

The Global Politics of China

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Department: School of Public Policy, Central European University

Number of Credits: 2.

Teaching Format: Lectures and seminar discussions.

Semester: Winter 2019.

Course Status: Elective.

Office Hours: Tuesday 4-5pm, October 6 u. 7, 2nd floor, Office 241.

Course Description

This course provides an intensive introduction to the global politics of China. As well as a crucial intellectual challenge today, China is also increasingly important for a range of policy engagements. While China has become globally prominent in recent times, this course is not just about current affairs per se. It also explores how China came to be in its current circumstances, and the interconnections between China's 'domestic' and 'global' relations. The first part of the course explores the politics of history and China's modern historical trajectory. Going beyond a unitary conception of the Chinese state, the second part examines the nature and domestic sources of China's foreign policy before exploring key themes in its global relations. Finally, it analyses China's changing engagement with and role in global governance. Throughout, it will involve active learning.

Learning Goals and Outcomes

This course aims to provide an intensive orientation to the changing global politics of China. While providing a structured framework to achieve this, it also seeks to enable individual learning pathways and enhance analytical, writing and verbal skills. By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Understand the historical trajectory behind China's current world role, and the politics of history;
- Understand the interplay between China's domestic and global politics;
- Critically assess and engage debates about China's (re)emergence and evolving global role.
- Undertake further, more indepth study into the global politics of China.

Course Overview

Seminar 1: Introduction (7 January)

Seminar 2: 'Make The Past Serve the Present' (14 January)

Seminar 3: 'Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones': Reform and Going Global (21 January)

Seminar 4: 'Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics' (28 January)

Seminar 5: Foreign Policy Making (4 February)

Reading Week

Seminar 6: The Party and Global Power: Political Influence and Military Role(18 February)

Seminar 7: China and the United States (25 February)

Optional Course and Final Paper Consultation

Seminar 8: China and the Global South: Cases in the Belt and Road Initiative (4 March)

Seminar 9: China and Global Governance (11 March)

Seminar 10: China in Global Governance: Policy Evidence (18 March)

Seminar 11: Conclusions (25 March)

Please note: This syllabus is accurate at the time of publication. Amendments may be made during the course of the term. You will be notified via Moodle about any amendments.

Assessment

- Participation, including preparation: 15%
- Presentation exercise: 15%
- Final paper (3,000 words): 70%. Deadline: 5pm, 23 April 2019 (submission to Moodle).

Course Requirements and Classroom Policy

Full attendance is expected. *Please arrive in time for classes to begin on time.* You are required to complete assigned readings prior to class. Given the richness and complexity of the subject, you are also encouraged to read more than these, especially concerning questions and subjects that particularly interest you. *Use of phones, laptops or other electronic devices is strictly **not permitted** during class.*

China Watching

This course encourages you to keep up to date with China-related current events. Classes may start with a 'China Watching' slot where you will be asked to succinctly share a key news story (or stories) and, at times, respond to follow-up questions. It is up to you what you choose to cover. Try to define the themes or issues that interest you most and use this as a chance to pursue these in greater depth, thereby complementing the more general coverage of the course.

Background Reading

You are encouraged to read into and around each subject, and to develop and pursue your own interests within – and beyond - these. The Supplementary Readings annex at the end of this syllabus provides a selection of topical sources or seminal texts from different periods of scholarship. Books worth consulting by way of background to the course as whole include:

Yu Hua, *China in Ten Words* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd, 2012). *Short essays by a Chinese novelist.*

Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). *Instead of basing its narrative on the Chinese Communist Party, this readable interpretation of China's modern history offers a more diverse way of looking at Chinese politics in the past, and today.*

Wang Hui, *The End of the Revolution* (London: Verso, 2009). *Collection of essays accounting for China's 1980s and beyond by a leading intellectual.*

Rosemary Foot (ed.), *China Across the Divide: The Domestic and Global in Politics and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) *Edited collection offering theoretical insights and empirical substance.*

Academic Journals

You are encouraged to use academic journals as a quick, often more useful and up to date way to engage with China, especially on recent and current affairs. Try [The China Quarterly](#), [The China Journal](#), [The Journal of Contemporary China](#), and [The Chinese Journal of International Relations](#).

Supplementary Background

You are strongly encouraged to read fiction and other non-fiction works about China. This will enhance your cultural literacy and provide alternative windows on to many of the themes that we will explore. Try, for starters, *The Real Story of Ah-Q and Other Tales of China: The Complete Fiction of Lu Xun* (Penguin, 2009; Julia Lovell trans.), and Qian Zhongshu, *Fortress Besieged* (Penguin, 2006). Wang Xiaofang's *The Civil Servants Notebook* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2012) and Chan Koonchung's *The Fat Years* (London: Transworld Publishers, 2012) illuminate aspects of domestic politics and (imagined) foreign policy.

You are also encouraged to explore primary news film footage, documentaries, films, music and popular culture about China. Consider the political themes raised in, for example, Jing Wu's popular smash hit *Wolf Warrior II* (2017).

News and Information

For the latest developments in China, see [Pacific Forum: Comparative Connections](#), [China Leadership Monitor](#), [China Brief](#), [East Asia Forum](#), [China Digital Times](#), [China Dialogue](#), and the [South China Morning Post](#); [Sinica](#) podcast; [China Policy Institute Analysis](#); [Chublic Opinion](#); [Sixth Tone](#). [China Vitae](#) is a very useful who's who and who's doing what guide to Chinese politics.

Major Chinese news outlets have English editions. Try the [People's Daily](#), [Liberation Army Daily](#), [Global Times](#) and [Xinhua](#). Government websites, such as the [Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#), [State Council](#), or the [Ministry of Commerce](#) are also worth checking. There are good Twitter news feeds about different aspects of China, as well as on [Weibo](#) (see Jonathan Sullivan, 'China Scholars and Twitter', *The China Quarterly* 7 February 2017). An invaluable mailing list is [Sinocism](#) (consider subscribing to the free weekly version of this to follow events; the daily version requires subscription). SupChina likewise have a subscription email news service; try listening to their [Sinica podcasts](#).

Feedback

Rolling feedback and suggestions of readings and new sources to incorporate are welcome.

Course Sessions

1. Introduction (7 January)

This session introduces the course, and will seek to clarify your expectations and key questions about China. It will also set the scene for the sessions that follow.

Recommended reading/watching

- Beijing Olympics opening ceremony (2008) [highlights](#)
- China's [Major Country Diplomacy Episode 1: Historic Path](#) (12 September 2017).
- Gerald Segal, 'Does China Matter?', *Foreign Affairs* 78, 5 (1999).
- Short Story: Hao Jingfang, 'Folding Beijing', in Ken Liu (ed.), *Invisible Planets* (Head of Zeus, 2016).

2. 'Make The Past Serve the Present' (14 January)

Taking the long view, this session considers the change from China's relative historic strength to weakness in the face of European-led encroachment and incorporation into the modern international nation-states system. It also considers the pertinence of the past today. How are different interpretations of history mobilized in the pursuit of political purposes today?

Required Watching/Reading

- Documentary excerpts: '[River Elegy](#)' (Héshāng; first broadcast by CCTV in June 1988; 58 mins).
- Document no. 9 (2013).
- Haiyang Yu, 'Glorious Memories of Imperial China and the Rise of Chinese Populist Nationalism', *Journal of Contemporary China*, published online 30 April 2014.

Supplementary Reading/Watching

- Rana Mitter, 'Making China modern', in *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 40-73 [short overview for those new to Chinese history].
- *Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Philosophy, Modern Chinese Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
- Alice Lyman Miller, 'Some Things We Used to Know About China's Past and Present (But Now Not So Much)', in John E. Wills (ed.), *Past and Present in China's Foreign Policy: From "Tribute System: to "Peaceful Rise"* (Portland: Merwin Asia, 2010): 31-60.
- Orville Schell, 'To Forget or Remember? China's Struggle with Its Past', *The Washington Quarterly* 39, 3 (2016): 143-157.
- Maximilian Mayer, 'China's historical statecraft and the return of history', *International Affairs* 94, 6, 1 (2018): 1217-1235.
- Su Xiaokang & Wang Luxiang, *Deathsong of the River* (Cornell Uni. East Asia Program: 1999).
- Documentary: [Chung Kuo, Cina](#) (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1972).
- Documentary: '[The Gate of Heavenly Peace](#)' (Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton, 1995).

3. 'Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones': Reform and Going Global (21 January)

This class explores China's Reform and Opening period under Deng Xiaoping, the main trends and debates in foreign policy after 1989, especially the 'go global' strategy and the domestic political context under President Hu. These are essential to understanding and engaging current debates.

Required Reading

- William A. Callahan, 'China's Strategic Futures: Debating the Post-American World Order', *Asian Survey* 52, 4 (2012): 617-642. [NB: Please become familiar with these debates]
- Zheng Bijian, 'China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great Power Status', *Foreign Affairs* 84,5(2005):18-24.

Supplementary Reading

- *Deng Xiaoping, '[Speech At An Enlarged Meeting Of The Military Commission Of The Central Committee Of The Communist Party Of China](#)', 4 June 1985.
- Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh (eds.), *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).
- Samuel S Kim, 'Chinese Foreign Policy Face Globalization Challenges', in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross (eds.), *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006): 276-306.
- Kerry Brown, 'Power and the Politburo', in *The New Emperors: Power and the Princes in China* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014): 12-56.
- James Mann, *The China Fantasy* (London: Penguin, 2007): 1-27.

4. 'Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics' (28 January)

How has China's foreign policy been evolving under President Xi Jinping?

Required Reading

- Zhao Xiaochun, 'In Pursuit of a Community of Shared Future: China's Global Activism in Perspective', *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 4, 1 (2018): 23-37.
- Xiaoyu Pu and Chengli Wang, 'Rethinking China's rise: Chinese scholars debate strategic overstretch', *International Affairs* 94, 5, 1 (2018): 1019–1035.

Supplementary Reading

- Jianwei Wang, 'Xi Jinping's 'Major Country Diplomacy: A Paradigm Shift?', *Journal of Contemporary China* (2018).
- Kerry Brown, 'How Does Xi Jinping See the Outside World?' In *CEO, China: The Rise of Xi Jinping* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016): 185-208.
- Flynt Leverett and Wu Bingbing, 'The New Silk Road and China's Evolving Grand Strategy', *China Journal* Electronically published November 14, 2016.
- Jingzhan Zeng and Sean Breslin, 'China's 'new type of Great Power relations': a G2 with Chinese characteristics?', *International Affairs* 92, 4 (2016): 773-794.
- Michael Swaine, 'Xi Jinping's Address to the Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs: Assessing and Advancing Major- Power Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics', *China Leadership Monitor* No. 46 (March 2015).

- Liu Mingfu, *The China Dream: Great Power Thinking and Strategic Posture in the Post-American Era* (New York: CN Times Books, 2015).

5. Foreign Policy Making (4 February)

This class examines the key individuals, institutions and processes of the CPC-state involved in foreign policy making.

Required Reading

- Cheng Li, “China’s Communist Party State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power,” in Joseph, ed., *Politics in China: An Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2014): 192-223.
- Linda Jakobson and Ryan Manuel, ‘How are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China?’, *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, 1 (2016): 101-110.
- Jing Sun, ‘Growing Diplomacy, Retreating Diplomats: How the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been Marginalized in Foreign Policymaking’, *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, 105 (2017): 419-433.

Supplementary Reading

- Audrye Wong, ‘More than Peripheral: How Provinces Influence China’s Foreign Policy’, *The China Quarterly* 235 (2018): 735-757.
- Weixing Hu, ‘Xi Jinping’s ‘Major Country Diplomacy’: The Role of Leadership in Foreign Policy Transformation’, *Journal of Contemporary China* (2018).
- Zhang Qingmin, ‘Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy-making’, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9, 4 (2016): 435-458.
- Hongyi Lai and Su-Jeong Kang, ‘Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy’, *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, 86 (2014): 294-313.
- *Haig Patapan and Yi Wang, ‘The Hidden Ruler: Wang Huning and the Making of Contemporary China’, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 21 August 2017.
- James Reilly, *Strong Society, Smart State: The Rise of Public Opinion in China’s Japan Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012): 207-228.

Reading Week

6: The Party and Global Power: Political Influence and ‘Carrying a Sword’ (18 February)

What are the interconnections between the CPC’s exercise of domestic power and its evolving global engagement, including the role of the PLA? How are traditional foreign policy principles being reconciled with new challenges of protecting Chinese overseas nationals and interests?

Required Reading

- Anne-Marie Brady, ‘Exploit Every Rift: United Front Work Goes Global’, in Julia Bowie and David Gitter eds., *Party Watch Annual Report*, 18 October 2018: 34-40.
- Jonas Parello-Plesner and Mathieu Duchatel, *China’s Strong Arm: Protecting Citizens and Assets Abroad* (Routledge/ISS: 2015): 19-65.
- Recommended: Weixing Hu, ‘Xi Jinping’s ‘Big Power Diplomacy’ and China’s Central National Security Commission’, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 25, 98 (2016): 163-177.

Supplementary Reading

- Suisheng Zhao, “Xi Jinping’s Maoist Revival,” *Journal of Democracy* 27, 3 (2016): 83-97.
- Samantha Hoffman, ‘Programming China: The Communist Party’s autonomic approach to managing state security’, MERICS China Monitor, 12 December 2017.
- Anne-Marie Brady, ‘Magic Weapons: China’s political influence activities under Xi Jinping’, conference paper 16-17 September 2017.
- Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers* (London: Allen Lane, 2010).
- David Shambaugh, ‘China’s “Quiet Diplomacy” The International Department of the Chinese Communist Party’, *China: An International Journal* 5, 1 (2007): 26-54.
- Suisheng Zhao, ‘Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: the strident turn’, *Journal of Contemporary China* 22, 82 (2013): 535-553.
- James Reilly, “A Wave To Worry About? Public Opinion, Foreign Policy and China’s Anti-Japan Protests,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 23, no. 86 (2014): 197–215.
- Yu Liu and Dingding Chen, ‘Why China Will Democratize’, *The Washington Quarterly* 25, 1 (2012): 41-63.
- Elizabeth J. Perry, ‘The Populist Dream of Chinese Democracy,’ *The Journal of Asian Studies* 74, 4 (2015): 903 - 915.
- Joel Wuthnow, ‘China’s New ‘Black Box’: Problems and Prospects for the Central National Security Commission’, *China Quarterly* 232 (2017): 886-903.
- White Paper on China’s Military Strategy, (Beijing: Government of China, Information Office of the State Council, The People’s Republic of China, 26 May 2015).
- James Char and Richard A. Bitzinger, ‘A New Direction in the People’s Liberation Army’s Emergent Strategic Thinking, Roles and Missions’, *The China Quarterly* 232 (2017): 841-865.

7. China and the United States (25 February)

China’s relations with the United States are by far the most important of all, the significance of which has important implications for world order as well. At a time of considerable uncertainty, this class will take stock of recent context and current contours of relations.

Required Reading

- Evan Osnos, ‘Making China Great Again’, *New Yorker* 8 January 2018.
- TBC

Supplementary Reading

- Harry Harding, ‘Has U.S. China Policy Failed?’ *The Washington Quarterly* 38, 3 (2015): 95-122.
- Yang Jiemini, ‘Managing China-U.S. Relations in the Trump Era: Approaches and Policies’, *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 3, 3 (2017): 357-375.
- Richard McGregor, *Asia’s Reckoning: China, Japan, and the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century* (2017).
- Suisheng Zhao, ‘A New Model of Big Power Relations? China–US strategic rivalry and balance of power in the Asia–Pacific’, *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, 93 (2015): 377-397.
- John J. Mearsheimer, ‘The Gathering Storm: China’s Challenge to US Power in Asia’, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3 (2010): 381-396.
- Arthur Waldron, ‘There is no Thucydides Trap’, *SupChina* 12 June 2017.
- [National Security Strategy of the United States of America](#), December 2017.

- Niv Horesh and Ruike Xu, ‘CCP Elite Perception of the US Since the early 1990s: Wang Huning and Zheng Bijian as Test Cases’, *Asian Affairs* 48, 1 (2017): 51-74.
- Andrew B. Kennedy and Darren J. Lim, ‘The innovation imperative: technology and US–China rivalry in the twenty-first century’, *International Affairs* 94, 3 (2018): 553–572.
- Adam Liff, ‘China and the US Alliance System’, *The China Quarterly*, 233 (2018): 137-165.
- [‘Economic Security as National Security: A Discussion with Dr. Peter Navarro’](#), CSIS 9 November 2018.

8. China and the Global South: Cases in the Belt and Road Initiative (4 March)

9. China and Global Governance (11 March)

How has China’s engagement with and contribution to global governance been changing? Should Beijing enhance its contribution to global public goods? Or is such an idea – and global governance more generally - a new containment strategy by the West?

Required Reading

- Sebastian Heilmann et al., ‘China’s Shadow Foreign Policy: Parallel Structures Challenge the Established International Order’, *MERICs China Monitor* 18, 24 October 2014.
- Suisheng Zhao, ‘A Revisionist Stakeholder: China and the Post-World War II World Order’, *Journal of Contemporary China* 27:113 (2018): 643-658.
- Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones, ‘China challenges global governance? Chinese international development finance and the AIIB’, *International Affairs* 94, 3 (2018); 573–593.

Supplementary Reading

- Wu Xinbo, ‘China in search of a liberal partnership international order’, *International Affairs* 94, 5, 1 (2018): 995–1018.
- *Francois Godement, ‘Expanded Ambitions, Shrinking Achievements: How China sees the Global Order’, ECFR Policy Brief March 2017.
- Xiao Ren, ‘The G20: Emerging Chinese Leadership in Global Governance?’, *Global Policy* (2017).
- Cai Tuo, ‘Global Governance and State Governance: Two Strategic Considerations in Contemporary China’, *Social Sciences in China*, 37, 4 (2016): 138-151.
- Rosemary Foot, ‘“Doing some things” in the Xi Jinping era: the United Nations as China’s venue of choice’, *International Affairs* 90, 5 (2014): 1085-1100.
- Shaun Breslin, ‘China and the global order: signalling threat or friendship?’, *International Affairs* 89, 3 (2013): 615-634.
- Gregory T. Chin and Hugo Dobson, ‘China’s Presidency of the G20 Hangzhou: On Global Leadership and Strategy’, *Global Summitry* 27 March 2016.
- Xiao Ren, ‘China as an institution-builder: the case of the AIIB’, *The Pacific Review* 29, 3 (2016): 435-442.
- Robert Zoellick, [‘Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?’](#), remarks to the National Committee on U.S.- China Relations, New York, 21 September 2005.

10. China in Global Governance: Policy Evidence (18 March)

11. Conclusions (25 March)

Draft

Annex: Additional Readings

Note: this is a selection of different types of literature arranged in no particular order but designed to introduce a representative range to accompany each class.

2. The Past(s) in the Present

- John K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).
- Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China Among Equals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
- Adda Bozeman, *Politics and Culture in International History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960): 133-161.
- S.A.M Adshad, *China in World History* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988).
- Immanuel Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).
- *Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010 [1984]).
- Shogo Suzuki, 'East Asian International Society', in *Civilization and Empire: China and Japan's Encounter with European International Society* (London: Routledge, 2009): 35-54.
- Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2005).
- Frederic Wakeman, *The Fall of Imperial China* (Free Press 1975).
- R. Keith Schoppa, *The Columbia Guide to Modern Chinese History* (Columbia University Press, 2000).
- Julia Lovell, *The Great Wall: China against the world 1000BC - A2000* (Atlantic Books, 2006).
- *Jonathan D. Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisers in China* (New York: Penguin, 1980).
- Michael Dillon, *China: A Modern History* (London: I.B Tauris, 2012).
- John Garver, *China's Quest: the history of the foreign relations of the People's Republic of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Chih Yuan Woon, 'China's Contingencies: Critical Geopolitics, Chinese Exceptionalism and the Uses of History,' *Geopolitics* (2017), DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2017.1302429

Republican China

- Frank Dikotter, *The Age Of Openness: China before Mao* (Hong Kong Press, 2008).
- Jonathan Fenby, *Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the China He Lost* (Free Press, 2005).
- Ramon Myers, 'The Chinese State in the Republican Era', in David Shambaugh, ed. *The Modern Chinese State* (Cambridge, 2000): 42-72.
- Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan, 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Allen Lane, 2013).

After 1949

- *Michael Hunt, *The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
- Samuel S. Kim, *The Maoist Image of World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
- Allen S. Whiting, *The Chinese Calculus of Deterrence* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1975).
- Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
- *Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China From Revolution Through Reform* (Norton: 2004).

- Frank Dikotter, *The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution 1945-1957* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

History and Current Politics

- *Louisa Lim, *The People's Republic of Amnesia: Tiananmen Revisited* (Oxford University Press, 2014).
- *William A. Callahan, 'The Cartography of National Humiliation and the Emergence of China's Geobody', *Public Culture* 21, 1 (2009): 141-173.
- *Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Philosophy, Modern Chinese Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
- Brantly Womack (ed.), *China's Rise in Historical Perspective* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010).
- William A. Callahan, 'History, Tradition and the China Dream: socialist modernization in the World of Great Harmony', *Journal of Contemporary China* published online 7 May 2015.
- Zheng Wang, 'National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China,' *International Studies Quarterly* 52, 4 (2008): 783-806.
- William A. Joseph, "Studying Chinese Politics," in Joseph, ed., *Politics in China*: 3-38.
- Weiwei Zhang, *The China Horizon: Glory and Dream of a Civilizational State* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2015).

3. Reform and Going Global

- *Lu Ning, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decisionmaking in China* (Boulder: Westview, 1997).
- H. Lyman Miller and Liu Xiaohong, 'The Foreign Policy Outlook of China's "Third Generation" Elite', in David M. Lampton (ed.), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001): 123-150.
- Margaret M. Pearson, 'China's Foreign Economic Relations and Policies', in Saadia M. Pekkanese, John Ravenhill and Rosemary Foot (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 160-178.
- Gordon White, *Riding the Tiger: Politics of Economic Reform in China* (Palgrave: 1993).
- Robert Ross, 'From Lin Biao to Deng Xiaoping: Elite Instability and China's U.S. policy', *The China Quarterly* 118 (1989): 265-299.
- Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Wang Jisi, 'China's Search for a Grand Strategy', *Foreign Affairs* 90, 2 (2011): 68-79.
- James Kynge, *China Shakes the World: The Rise of a Hungry Nation* (London: Phoenix, 2007).
- Allen Carlson and Ren Xiao (eds.), *New Frontiers in China's Foreign Relations* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011).

4. 'Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics'

- Angela Poh and Mingjiang Li, 'A China in Transition: The Rhetoric and Substance of Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping', *Asian Security* 13, 2 (2017): 84-97.
- *Shogo Suzuki, 'Journey to the West: China Debates Its 'Great Power' Identity', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 42, 3 (2014): 632-650.
- Chen Zheng, 'China Debates the Non-Interference Principle', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9, 3 (2016): 349-374.
- Dingding Chen and Jianwei Wang, 'Lying Low No More? China's New Thinking on the Tao Guang Yang Hui Strategy', *China: An International Journal* 9, 2 (2011): 195-216.
- Michael Swaine, 'Xi Jinping on Chinese Foreign Relations: *The Governance of China* and Chinese Commentary', *China Leadership Monitor* No. 46 (September 2015).
- William A. Callahan and Elena Barabantseva (eds.), *China Orders the World: normative soft power and foreign policy* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2011).
- Alastair Iain Johnson, 'How New and Assertive is China's New Assertiveness?' *International Security* 37, 4 (2013): 7-48.
- Feng Zhang, 'The Rise of Chinese exceptionalism in international relations,' *European Journal of International Relations* 19, 2 (2013): 305-328.
- Kai He and Huiyun Feng, 'Debating China's Assertiveness: Taking China's power and interests seriously', *International Politics* 49 (2012): 633-644.
- Sheng Ding, 'Branding a Rising China: An Analysis of Beijing's National Image Management in the Age of China's Rise', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46, 3 (2011): 293-306.
- Guobin Yang, 'Political contestation in Chinese digital spaces: Deepening the critical inquiry', *China Information* 28 (2014): 135-144.
- Yong Wang, 'Offensive for defensive: the belt and road initiative and China's new grand strategy', *The Pacific Review*, 29, 3 (2016): 455-463.
- Kerry Brown, 'The Powers of Xi Jinping', *Asian Affairs* 48, 1 (2017): 17-26.
- James D. Sidaway and Chih Yuan Woon, 'Chinese Narratives on "OneBelt, One Road" in Geopolitical and Imperial Contexts', *The Professional Geographer*, 69, 4 (2017): 591-603.
- Samuel Charap, John Drennan and Pierre Noël, 'Russia and China: A New Model of Great-Power Relations', *Survival* 59, 1 (2017).
- Hong Yu, 'Motivation behind China's 'One Belt, One Road' Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26, 105 (2017), 353-368.

5. Foreign Policy Making

Foreign Policy Making

- Stuart Harris, *China's Foreign Policy* (Polity Press, 2014).
- Pascal Abb, 'China's Foreign Policy Think Tanks: institutional evolution and changing roles', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24, 93 (2015): 531-553.
- Xu Jin, 'Debates in IR Academia and China's Policy Adjustments', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9, 4 (2016): 459-485
- Minglu Chen, 'From Economic Elites to Political Elites: private entrepreneurs in the People's Political Consultative Conference', *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, 94 (2015): 613-627.
- Michal Meidan, Phillip Andrews-Speed, and Ma Xin, 'Shaping China's Energy Policy: Actors and Processes', *Journal of Contemporary China* 18, 61 (2009): 591-616.

- David M. Lampton, *Following the Leader: Ruling China, from Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).
- Camilla Sorensen, 'The Significance of Xi Jinping's "Chinese Dream" for Chinese Foreign Policy: From "Tao Guang Yang Hui" to "Fen Fa You Wei"', *Journal of Chinese International Relations* 3, 1 (2015): 53-73.
- Nien-Chung Chang Liao, 'The sources of China's assertiveness: the system, domestic politics or leadership preferences?', *International Affairs* 92, 4 (2016): 817-834.
- Bo Kong and Kevin P. Gallagher (2017) Globalizing Chinese Energy Finance: The Role of Policy Banks, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26, 108 (2017): 834-851.
- Roger Irvine, 'Nationalists or Internationalists? China's International Relations Experts Debate the Future,' *Journal of Contemporary China* 26,106 (2017): 586-600.

6. Inside/Outside: Power and the Party

The Party

- Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (London: Allen Lane, 2010).
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