.com/world/exclusive-china-sends-surface-to-air-missiles-to-contested-island-in-provocative-move.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. "Beijing Practices Invasion of South China Sea Islands." The Diplomat, July 25, 2015. https://thediplomat.com/2015/07/beijing-practices-invasion-of-south-china-sea-islands/.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. "China and US Hold Joint Naval Exercise." The Diplomat, November 18, 2015. https://thediplomat.com/2015/11/china-and-us-hold-joint-naval-exercise/.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. "China Rejects Request for Hong Kong Port Call of 2 US Navy Warships." The Diplomat, August 15, 2019.

- https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/china-rejects-request-for-hong-kong-port-call-of-2-us-navy-warships/.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. "Chinese Navy Conducts Live-Fire Drill in Mediterranean Sea." The Diplomat, July 14, 2017. https://thediplomat.com/2017/07/chinese-navy-conducts-live-fire-drill-in-mediterranean-sea/.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. "Chinese Warships Visit Pakistan." The Diplomat, June 12, 2017. https://thediplomat.com/2017/06/chinese-warships-visit-pakistan/.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. "Plan Naval Drill: China Practices for 'Cruel and Short' War in East China Sea." The Diplomat, August 3, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/08/plan-naval-drill-china-practices-for-cruel-and-short-war-in-east-china-sea/.
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. "Russia and China Kick off Naval Exercise in Sea of Japan." The Diplomat, August 24, 2015. https://thediplomat.com/2015/08/russia-and-china-kick-off-naval-exercise-in-sea-of-japan/.
- Garcia, Carlos, and Yew Lun Tian. "China's XI Vows 'Reunification' with Taiwan." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, October 9, 2021. https://www.reuters.com/world/china/chinas-xi-says-reunification-with-taiwan-must-will-be-realised-2021-10-09/.
- Ghosh, P. K. "Game Changers? Chinese Submarines in the Indian Ocean." The Diplomat, July 6, 2015. https://thediplomat.com/2015/07/game-changers-chinese-submarines-in-the-indian-ocean/.
- Government of Macao Special Administrative Region. "Time Series Database." 時間序列資料庫 -- 澳門統計暨普查局, 2021. https://www.dsec.gov.mo/ts/#!/step2/KeyIndicator/en-US/240.
- Graham, Euan. "China's Naval Surveillance off Australia: Good News and Bad."

 Lowy Institute. The Interpreter, July 25, 2017.

 https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/china-s-naval-surveillance-australia-good-news-and-bad.
- Greene, Andrew. "Chinese Ships Map Waters near PNG as US and Australia Upgrade Manus Base." ABC News. ABC News, April 21, 2019. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-21/china-increases-surveillance-near-png/11028192.
- Gueorguiev, Dimitar D. "Dictator's Shadow." China Perspectives 2018, no. 1-2 (2018): 17–26. https://doi.org/10.4000/chinaperspectives.7569.
- Guo, Rongxing. Territorial Disputes and Resource Management: A Global Handbook. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2007.

- Heydarian, Richard Javad. "China Flexes at Us in Four Seas Show of Force." Asia Times, August 28, 2020. https://asiatimes.com/2020/08/china-flexes-at-us-in-four-seas-show-of-force/.
- Huang, Kristin. "China's Navy Carries out 'Rare Solo' Drills in Sea of Japan." South China Morning Post, August 19, 2016. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2006048/china-says-navy-carries-out-rare-drills-sea-japan.
- Huang, Kristin. "China's Military Reaches out to Neighbours with Joint Drill." South China Morning Post, October 15, 2018. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2168558/chinas-navy-join-thailand-and-malaysia-training-exercise-strait.
- Huang, Kristin. "China's Navy Drills in 4 Regions Show Ability to Counter Us, Observers Say." South China Morning Post, August 24, 2020. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3098671/chinas-navy-drills-4-regions-show-ability-counter-us-observers.
- Huang, Kristin. "Chinese Navy Docks in London for First Official Visit to UK Capital." South China Morning Post, October 4, 2017. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2113954/chinese-navy-docks-london-first-official-visit-british.
- Hui, Zhang. "Party Commands Gun: XI." Global Times, November 2014. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/889686.shtml.
- India. "2 Pakistani Naval Ships in Shanghai for Joint Exercises with China." NDTV.com. NDTV, December 29, 2015. https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/2-pakistani-naval-ships-in-shanghai-for-joint-exercises-with-china-1260212.
- Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. "China's National Defense in 2008," January 2009. http://www.andrewerickson.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/China-Defense-White-Paper_2008_English-Chinese.pdf.
- Inp. "Pakistan, China Hold Joint Navy Exercise." The Nation. The Nation, December 10, 2017. https://nation.com.pk/10-Dec-2017/pakistan-china-hold-joint-navy-exercise.
- Irvine, Chris. "Chinese Aircraft Carrier Sails Past Taiwan as US Navy Struggles with Coronavirus." Fox News. FOX News Network, April 14, 2020. https://www.foxnews.com/world/chinese-aircraft-carrier-taiwan-us-navy-coronavirus.
- Janes. Annual Defense Report, 2020.
- Jian, Lin, and Li Hao. "Chinese, Egyptian Navies Conduct Joint Maritime Exercise." Chinese, Egyptian navies conduct joint maritime exercise China

- Military, August 21, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-08/21/content_9597130.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "28th Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Visits South Africa." 28th Chinese naval escort taskforce visits South Africa China Military, June 23, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-06/29/content_8075174.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "China's First Domestically-Made Aircraft Carrier Starts 3rd Sea Trial." China Military, October 31, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-10/31/content_9327905.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "China's First Homemade Aircraft Carrier Concludes Maiden Sea Trial." China's first homemade aircraft carrier concludes maiden sea trial China Military, May 18, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-05/18/content_8036033.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "China's next-Generation Destroyer Undergoes High-Speed Trial Run." China Military, December 19, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-12/19/content_9382718.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "Chinese Frigate Binzhou Makes Technical Stop in France." China Military, July 4, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-07/04/content_8079827.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "Chinese Naval Ships Make Technical Stop in Indonesia." China Military, June 31, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-07/31/content 9237610.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "Chinese Naval Ships Make Technical Stop in Spain." China Military, May 17, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-05/17/content_8035093.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "Expert: Second Sea Trial of Domestic-Made Carrier Focuses on Sailing Performance." China Military, August 28, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-08/28/content_9265452.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "Liaoning Aircraft Carrier Enters Taiwan Strait, 'Too Normal. Is It Really News?"." China Military, March 23, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-03/23/content_7981061.htm.
- Jianing, Yao. "PLA Navy Holds Submarine Rescue Drill in East China Sea." China Military, September 3, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-09/03/content_9270932.htm.
- Jianwei, Li, and Ramses Amer. "Understanding China's Position on the South China Sea Disputes." Institute for Security and Development Policy, June 2016. https://isdp.eu/publication/understanding-chinas-position-south-china-sea-disputes/.

- Jiayao, Li. "27th Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Makes Technical Stop in Cape Town." China Military, February 24, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-02/24/content_7950974.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "28th Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Visits Cameroon." China Military, June 12, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-06/12/content_8059906.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "28th Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Visits Ghana." 28th Chinese naval escort taskforce visits Ghana China Military, June 5, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-06/05/content_8053122.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "China Sends New Naval Fleet for Escort Mission." China sends new naval fleet for escort mission China Military, December 9, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-12/09/content_9372982.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "China, Vietnam Wrap up 25th Joint Patrol in Beibu Gulf." China, Vietnam wrap up 25th joint patrol in Beibu Gulf China Military, January 20, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-12/20/content_9384324.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "China, Vietnam Wrap up 29th Joint Patrol in Beibu Gulf." China, Vietnam wrap up 29th joint patrol in Beibu Gulf China Military, December 10, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-12/10/content_9950752.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "China's Aircraft Carrier Formation Conducts Exercises in South China Sea." China Military, April 17, 2017. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-04/17/content_8007102.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "China's National Defense in the New Era." ministry of national defense, July 24, 2019. http://eng.mod.gov.cn/publications/2019-07/24/content 4846452.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "China's Naval Hospital Ship Concludes 205-Day Overseas Mission." China Military, January 19, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-01/19/content_9408782.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "China's Second Aircraft Carrier Sets Sail for Fifth Sea Trial." China's second aircraft carrier sets sail for fifth sea trial China Military, March 1, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-03/01/content_9436666.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "Chinese Aircraft Carrier Formation Stages Cross-Region Exercises." China Military, April 24, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-04/24/content_8013887.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "Chinese Frigate Binzhou Attends 100th Anniversary of Polish Navy." China Military, June 23, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-06/23/content 8070074.htm.

- Jiayao, Li. "Chinese Frigate Yancheng Arrives in Nigeria for Int'l Maritime Conference and Exercise." China Military, May 31, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-05/31/content_8045922.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "Chinese Naval Formation Conducts Real Combat Training." China Military, June 26, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-06/26/content_8071065.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "Liaoning Ends Maintenance, Leaves Shipyard." Liaoning ends maintenance, leaves shipyard China Military, February 25, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-02/25/content_9433039.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "Navy, Telecoms to Install 4G+ on South China Sea Islands." China Military, February 3, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-02/03/content 7931295.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "PLA Conducts Anti-Underwater Mine Warfare Drill to Protect Maritime Sovereignty." China Military, June 18, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-06/18/content_8064296.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "PLA Naval Exercises in East China Sea Test Missile Interceptions." China Military, August 13, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-08/13/content_9249528.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "PLA Navy Hones Anti-Missile Capabilities." China Military, August 14, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-08/14/content 9252461.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "PLA South China Sea Fleet Sets Sail for Far-Sea Drill." PLA South China Sea Fleet sets sail for far-sea drill China Military, January 18, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-01/18/content_9407645.htm.
- Jiayao, Li. "Russia Joint Exercise Holds Marines Contests." China, May 1, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-05/01/content_9494176.htm.
- Jie, Meng. "Chinese Navy Fleet Arrives in Brunei for Friendly Visit." Xinhua, 2017. http://www.xinhuanet.com//english/2017-09/26/c_136637683_2.htm.
- Jinbo, Lu. "Chinese Destroyer Arrives in St. Petersburg for Russian Navy Day Parade." Chinese destroyer arrives in St. Petersburg for Russian Navy Day parade China Military, July 25, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-07/25/content_9568947.htm.
- Jing, Li. "Xi Jinping Uses Tougher Tone on South China Sea Disputes at ASEAN Meeting." South China Morning Post, September 22, 2012. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1042712/xi-jinping-uses-tougher-tone-south-china-sea-disputes-asean-meeting.

- Johnson, Daphne R., and Tim P. Boyer. "Regional Climatology of the East Asian Seas: an Introduction." NOAA Atlas NESDIS 79, December 2015, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.7289/V5D21VM9.
- Johnson, Jesse. "China Announces Military Exercises in Areas near Taiwan in South and East China Seas." The Japan Times, July 29, 2019. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/07/29/asia-pacific/china-announces-military-exercises-areas-near-taiwan-south-east-china-seas/.
- Johnson, Jesse. "China Announces Military Exercises in Areas near Taiwan in South and East China Seas." The Japan Times, July 29, 2019. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/07/29/asia-pacific/china-announces-military-exercises-areas-near-taiwan-south-east-china-seas/.
- Johnson, Jesse. "More Chinese Naval Ships Sail through Miyako Strait." The Japan Times, April 24, 2020. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/04/28/national/chinese-naval-ships-sail-miyako-strait/.
- Kai, Wang. "Pla Naval Landing Ship Group Conducts Four-Day Drill in the Yellow Sea." PLA Naval Landing Ship Group conducts four-day drill in the Yellow Sea China Military, May 24, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-05/24/content 9513103.htm.
- Karachi, Ani. "Pakistan-China Begin Fourth Joint Naval Exercise Aimed at CPEC Security." The Indian Express, November 18, 2016. https://indianexpress.com/article/world/world-news/pakistan-china-begin-fourth-joint-naval-exercise-aimed-at-cpec-security-4381894/.
- Kästle, Klaus. "China Country Profile Nations Online Project." People's Republic of China Country Profile Nations Online Project. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china.htm.
- Katkov, Mark. "China Returns U.S. Navy Drone Seized in South China Sea." NPR. NPR, December 20, 2016. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/12/20/506256081/china-returns-u-s-navy-drone-seized-in-south-china-sea.
- Kawate, Iori, and Ryohei Yasoshima. "China's Overtaking of U.S. Economy Delayed to 2033, Report Says." Nikkei Asia, December 15, 2021. https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/China-s-overtaking-of-U.S.-economy-delayed-to-2033-report-says.
- Keck, Zachary. "Watch Out, India: China Just Sent First-Ever Submarine to Pakistan." The National Interest. The Center for the National Interest, June 29, 2015. http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/watch-out-india-china-just-sent-first-ever-submarine-13212.
- Kokoshin, Andrei A., J. Andrés Gannon, Dr. Nazanin Azizian, Elizabeth M.F. Grasmeder, Sue Gordon, Joel Clement, Syra Madad, Graham Allison, and

- Jonah Glick-Unterman. "2015 Military Reform in the People's Republic of China." Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, October 2016. https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/2015-military-reform-peoples-republic-china.
- Koo, Min Gyo. Island Disputes and Maritime Regime Building in East Asia: Between a Rock and a Hard Place. Dordrecht: Springer, 2010.
- Kuper, Stephen. "Chinese Navy Flexes Muscles with Dual Carrier Operations." defence connect, September 8, 2020. https://www.defenceconnect.com.au/maritime-antisub/6803-chinese-navy-flexes-muscles-with-dual-carrier-operations.
- LaGrone, By: Sam. "Chinese Warships Training with U.S. Carrier Strike Group." USNI News, June 28, 2016. https://news.usni.org/2016/06/27/chinese-warships-now-training-u-s-carrier-strike-group.
- LaGrone, Sam. "Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Defends South China Sea Anti-Air Missile Deployment, PACOM CO Harris Expresses Concern." USNI News, February 17, 2016. https://news.usni.org/2016/02/17/chinese-defends-south-china-sea-anti-air-missile-deployment-pacom-co-harris-expresses-concern.
- LaGrone, Sam. "Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Defends South China Sea Anti-Air Missile Deployment, PACOM CO Harris Expresses Concern." USNI News, February 17, 2016. https://news.usni.org//2016/02/17/chinese-defends-south-china-sea-anti-air-missile-deployment-pacom-co-harris-expresses-concern.
- LaGrone, Sam. "Improper Airmanship' by Chinese Pilot Led to Unsafe Intercept." USNI News, June 8, 2016. https://news.usni.org/2016/06/08/pentagon-poor-chinese-flying-likely-cause-unsafe-intercept-air-force-recon-plane.
- LaGrone, Sam. "Navy: Chinese SPY Ship Monitoring Rimpac Exercise, Again." USNI News, July 14, 2018. https://news.usni.org/2018/07/13/navy-chinese-spy-ship-monitoring-rimpac-exercise.
- LaGrone, Sam. "Official: Pair of Chinese Fighters Unsafely Intercept U.S. Navy Aircraft over South China Sea." USNI News, May 26, 2017. https://news.usni.org/2017/05/26/official-pair-chinese-fighters-unsafely-intercept-u-s-navy-aircraft-south-china-sea.
- LaGrone, Sam. "Report: Chinese Complete Runway on Reclaimed South China Sea Island." USNI News, September 25, 2015. https://news.usni.org/2015/09/25/report-chinese-complete-runway-on-reclaimed-south-china-sea-island.
- LaGrone, Sam. "Two Chinese Warships Enter Black Sea, Reports Link Visit to Possible Chinese Frigate Sale to Russia." USNI News, May 14, 2015.

- https://news.usni.org/2015/05/05/two-chinese-warships-enter-black-seareports-link-visit-to-possible-chinese-frigate-sale-to-russia.
- Lendon, Brad. "Almost 40 Chinese Warplanes Breach Taiwan Strait Median Line." CNN. Cable News Network, September 21, 2020. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/09/21/asia/taiwan-china-warplanes-median-line-intl-hnk-scli/index.html.
- Lendon, Brad. "Almost 40 Chinese Warplanes Breach Taiwan Strait Median Line." CNN. Cable News Network, September 21, 2020. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/09/21/asia/taiwan-china-warplanes-median-line-intl-hnk-scli/index.html.
- Lendon, Brad. "Chinese Warship Made Us Destroyer 'Slam on the Brakes,' Expert Says." CNN. Cable News Network, October 4, 2018. https://edition.cnn.com/2018/10/02/politics/us-china-destroyers-confrontation-south-china-sea-intl/index.html.
- Lendon, Brad. "Satellite Photos Appear to Show Chinese Submarine Using Underground Base." CNN. Cable News Network, August 21, 2020. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/21/asia/china-submarine-underground-base-satellite-photo-intl-hnk-scli/index.html.
- Lendon, Brad. "What China's 'Carrier Killer' Missile Tests Say about Its Military Capabilities." CNN. Cable News Network, August 29, 2020. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/28/asia/china-missile-tests-exercises-intl-hnk-scli/index.html.
- Lendon, Brad. "What China's 'Carrier Killer' Missile Tests Say about Its Military Capabilities." CNN. Cable News Network, August 29, 2020. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/28/asia/china-missile-tests-exercises-intl-hnk-scli/index.html.
- Li, Linda Chelan. The Chinese State in Transition: Processes and Contests in Local China. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Lin, Ying Yu. "PLA Reforms as Seen from the Composition of the Central Military Commission of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China." The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis 31, no. 4 (2019): 501–17. https://doi.org/10.22883/kjda.2019.31.4.002.
- Liu. "Chinese Naval Fleet Arrives in Greece for Friendly Visit." Xinhua, April 2017. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-07/23/c_136466322.htm.
- Lo, Jung-pang, and Bruce A. Elleman. China as a Sea Power, 1127-1368: A Preliminary Survey of the Maritime Expansion and Naval Exploits of the Chinese People during the Southern Song and Yuan Periods. Singapore: NUS Press, 2012.

- Lo, Jung-Pang. "The Emergence of China as a Sea Power during the Late Sung and Early Yuan Periods." The Far Eastern Quarterly 14, no. 4 (1955): 489. https://doi.org/10.2307/2941832.
- Lo, Kinling. "China 'Shoots down Missiles' in Drill in Waters Close to North Korea." South China Morning Post, September 5, 2017. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2109907/china-shoots-down-incoming-missiles-during-exercise.
- Lufan, Chen. "PLA Navy Conducts Exercise above South China Sea." PLA Navy conducts exercise above South China Sea China Military, October 23, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-10/23/content_9923961.htm.
- Lufan, Chen. "Plan Carrier-Based Fighters Complete Nighttime Buddy Refueling in Flight." PLAN carrier-based fighters complete nighttime buddy refueling in flight China Military, July 29, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-07/29/content_9868547.htm.
- Marantidou, Virginia. "Revisiting China's 'String of Pearls' Strategy: Places 'with Chinese Characteristics' and Their Security Implications." Pacific Forum CSIS Issues & Insights 14, no. 7 (June 2014): 1–31.
- McConnell, Dugald, and Brian Todd. "Chinese Submarine Tracked U.S. Aircraft Carrier off Japan ." CNN. Cable News Network, November 5, 2015. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/04/politics/chinese-submarine-u-s-aircraft-carrier-japan/index.html.
- McDevitt, Michael. "BECOMING A GREAT 'MARITIME POWER': A CHINESE DREAM." Center for International Maritime Security, July 19, 2016. https://cimsec.org/becoming-great-maritime-power-chinese-dream/.
- Meresin, Alexander Texas, and Sigit. "China's Geopolitical Strategy in the Strait of Hormuz." Chinese Journal of International Review 02, no. 02 (2020): 2050009. https://doi.org/10.1142/s2630531320500092.
- Miller, Alice L. "How Strong Is Xi Jinping? by Alice L. Miller Thursday, March 13, 2014." Hoover Institution. Stanford University, March 13, 2014. https://www.hoover.org/research/how-strong-xi-jinping.
- Mingyu, Li, and Lin Fei. "Chinese Naval Training Ship Qi Jiguang Arrives in Fiji for Goodwill Visit." Chinese naval training ship Qi Jiguang arrives in Fiji for goodwill visit China Military, November 5, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-11/05/content_9669324.htm.
- MITAGS. "Maritime Security: What Is Maritime Security?" Maritime Institute of Technology and Graduate Studies, June 25, 2021. https://www.mitags.org/security-guide/.

- Nakajima, Gakusho. "The Naval Power of the Yuan Dynasty." The Sea in History
 The Medieval World, May 2017, 808–21. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781782049104.070.
- News, Royal Navy. "Royal Navy Shadows Chinese Destroyer through Strait of Dover." The Maritime Executive. The Maritime Executive, August 6, 2019. https://www.maritime-executive.com/features/royal-navy-shadows-chinese-destroyer-through-strait-of-dover.
- Nordenman, Magnus. "Why the Chinese Navy Is in the Mediterranean." USNI News, May 14, 2015. https://news.usni.org/2015/05/14/why-the-chinese-navy-is-in-the-mediterranean.
- Nordquist, Myron H. The Law of the Sea Convention: US Accession and Globalization. Leiden: M. Nijhoff Publishers, 2012.
- Office of The Secretary of Defense. "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China." U.S. Department of Defense, 2021. https://media.defense.gov/2021/Nov/03/2002885874/-1/-1/0/2021-CMPR-FINAL.PDF.
- Osborn, Andrew, and Joyce Lee. "First Russian-Chinese Air Patrol in Asia-Pacific Draws Shots from South Korea." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, July 23, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-russia-aircraft-idUSKCN1UI072.
- Ouyang. "Chinese Naval Ships Visit Algeria China Military," January 9, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-01/09/content 7901306.htm.
- Ouyang. "Chinese Naval Ships Visit Algeria ." China Military, January 10, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-01/09/content_7901306.htm.
- Panda, Ankit. "China Conducts Naval Drills in South China Sea." The Diplomat. for The Diplomat, July 2, 2020. https://thediplomat.com/2020/07/china-conducts-naval-drills-in-south-china-sea/.
- Panda, Ankit. "Chinese Navy Holds Bohai Sea Exercise, Including Its Aircraft Carrier." The Diplomat, December 16, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/12/chinese-navy-holds-bohai-sea-exercise-including-its-aircraft-carrier/.
- Panda, Ankit. "Chinese Navy Hospital Ship Visits Timor-Leste, Highlighting Growing Ties." The Diplomat. for The Diplomat, December 18, 2017. https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/chinese-navy-hospital-ship-visits-timor-leste-highlighting-growing-ties/.
- Panda, Ankit. "Chinese Navy Type 815 Intelligence Ship Transits Tsugaru Strait in Northern Japan." The Diplomat, July 4, 2017. https://thediplomat.com/2017/07/chinese-navy-type-815-intelligence-ship-transits-tsugaru-strait-in-northern-japan/.

- Panda, Ankit. "Chinese, Russian Navies to Hold 8 Days of Naval Exercises in the South China Sea." The Diplomat, September 12, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/09/chinese-russian-navies-to-hold-8-days-of-naval-exercises-in-the-south-china-sea/.
- Panda, Ankit. "South China Sea: Australian Navy Vessels En Route to Vietnam Received Warnings from Chinese Navy." The Diplomat, April 21, 2018. https://thediplomat.com/2018/04/south-china-sea-australian-navy-vessels-en-route-to-vietnam-received-warnings-from-chinese-navy/.
- Panda, Ankit. "Vietnam Slams Chinese Naval Drill in South China Sea." The Diplomat, July 27, 2015. https://thediplomat.com/2015/07/vietnam-slams-chinese-naval-drill-in-south-china-sea.
- Panyue, Huang. "27th Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Wraps up Visit to Morocco." China Military, January 30, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-01/30/content_7926171.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "31st Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Visits Australia." 31st Chinese naval escort taskforce visits Australia China Military, June 4, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-06/04/content_9522992.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "China's Aircraft Carrier's First Training in 2018 Triggers Speculations." China Military, January 10, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-01/10/content_7903290.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "China's National Defense in 2010." China's National Defense in 2010 Ministry of National Defense, June 23, 2021. http://eng.mod.gov.cn/publications/2021-06/23/content_4887922.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "China's Upcoming Drills Might Improve Aircraft Carrier's Combat Capability." China Military, April 4, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-04/04/content_7994041.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Frigate Binzhou Makes Technical Stop in Italy." China Military, July 4, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-07/13/content_8089141.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Frigate Huangshan Returns Home after Multinational Exercise 'Kakadu-2018." China Military, September 17, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-09/17/content_9284868.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Escorts Merchant Ship Jinda." China Military, March 8, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-03/08/content_7965036.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Naval Escort Taskforce Visits Tunisia." China Military, January 18, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-01/18/content_7913541.htm.

- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Naval Fleet Wraps up Far Sea Exercise Deep in Pacific Ocean." Chinese naval fleet wraps up far sea exercise deep in Pacific Ocean China Military, February 26, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-02/26/content_9753144.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Naval Taskforce Returns from Komodo 2018 Multilateral Exercise." China Military, May 9, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-05/23/content_8040194.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Naval Training Ship Qi Jiguang Arrives in East Timor for Goodwill Visit." Chinese naval training ship Qi Jiguang arrives in East Timor for goodwill visit China Military, October 8, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-10/08/content_9645234.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Navy Preparing for Island Dispute: Expert." China Military, January 25, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-01/25/content_7920556.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Chinese Warship Joins Japan Fleet Review for First Time." Chinese warship joins Japan fleet review for first time China Military, October 11, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-10/11/content 9648464.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Multilateral Naval Exercise Komodo 2018 Enters Maritime Drill Phase." Multilateral naval exercise Komodo 2018 enters maritime drill phase China Military, May 9, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-05/09/content_8027428.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Navy Strives to Be Modern, Strong as Commander Urged." China Military, May 24, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-05/24/content_8040460.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "PLA Fleet Continues Escort Missions in Gulf of Aden, Somalia." China Military, April 8, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-04/08/content_7996079.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Pla to Conduct Live-Fire Exercises in Waters near Zhoushan Islands." PLA to conduct live-fire exercises in waters near Zhoushan Islands China Military, August 7, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-08/07/content_9877100.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "Pla to Conduct Live-Fire Exercises in Waters near Zhoushan Islands." PLA to conduct live-fire exercises in waters near Zhoushan Islands China Military, August 7, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-08/07/content 9877100.htm.
- Panyue, Huang. "The Diversified Employment of China's Armed Forces." Ministry of National Defense, June 23, 2021. http://eng.mod.gov.cn/publications/2021-06/23/content_4887929.htm.

- Parameswaran, Prashanth. "Around 100 China Ships Encroaching Malaysia's Waters: Minister." The Diplomat, March 25, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/03/100-china-ships-encroaching-malaysiaswaters-minister/.
- Parameswaran, Prashanth. "China Joins Indonesia Naval Exercise after South China Sea Spat." The Diplomat, March 28, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/03/china-joins-indonesia-naval-exercise-after-south-china-sea-spat/.
- Parameswaran, Prashanth. "China Navy Fleet Visits Cambodia." The Diplomat, October 18, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/10/china-navy-fleet-visits-cambodia/.
- Parameswaran, Prashanth. "China, Singapore to Hold Naval Exercise." The Diplomat, September 12, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/09/china-singapore-to-hold-second-ever-naval-exercise/.
- Parameswaran, Prashanth. "China, Thailand Kick off Military Exercise Blue Strike 2016." The Diplomat, May 24, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/05/china-thailand-launch-military-exercise-blue-strike-2016/.
- Paszak, Paweł. "China and the 'Malacca Dilemma." Warsaw Institute, February 28, 2021. https://warsawinstitute.org/china-malacca-dilemma/.
- Patranobis, Sutirtho. "Our Research Ship Didn't Break Any Law': China." Hindustan Times, December 6, 2019. https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/our-research-ship-didn-t-break-any-law-china/story-1p2tT3ZorasyygF9Gw5xEJ.html.
- PeiJun, Liu, and Cheng Yongliang. "PLA Holds Joint Drills in Waters to the East of Taiwan Island." PLA holds joint drills in waters to the east of Taiwan island China Military, April 16, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-04/16/content_9479909.htm.
- Pengfei, Mao. "China's 30th Naval Escort Taskforce Visits Cambodia." China Military, January 10, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-01/10/content_9401848_2.htm.
- Pham, May, Mai Nguyen, and Clarence Fernandez. "Chinese Naval Ships Set for First Visit to Vietnam's Cam Ranh International Port." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, October 20, 2016. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-vietnam-china-navy-idUSKCN12K14K.
- Philip, Snehesh Alex, Andy Mukherjee, Bismee Taskin, and Malavika Kaur Makol. "China, India Signal Each Other on Might in Indian Ocean Region, amid Tensions on Land." ThePrint, September 18, 2020. https://theprint.in/defence/china-india-signal-each-other-on-might-in-indian-ocean-region-amid-tensions-on-land/505440/.

- Phillips, Tom. "South China Sea: Beijing Begins Military Drills Ahead of Key Territorial Ruling." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, July 5, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/05/south-china-sea-beijing-begins-military-drills-ahead-of-key-territorial-ruling.
- Pike, John. "China PLAN Lushun Naval Base." GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/lushun.htm.
- Pike, John. "China PLAN Naval Base." GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/qingdao.htm.
- Pike, John. "East Sea Fleet [ESF]." GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/east-sea.htm.
- Pike, John. "Guangzhou Naval Base." GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/guangzhou.htm.
- Pike, John. "North Sea Fleet [NSF]." GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/north-sea.htm.
- Pike, John. "South Sea Fleet [SSF]." GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/south-sea.htm.
- Pike, John. "Yulin / Sanya / Yalong Bay (18°17'15'N 109°27'49'E)." GlobalSecurity.org. Accessed January 4, 2022. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/sanya.htm.
- Ping, Wu, and Li Yinchuan. "Destroyer Xining Completes China-Russia-Iran Naval Exercise." Destroyer Xining completes China-Russia-Iran naval exercise China Military, January 2, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-01/02/content_9708537.htm.
- Press, Associated. "China Flies 18 Warplanes near Taiwan during U.S. Envoy's Visit." POLITICO. POLITICO, September 18, 2020. https://www.politico.com/news/2020/09/18/china-warplanes-taiwan-us-417604.
- Press, Associated. "China Tracks US Navy Ship's Passage through Taiwan Strait." The Diplomat, October 15, 2020. https://thediplomat.com/2020/10/china-tracks-us-navy-ships-passage-through-taiwan-strait/.
- Press, The Associated. "China Disputes Report It Fired Laser at US Navy Plane." Navy Times. Navy Times. Accessed January 6, 2022. https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2020/03/07/china-disputes-report-it-fired-laser-at-us-navy-plane/.
- Price, Ned. "On the Situation in the South China Sea United States Department of State." U.S. Department of State. U.S. Department of State, November 19, 2021. https://www.state.gov/on-the-situation-in-the-south-china-sea/.

- Qingbao, Zhang, and Tan Longlong. "China Conducts Joint Medical Rescue Drill with EU Naval Force in Djibouti." China Military, October 15, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-10/15/content_9313491.htm.
- Ralph Jennings, The Associated Press. "China Aircraft Carrier Fleet Passes near Rival Taiwan; Says American and Japanese Ships Followed." Navy Times.

 Navy Times, November 17, 2019. https://www.navytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/17/china-aircraft-carrier-fleet-passes-near-rival-taiwan/.
- Rapp-Hooper, Mira. "Before and after: The South China Sea Transformed." Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, February 18, 2015. https://amti.csis.org/before-and-after-the-south-china-sea-transformed/.
- Rathi, Pranshu. "Japan, Taiwan on Guard after Chinese Naval Ships Enter Japanese Waters." International Business Times, December 4, 2020. https://www.ibtimes.com/japan-taiwan-guard-after-chinese-naval-ships-enter-japanese-waters-2465375.
- Reuters. "China Opens First Overseas Military Base." VOA. China Opens First Overseas Military Base, November 4, 2017. https://www.voanews.com/a/china-overseas-military-base/4099717.html.
- Reuters. "China Plays down South China Sea Exercises." The Maritime Executive, July 26, 2015. https://www.maritime-executive.com/article/china-plays-down-south-china-sea-exercises.
- Robinson, Circles. "Chinese Warships Visit Cuba for Exercises." Havana Times, November 13, 2015. https://havanatimes.org/news/chinese-warships-visit-cuba-for-exercises/.
- Rutgersson, Andreas. "Naval Chokepoints: The Chinese Conundrum." Medium. Medium, June 17, 2016. https://medium.com/@AndreasRutgersson/naval-chokepoints-the-chinese-conundrum-2a4ee563cab0.
- Ruwitch, John, and Simon Cameroon-Moore. "Chinese Navy Ships Visit Myanmar for Joint Exercises." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, May 20, 2017. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-myanmar-navy-idUSKCN18G03N.
- Ruwitch, John. "Would the U.S. Defend Taiwan If China Invades? Biden Said Yes. but It's Complicated." NPR. NPR, October 28, 2021. https://www.npr.org/2021/10/28/1048513474/biden-us-taiwan-china.
- Ryan, Missy, and Dan Lamothe. "Chinese Naval Ships Came within 12 Nautical Miles of American Soil." The Washington Post. WP Company, September 4, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/chinese-naval-ships-came-within-12-nautical-miles-of-american-soil/2015/09/04/dee5e1b0-5305-11e5-933e-7d06c647a395_story.html.

- Ryan, Missy, and Dan Lamothe. "Chinese Naval Ships Came within 12 Nautical Miles of American Soil." The Washington Post. WP Company, September 4, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/chinese-naval-ships-came-within-12-nautical-miles-of-american-soil/2015/09/04/dee5e1b0-5305-11e5-933e-7d06c647a395_story.html.
- Sanger, David E. "Washington Hears Echoes of the '50s and Worries: Is This a Cold War with China?" The New York Times. The New York Times, October 17, 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/us/politics/china-new-cold-war.html.
- Santos, Eimor. "4 China Navy Ships Passed Palawan Waters, Military Says." cnn, August 6, 2019. https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2019/8/6/chinanavy-ships-balabac-strait-palawan.html.
- Schottenhammer, Angela. "China's Emergence as a Maritime Power." The Cambridge History of China, 2015, 437–525. https://doi.org/10.1017/cho9781139193061.009.
- Sciutto, Jim. "Chinese Navy Ships Entered U.S. Waters off Alaska." CNN. Cable News Network, September 4, 2015. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/04/politics/china-ships-alaska-us-waters/index.html.
- Sciutto, Jim. "Chinese Navy Ships Entered U.S. Waters off Alaska." CNN. Cable News Network, September 4, 2015. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/04/politics/china-ships-alaska-us-waters/index.html.
- Sharkov, Damien. "Russia and China Join Forces for Navy Drills off North Korean Coast." Newsweek. Newsweek, September 18, 2017. https://www.newsweek.com/russia-china-join-forces-navy-drills-north-korean-coast-666814.
- Shelbourne, Mallory. "China Has World's Largest Navy with 355 Ships and Counting, Says Pentagon." USNI News, November 3, 2021. https://news.usni.org/2021/11/03/china-has-worlds-largest-navy-with-355-ships-and-counting-says-pentagon.
- Shuai, Yuan, and Zhang Yuan. "Chinese Frigate Binzhou Arrives in Germany for 'Kiel Week." China Military, June 19, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-06/19/content_8065439.htm.
- Stashwick, Steven. "Chinese Ballistic Missiles Fired into South China Sea Claimed to Hit Target Ship." The Diplomat, November 17, 2020. https://thediplomat.com/2020/11/chinese-ballistic-missiles-fired-into-south-china-sea-claimed-to-hit-target-ship/.
- Stashwick, Steven. "Chinese Ballistic Missiles Fired into South China Sea Claimed to Hit Target Ship." The Diplomat. for The Diplomat, November 17, 2020.

- https://thediplomat.com/2020/11/chinese-ballistic-missiles-fired-into-south-china-sea-claimed-to-hit-target-ship/.
- Strating, Rebecca. "Maritime and Sovereignty Disputes in the East China Sea." The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), February 9, 2021. https://www.nbr.org/publication/maritime-and-sovereignty-disputes-in-the-east-china-sea/.
- Strating, Rebecca. "Maritime and Sovereignty Disputes in the East China Sea." The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), February 9, 2021. https://www.nbr.org/publication/maritime-and-sovereignty-disputes-in-the-east-china-sea/.
- Strong, Matthew. "Chinese Diplomat in U.S. Threatens Taiwan with Military Attack: Taiwan News: 2017-12-09 15:04:00." Taiwan News. Taiwan News, December 9, 2017. https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3316709.
- Strong, Matthew. "Taiwan Navy Chases Chinese Spy Ships Away during War Games." Taiwan News. Taiwan News, July 15, 2020. https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3967201.
- Tang, Li, and Wang Guanbiao. "Russia-South Africa Conduct Live-Fire Fleet Exercise." China, November 29, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-11/29/content_9686187.htm.
- The Governance of China. III. Vol. III. Beijing, China: Foreign Languages Press, 2020.
- The Maritime Executive. "U.S. Navy: Chinese Warship Aimed Powerful Laser at Patrol Aircraft." The Maritime Executive. The Maritime Executive, February 28, 2020. https://www.maritime-executive.com/article/u-s-navy-chinese-warship-targeted-patrol-aircraft-with-laser.
- Tian, Yew Lun. "China Holds Simultaneous Military Drills in Four Seas, Again." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, September 28, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-defence-idUSKBN26J1KW.
- Tiezzi, Shannon. "China Won't 'Militarize' the South China Sea but It Will Build Military Facilities There." The Diplomat, October 16, 2015. https://thediplomat.com/2015/10/china-wont-militarize-the-south-china-sea-but-it-will-build-military-facilities-there/.
- Times, Global. "PLA Expels US Warship Trespassing South China Sea." Global Times, December 22, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1210657.shtml.
- Torode, Greg. "Chinese Aircraft Carrier Sails into Hong Kong on Maiden Visit." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, July 7, 2017. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-carrier-hongkong-idUSKBN19S0B5.

- Torode, Greg. "U.S. Navy Conducts Drills amid North Korea Tensions, as China Keeps Watch National." Global News. Global News, October 1, 2017. https://globalnews.ca/news/3778621/uss-ronald-reagan-north-korea/.
- Tweed, David. "China Sends Japan a Message via Former Navy Frigate." The Japan Times, December 30, 2015. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/12/30/national/politics-diplomacy/china-sends-japan-a-message-via-former-navy-frigate/.
- UNCTAD. "Merchant Fleet by Flag of Registration and by Type of Ship, Annual." United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Statistics, 2020. https://unctadstat.unctad.org/wds/TableViewer/tableView.aspx.
- Valente, Catherine S. "Chinese Creeping into Rizal Reef." The Manila Times. The Manila Times, June 19, 2015. https://www.manilatimes.net/2015/06/19/todays-headline-photos/top-stories/chinese-creeping-into-rizal-reef/193399.
- Wang, Bin, Fei Huang, Zhiwei Wu, Jing Yang, Xiouhua Fu, and Kazuyoshi Kikuchi. "Multi-Scale Climate Variability of the South China Sea Monsoon: A Review." Dynamics of Atmospheres and Oceans 47, no. 1-3 (2009): 15–37. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dynatmoce.2008.09.004.
- Wang, Ying, and David G. Aubrey. "The Characteristics of the China Coastline." Continental Shelf Research 7, no. 4 (1987): 329–49. https://doi.org/10.1016/0278-4343(87)90104-x.
- Wei, Li. "Live-Fire Drills by Stealth Missile Boats Enhance China's Coastal Combat Capability." Live-fire drills by stealth missile boats enhance China's coastal combat capability China Military, April 9, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-04/09/content_9788246.htm.
- Wei, Li. "PLA Navy Carries out off-Shore Replenishment Drill in South China Sea." PLA Navy carries out off-shore replenishment drill in South China Sea China Military, November 6, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-11/06/content_9931900.htm.
- Welle, Deutsche. "China and Russia Combine Naval Forces in the Baltic Sea: DW: 24.07.2017." DW.COM, July 24, 2017. https://www.dw.com/en/china-and-russia-combine-naval-forces-in-the-baltic-sea/a-39816926.
- Wen, Wang, and Li Kun. "PLA Opens 5G-Assisted Remote Ultrasound Clinic in South China Sea." PLA opens 5G-assisted remote ultrasound clinic in South China Sea China Military, May 14, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-05/14/content 9503061.htm.
- Werner, Ben. "China's Newest Aircraft Carrier Transits Taiwan Strait." USNI News, December 26, 2019. https://news.usni.org/2019/12/26/chinasnewest-aircraft-carrier-transits-taiwan-strait.

- Westcott, Ben. "Chinese President Xi Jinping Tells Troops to Focus on 'Preparing for War'." CNN. Cable News Network, October 14, 2020. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/10/14/asia/xi-jinping-taiwan-us-esper-intl-hnk/index.html.
- White, Edward. "China's Navy to Conduct Live-Fire Drills in Taiwan Strait." Financial Times, April 13, 2018. https://www.ft.com/content/49e1bee2-3eb0-11e8-b7e0-52972418fec4.
- Wong, Catherine. "Chinese Navy to Make First Philippine Port Visit since 2010." South China Morning Post, April 28, 2017. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2091562/chinese-navy-make-first-philippines-port-call-decade.
- World Bank. "School Enrollment, Tertiary (% Gross)." World Bank Open Data, 2020. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR.
- Wroe, David. "Chinese Naval Ships Close to Australia? 'Get Used to It', Experts Warn." The Sydney Morning Herald. The Sydney Morning Herald, March 9, 2017. https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/chinese-naval-ships-close-to-australia-get-used-to-it-experts-warn-20170309-guunxi.html.
- Wu, J. R., and Faith Hung. "Taiwan Scrambles Jets, Navy as China Aircraft Carrier Enters Taiwan Strait." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, January 11, 2017. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-taiwan-carrier-idUSKBN14V061.
- Xia, Hua. "China's National Rejuvenation Has Become Historical Inevitability: XI." Xinhua, October 9, 2021. http://www.news.cn/english/2021-10/09/c_1310234157.htm.
- Xia, Hua. "Chinese Naval Hospital Ship Peace Ark Arrives in Tanzania." Xinhua, November 20, 2017. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-11/20/c_136764433.htm.
- Xinjuan, Wang. "China Hones Carrier Fighter Jet Skill amid Epidemic." China hones carrier fighter jet skill amid epidemic China Military, April 20, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-04/20/content_9796690.htm.
- Xuanzun, Liu. "Chinese Forces Expel US Warship in Xisha Islands of S.china Sea." Global Times, March 11, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1182300.shtml.
- Xuanzun, Liu. "Chinese Forces Expel US Warship in Xisha Islands of S.china Sea." Global Times, March 11, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1182300.shtml.
- Xuanzun, Liu. "PLA Expels US Warship Trespassing South China Sea." Global Times, December 22, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1210657.shtml.

- Xuanzun, Liu. "PLA Minesweepers to Break Taiwan Sea Mines Threat." Global Times, September 21, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1201603.shtml.
- Yimiao, Yang. "Chinese Naval Escort Fleet Visits France." Chinese naval escort fleet visits France China Military, July 2, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-07/02/content_9545580.htm.
- Zhang, Lim Min. "Inaugural ASEAN-China Maritime Exercise Held at RSS Singapura Changi Naval Base." The Straits Times, August 3, 2018. https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/inaugural-asean-china-maritime-exercise-held-at-changi-naval-base.
- Zhang, Rui. "Chinese Navy to Conduct Drill in South China Sea." CCTV News, May 5, 2016. http://english.cctv.com/2016/05/05/ARTImdHOghjhtk2rbtuLDnD5160505.shtml.
- Zhaohui, Dong. "China, Pakistan Kick off 'Sea Guardians-2020' Naval Drill in Karachi." China, Pakistan kick off "Sea Guardians-2020" naval drill in Karachi China Military, January 6, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2020-01/06/content_9710755.htm.
- Zhen, Liu. "Chinese Navy Starts Live-Fire Drill near North Korea." South China Morning Post, July 20, 2018. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2124378/chinese-navy-starts-live-fire-drill-north-koreanwaters.
- Zhen, Liu. "Chinese Navy Warships Conduct Live-Fire Exercise in East China Sea." South China Morning Post, August 20, 2020. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3098170/us-chinarelations-pla-navy-conducts-live-fire-exercise-east.
- Zhen, Liu. "'No-Go Zone' in Yellow Sea for Chinese Aircraft Carrier Sea Trials." South China Morning Post, February 27, 2019. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/2187808/no-go-zone-yellow-sea-chinese-aircraft-carrier-sea-trials.
- Zhen, Liu. "What's China's 'Nine-Dash Line' and Why Has It Created so Much Tension in the South China Sea?" South China Morning Post, July 12, 2016. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1988596/whats-chinas-nine-dash-line-and-why-has-it-created-so.
- Zheng, Sarah. "Chinese Navy Helps Us to Find Man Overboard in South China Sea." South China Morning Post, August 4, 2017. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2105387/chinese-navy-helps-us-hunt-missing-marine-disputed-seas.

- Zhou, Laura. "Chinese Navy Deploys Drones in South China Sea Missile Drills." South China Morning Post, June 15, 2018. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2150957/chinese-navy-deploys-drones-south-china-sea-missile?module=perpetual_scroll&pgtype=article&campaign=2150957.
- Zhuo, Chen. "ASEAN-China Maritime Exercise Enters Maritime Operations Stage." China Military, October 26, 2018. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-10/26/content_9324630.htm.
- Zhuo, Chen. "China and Thailand Organize Night Encounters at Sea Training." China and Thailand organize night encounters at sea training China Military, May 8, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-05/08/content_9498597.htm.
- Zhuo, Chen. "Chinese Frigate Leaves for ROK and Singapore to Take Part in Live-Fire Exercise." Chinese frigate leaves for ROK and Singapore to take part in live-fire exercise China Military, April 28, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-04/28/content_9491510.htm.
- Zhuo, Chen. "Chinese Naval Escort Fleet Concludes Visit to Philippines." Chinese naval escort fleet concludes visit to Philippines China Military, January 22, 2019. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-01/22/content_9410715.htm.
- Zun, Liu Xuan. "Pla Announces Large-Scale, Live-Fire Drills in Yellow Sea." Global Times, August 21, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1198489.shtml.
- Zun, LIu Xuan. "Rare US Dual Aircraft Carrier Drills in South China Sea 'a Show' for Allies." Global Times, July 5, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1193564.shtml.
- Zun, Liu Xuan. "Rare US Dual Aircraft Carrier Drills in South China Sea 'a Show' for Allies." Global Times, July 5, 2020. https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1193564.shtml.
- 刘明. "Xi Stresses Building Elite Maritime Force during Navy Inspection." Chinadaily.com.cn, June 15, 2018. https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201806/15/WS5b23adcda310010f8f59d3cd.html.