



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Chinese assertiveness and the rise of Xi Jinping: ideational mobilization, elite contestation, and the struggle over regional order

Stevens, F.M.S.

Citation

Stevens, F. M. S. (2023, March 28). *Chinese assertiveness and the rise of Xi Jinping: ideational mobilization, elite contestation, and the struggle over regional order*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3589571>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3589571>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, Emanuel. "Constructivism in International Relations: Sources, Contributions, and Debates." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, 112-144. London: SAGE Publications, 2013.
- Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (Sept. 1969): 689-718.
- . *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Little, Brown, 1971).
- Allison, Graham T., and Morton H. Halperin. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications." *World Politics* 24 (Spring 1972): 40-79.
- Allison, Graham, Robert D. Blackwill, with Ali Wyne. *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013 (eBook).
- Allison, Graham. *Destined for War: Can China and America Escape Thucydides's Trap?* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017.
- Apeldoorn, Bastiaan van, and Naná de Graaff. "Corporate Elite Networks and US Post-Cold War Grand Strategy From Clinton to Obama." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 1 (2014): 29-55.
- . *American Grand Strategy and Corporate Elite Networks: The Open Door since the End of the Cold War*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Barmé, Geremie R. *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture*. New York: Columbia Press, 1999.
- Baum, Richard. *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- . "The Road to Tiananmen: Chinese Politics in the 1980s." In *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*, edited by Roderick MacFarquhar. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Pedersen. *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019.
- Bell, Daniel A. *The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Bergère, Marie-Claire. "The Chinese Bourgeoisie: 1911-1937." In *The Cambridge History of China: Republican China 1912-1949*, vol. 12, part 1, edited by John K. Fairbank, 721-825. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Berman, Sheri. "Ideas, Norms, and Culture in Political Analysis." *Comparative Politics* 33, no. 2 (Jan. 2001): 231-250.
- Biden, Joseph R. "Why America Must Lead Again: Rescuing U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump." *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 2 (2020): 64-76.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. *The Causes of War*. New York: The Free Press, 1988.
- Blanchette, Jude D. *China's New Red Guards: The Return of Radicalism and the Rebirth of Mao Zedong*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

- Blatter, Joachim, and Markus Haverland. *Designing Case Studies: Explanatory Approaches in Small-N Research*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Bo, Zhiyue. "The 16th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: formal institutions and factional groups." *Journal of Contemporary China* 13, no. 39 (May 2004): 223-256.
- . "Balance of Factional Power in China: The Seventeenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party." *East Asia* 25 (2008): 343.
- . *China's Elite Politics: Governance and Democratization*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2010.
- Boecking, Felix. *Trade, Tariffs and Nationalism in Republican China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.
- Booth, Ken, and Nicholas Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- . "Uncertainty." In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Paul D. Williams, 137-154. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Brands, Hal, and Charles N. Edel. *The Lessons of Tragedy: Statecraft and World Order*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.
- Brooks, Stephen G. "Duelling Realisms." *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 445-477.
- Brown, Chris. "The 'Practice Turn,' *Phronesis* and Classical Realism: Towards a Phronetic International Political Theory?," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 40, no. 3 (2012): 439-456.
- Brown, Kerry. *Hu Jintao: China's Silent Ruler*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2012.
- . *Carnival China: China in the Era of Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping*. London: Imperial College Press, 2014.
- . *CEO, China. The Rise of Xi Jinping*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016 (eBook).
- Brown, Kerry, and Una Aleksandra Bērziņa-Čerenkova. "Ideology in the Era of Xi Jinping." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 23 (2018): 323-339.
- Brown, Kerry. "The Xi Way of Speaking: Rhetoric, Emotion and Narrative in the Modern People's Republic of China." In *The Chinese Communist Party in Transformation: The Crisis of Identity and the Possibilities for Renewal*, edited by Lance L.P. Gore, 23-40. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2021.
- Bryman, Alan. *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1977.
- Buzan, Barry. *People, States & Fear: An Agenda For International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework For Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.
- Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

- Buzan, Barry. "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 5-36.
- Buzan, Barry, and Michael Cox. "China and the US: Comparable Cases of 'Peaceful Rise'?" *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 6, no. 2 (2013): 109-132.
- Buzan, Barry. *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations: The Societal Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014.
- Byman, Daniel L., and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back in." *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 109.
- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre. "Is Xi Jinping the Reformist Leader China Needs?" *China Perspectives* 92, no. 3 (2012): 69-76.
- Calder, Kent, and Min Ye. "Regionalism and Critical Junctures: Explaining the "Organization Gap" in Northeast Asia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4 (2004): 191-226.
- Callahan, William A. "History, identity, and security: Producing and consuming nationalism in China." *Critical Asian Studies* 38, no. 2 (2006): 179-208.
- Callahan, William A. *China: The Pessimist Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010
- . "Identity and Security in China: The Negative Soft Power of the China Dream," *Politics* 35, no.3-4 (2015): 216-229.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *The American Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Campbell, David. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.
- Campbell, Kurt M. and Ely Ratner. "The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations." *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 2018): 60-70.
- Campbell, Kurt M. and Rush Doshi. "How America Can Shore Up Asian Order." *Foreign Affairs*, January 12, 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-01-12/how-america-can-shore-asian-order>
- Carlsnaes, Walter. "The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis." *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992): 245-270.
- Carlson, Allen, and Duan Hong. "Internet Resources and the Study of Chinese Foreign Relations." In *Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies*, edited by Allen Carlson et al., 88-106. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Carr, E.H. *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. London: MacMillan Press, 1946.
- . *What is History?* London: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Chan, Irene, and Mingjiang Li. "Going assertive? Chinese foreign policy under the new leadership." In *China Entering the Xi Jinping Era*, edited by Zheng Yongnian and Lance L.P. Gore, 257-269. London: Taylor and Francis, 2014.
- Chang Liao, Nien-Chung. "The sources of China's assertiveness: the system, domestic politics or leadership preferences." *International Affairs* 92, no. 4 (2016): 817-833.
- Chen, Dingding, and Xiaoyu Pu, and Alastair Iain Johnston. "Correspondence: Debating China's Assertiveness." *International Security* 38, no. 3 (Winter 2013/2014): 176-180.

- Chen, Ling, and Barry Naughton. "A Dynamic China Model: The Co-Evolution of Economics and Politics in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, no. 103 (2017): 18-34.
- Chen Weiss, Jessica. *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University press, 2014.
- . "How Hawkish Is The Chinese Public? Another Look at 'Rising Nationalism' and Chinese Foreign Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 119 (2017): 679-695.
- Chen, Xi. "State-Generated Data and Contentious Politics in China." In *Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies*, edited by Allen Carlson, Mary E. Gallagher, Kenneth Lieberthal, and Melanie Manion, 15-32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Cheng, Joseph Yu-Shek, and Franklin Wankun Zhang. "Chinese Foreign Relations Strategies Under Mao and Deng: A Systematic and Comparative Analysis." *Philippine Journal of Third World Studies* 14, no. 3 (1999): 91-114.
- Chiang, Kai-shek, notes and commentary by Philip J. Jaffe, *China's Destiny & Chinese Economic Theory*. New York: Roy Publishers, 1947.
- Christensen, Thomas J. *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Christensen, Thomas J., Alastair Iain Johnston, and Robert S. Ross. "Conclusions and Future Directions." In *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, edited by Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, 379-420. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Christensen, Thomas J. "The Advantages of an Assertive China: Responding to Beijing's Abrasive Diplomacy." *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 2011), 54-67.
- Chubb, Andrew. "Assessing public opinion's influence on foreign policy: the case of China's assertive maritime behavior." *Asian Security* 15, no. 2 (2018): 159-179.
- . "PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970-2015." *International Security* 45, no. 3 (Winter 2020/2021): 79-121.
- Cohen, Warren I. *East Asia at the Center: Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Collier, David, and James Mahoney. "Insights and Pitfalls: Selection Bias in Qualitative Research." *World Politics* 49, no. 1 (Oct. 1996): 56-91.
- Copeland, Dale C. "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism." *International Security* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 187-212.
- . *The Origins of Major War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Coser, Lewis A. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.
- Cox, Robert W. "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10, no. 2 (1981): 126-155.
- Creemers, Rogier. "Cyber China: Upgrading Propaganda, Public Opinion Work and Social Management for the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, no. 103 (2016): 85-100.
- . "The Pivot in Chinese Cybergovernance: Integrating Internet Control in Xi Jinping's China," *China Perspectives* 4 (2015): 5-13.

- Creveld, Martin van. *Technology and War: From 2000 B.C. to the Present*. New York: The Free Press, 1991 (eBook).
- Cui, Zhiyuan. *di er ci sixiang jiefang yu zhidu chuangxin* [The second liberation of thought and institutional innovation]. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Deng, Xiaoping. *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 2. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984.
- . *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1994.
- Desch, Michael C. “Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies.” *International Security* 23, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 141-170.
- Deutsch, Karl W., and J. David Singer. “Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability.” *World Politics* 16, no. 3 (Apr. 1964): 390-406.
- Dickson, Bruce J. *The Dictator’s Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party’s Strategy for Survival*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Dillon, Michael. “China’s Rulers: The Fifth Generation Take Power (2012-2013).” In *China and the EU in Context: Insights for Business and Investors*, edited by Kerry Brown, 142-177. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Dittmer, Lowell. “Modernizing Chinese Informal Politics.” In *The Nature of Chinese Politics: From Mao to Jiang*, edited by Jonathan Unger, 3-37. London: Routledge, 2002.
- . “Chinese Factional Politics Under Jiang Zemin.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 3, no. 1 (Jan.-Apr. 2003): 97-128.
- Dombernowsky, Laura. “Training Responsible Journalists in China: Guiding Domestic Opinion, Gaining Foreign Audiences.” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 45, no. 3 (2016): 175-200.
- Doshi, Rush. *The Long Game: China’s Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.
- Dreyer, June Teufel. “The ‘Tianxia Trope’: will China change the international system?” *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, no. 96 (2015): 1015-1031.
- Dueck, Colin. *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Dunne, Tim, and Brian C. Schmidt. “Realism.” In *The Globalization of World Politics*, edited by John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, 84-99. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Eastman, Lloyd E. “Nationalist China during the Nanking Decade.” In *The Cambridge History of China: Republican China 1912-1949*, vol. 13, part 2, edited by John K. Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker, 116-167. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Economy, Elizabeth C. “China’s Imperial President. Xi Jinping Tightens His Grip.” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 2014): 80-91.
- Economy, Elizabeth C. and Michael Levi, *By All Means Necessary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Economy, Elizabeth C. *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the Chinese State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

- Edin, Maria. "State Capacity and Local Agent Control in China: CCP Cadre Management From a Township Perspective," *China Quarterly* 173 (Mar. 2003): 35-52.
- Kingsley Edney. *The Globalization of Chinese Propaganda: International Power and Domestic Cohesion*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Evera, Stephen Van. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," *International Security* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1994): 5-39.
- . *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- . *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Everts, Philip, and Pierangelo Isernia, *Public Opinion, Transatlantic Relations and the Use of Force*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.
- Fairbank, John King, ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- . *The United States and China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- . "Introduction: the old order." In *The Cambridge History of China: Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, vol. 10 part 1, edited by John K. Fairbank, 1-34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Fairbank, John King, and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Farrar, L.L. *The Short War Illusion: German Policy, Strategy, and Domestic Affairs August-December 1914*. Santa Barbara: American Bibliographical Center-Clio, 1973.
- Fearon, James D. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review*, 88, no. 3 (Sept. 1994): 577-592.
- Fenby, Jonathan. *History of Modern China: The Fall and Rise of a Great Power*. London: Penguin Books, 2009.
- Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. New York: Penguin Group, 2004.
- Ferguson, Niall, and Moritz Schularick. "'Chimerica' and the Global Market Asset Boom." *International Finance* 10, no. 3 (2007): 215-239.
- Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization: The West and the Rest*. New York: Penguin Books, 2012.
- Fewsmith, Joseph, and Stanley Rosen. "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does 'Public Opinion' Matter?" In *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, edited by David M. Lampton, 151-190. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. *China since Tiananmen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Frankenstein, John. "China's Defense Industries: A New Course?" In *The People's Liberation Army in the Information Age*, edited by James C. Mulvenon and Richard H. Yang, 187-216. Santa Monica: RAND, 1999.
- Freedman, David A. "On Types of Social Enquiry: the Role of Qualitative Reasoning." In *Oxford Handbook on Political Methodology*, edited by Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Henry E. Brady, and David Collier, 300-318. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- Freedman, Lawrence. *Strategy: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1985-1905*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- . “The future of U.S.-China Relations: Is conflict inevitable?” *International Security* 30, no. 2 (Autumn 2005): 7-45.
- . “The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Explaining Beijing’s Assertiveness.” *Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 133-150.
- . “An Answer to Aggression: How to Push Back Against Beijing.” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 2020): 150-164.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Avon Books, 1992.
- Gallie, W.B. “Essentially contested concepts.” *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, New Series 56 (1955-1956): 167-198.
- Gan, Yang. “*xin shidai de ‘tong san tong’: zhongguo sanzong chuantong de ronghui*” [Unifying the ‘three traditions’ in the new era: the merging of three Chinese traditions] in *tong san tong* [Unifying the three traditions]. *beijing: sanlian shudian*, 2007.
- Ge, Zhaoguang. *he wei zhongguo? jiangyu, minzu, wenhua yu lishi* [What is China? Territory, ethnicity, culture, and history]. *niujin: niujin daxue*, 2014.
- George, Alexander L. *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1993.
- Gerring, John, and Joshua Yesnowitz. “A Normative Turn in Political Science?” *Polity* 38 (2006): 101-133.
- Gill, Rosalind. “Discourse Analysis.” In *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook*, edited by Martin W. Bauer and George Gaskell. London: SAGE Publications, 2000.
- Gilpin, Robert. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Glaser, Charles L. “The Security Dilemma Revisited.” *World Politics* 50, no. 1 (Oct. 1997): 171-201.
- . “Will China’s Rise Lead to War? Why Realism Does Not Mean Pessimism.” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 2011): 80-91.
- Goldstein, Judith, and Robert O. Keohane. “Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework.” In *Ideas & Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, edited by Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, 3-30. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Goldstein, Lyle J., *Meeting Each Other Half Way: How to Defuse the Emerging US-China rivalry*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2015.
- Goldstone, Jack. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Graaff, Naná De, and Bastiaan Van Apeldoorn. “US-China and the liberal world order: contending elites, colliding visions?” *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (2018): 113-131.
- Grant, David, and Cynthia Hardy, Cliff Oswick, and Linda L. Putnam. “Introduction: Organizational Discourse: Exploring the Field.” In *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Discourse*, edited by David Grant, Cynthia Hardy, Cliff Oswick, and Linda L. Putnam, 1-36. London: Sage Publications, 2004.

- Gries, Peter Hays. "Identity and Conflict in Sino-American Relations." In *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, edited by Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, 309-339. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Gries, Peter, and Paton Pak Chun Yam, "Ideology and international relations." *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* 34 (Aug. 2020), 135-141.
- Hagan, Joe D. "Does Decision Making Matter? Systemic Assumptions vs. Historical Reality in International Relations Theory." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 5-46.
- Hagström, Linus. "'Power Shift' in East Asia? A Critical Reappraisal of Narratives on the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands Incident in 2010." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): 267-297.
- Hall, Todd H. *Emotional Diplomacy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Halperin, Morton H., Priscilla A. Clapp, with Arnold Kanter. *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2006.
- Han, Rongbin. "Manufacturing Consent in Cyberspace: China's 'Fifty-cent Army.'" *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 44, no. 2 (2015): 105-134.
- Hayton, Bill. *The Invention of China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.
- Hedström, Peter, and Richard Swedberg. "Social mechanisms: An introductory essay." In *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*, edited by Peter Hedström and Richard Swedberg, 1-31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Heilmann, Sebastian, Lea Shih, and Sandra Heep. "The Chinese Communist Party and State Institutions." In *China's Political System*, edited by Sebastian Heilmann, 46-152. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.
- Hermann, Charles F., Janice Gross Stein, Bengt Sundelius, and Stephen G. Walker, "Revolve, Accept, or Avoid: Effects of Group Conflict on Foreign Policy Decisions." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 2 (May 2003): 133-168
- Hermann, Margaret G., and Joe D. Hagan. "International Decision Making: Leadership Matters." *Foreign Policy* 110 (1998): 124-137.
- Hermann, Margaret G. "How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Framework." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 2 (2001): 47-81.
- Hermann, Margeret G., Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, and Timothy M. Shaw. "Who Leads Matters: The Effect of Powerful Individuals." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 83-131.
- Hevia, James L. "Tribute, Asymmetry, and Imperial Formations: Rethinking Relations of Power in East Asia." *Journal of America-East Asian Relations* 16, no. 1-2 (2009): 69-83.
- Hevia, James. *The Imperial Security State: British Colonial Knowledge and Empire-Building in East Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hill, Christopher. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Ho, Benjamin. "Understanding Chinese Exceptionalism: China's Rise, Its Goodness, and Greatness." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 39, no. 3 (2014): 164-176.
- Hopf, Ted. "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory." *International Security* 23, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 171-200.

- Howard, Christopher. *Thinking Like a Political Scientist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.
- Howard, Michael. *The First World War: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Hu, Angang. *zhongguo jiti lingdao hu angang tizhi [Chinese collective leadership system]*. Beijing: Renmin University of China Press, 2013.
- Hudson, Valerie. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." In *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1, no. 1 (Feb. 2005): 1-30.
- Hughes, Christopher R. "Reclassifying Chinese Nationalism: the geopolitik turn." *Journal of Contemporary China* 20, no. 71 (2011): 601-620.
- Ikenberry, G. John. "Liberal Hegemony and the Future of American Post-war Order." In *International Order and the Future of World Politics*, edited by T.V. Paul and John A. Hall, 123-145. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- . "American Hegemony and East Asian Order." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 58, no. 3 (Sept. 2004): 353-367.
- . "The Rise of China and the Future of the West." *Foreign Affairs*, Jan.-Feb. 2008, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2008-01-01/rise-china-and-future-west>
- Jakobson, Linda, and Ryan Manuel. "How are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China?" *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 101-110.
- Jakobson, Linda, and Dean Knox. "New Foreign Policy Actors in China." *SIPRI*, Policy Paper 26 (Sept. 2010), <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/files/PP/SIPRIPP26.pdf>
- Jepperson, Ronald L., Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein. "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security." In *The Culture of National Security*, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein, 33-78. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Jerdén, Björn. "The Assertive China Narrative: Why It Is Wrong and How So Many Still Bought Into It." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 47-88.
- Jerdén, Björn, Tim Rühlig, John Seaman, and Richard Q. Turcsányi. "Chinese Public Diplomacy and European Public Opinion During COVID-19." *China Review* 21, no. 2 (May 2021): 5-33.
- Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- . "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (1978): 167-214.
- . "Hans Morgenthau, Realism, and the Scientific Study of International Politics," *Social Research* 61, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 853-876.
- . *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Jiang, Ying. *Cyber-Nationalism in China: Challenging Western Media Portrayals of Internet Censorship in China*. Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2012.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "How New and Assertive is China's New Assertiveness?" *International Security* 37, no. 4 (Spring 2013): 7-48.
- . "Is Chinese Nationalism Rising? Evidence from Beijing." *International Security* 41, no. 3 (Winter 2016/2017): 7-43.

- Jowett, Garth S., and Victoria O'Donnell. *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2018.
- Kan, Karita. "Whither *Weiwen*?" *China Perspectives* 93, no. 1 (2013): 87-93.
- Kang, David C. *East Asia Before The West*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Kaplan, Robert D. "A New Cold War Has Begun." *Foreign Policy*, January 7, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/07/a-new-cold-war-has-begun/>
- Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. New York: Random House, 1981.
- Keohane, Robert O. *International Institution and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.
- . "Hegemony and After." *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 4 (July-Aug. 2012): 114-118.
- Kerr, David, ed. *China's Many Dreams: Comparative Perspectives on China's Search for National Rejuvenation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Kier, Elizabeth. *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine Between the Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Kim, Samuel S. "New Directions and Old Puzzles in Chinese Foreign Policy." In *China and the World: New Directions in Chinese Foreign Relations*, edited by Samuel Kim, 3-30. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Action." *American Political Science Review*, 107, no. 2 (2013): 1-18.
- . "Reverse-engineering censorship in China: Randomized experimentation and participant observation." *Science* 345, no. 6199 (2014): 1-10.
- . "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument," *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 3 (2017): 484-501.
- Kissinger, Henry. *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812-1822*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957.
- . *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991.
- . *On China*. New York: Penguin Books, 2012.
- . *World Order*. New York: Penguin, 2014.
- Kitchen, Nicholas, "Systemic pressures and domestic ideas: a neoclassical realist model of grand strategy formation." *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 1 (Jan. 2010): 117-143.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich. "Constructivism: what it is (not), and how it matters." In *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by Donatella Della Porta and Michael Keating, 80-98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Ku, Charlotte. "Abolition of China's Unequal Treaties and the Search for Regional Stability in Asia: 1919-1943." *Chinese (Taiwan) Yearbook of International Law and Affairs* 67 (1994): 67-86.
- Kupchan, Charles. *Vulnerability of Empire*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

- Kurowska, Xymena and Berit Bliesemann de Guevara. "Interpretive Approaches in Political Science and International Relations." In Luigi Curini and Robert Franzese, *The SAGA Handbook of Research Methods in Political Science and International Relations*, 1211-1230. London: SAGE Publications, 2020.
- Landry, Pierre F. *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party's Control of Local Elites in the Post-Mao Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Lam, Willy Wo-Lap. *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era: New Leaders, New Challenges*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp, 2006.
- . "The Traits and Political Orientation of China's Fifth-generation Leadership." In *Challenges and Policy Programmes of China's New Leadership*, edited by Joseph Y.S. Cheng, 35-62. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007.
- . *Chinese Politics in the Era of Xi Jinping: Renaissance, Reform, or Retrogression*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Lampton, David M. "A plum for a Peach: Bargaining, Interest, and Bureaucratic Politics in China." In *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision Making in Post-Mao China*, edited by Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton, 33-58. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- . "China's Foreign and National Security Policy-Making Process: Is It Changing, and Does It Matter?" in *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, edited by David M. Lampton, 1-38. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- . *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- . *Following the Leader*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.
- . "Xi Jinping and the National Security Commission: policy coordination and political power." *Journal of Contemporary China* 95, no. 24 (2015): 759-777.
- Lamy, Steven L. "Contemporary mainstream approaches: neo-realism and neo-liberalism." In *The Globalization of World Politics*, edited by John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, 114-129. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Layne, Christopher. *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- . "The Waning of U.S. Hegemony—Myth or Reality? A Review Essay." *International Security* 34, no. 1 (Summer 2009): 147-172.
- . "Preventing the China-U.S. Cold War from Turning Hot." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 13, no. 3 (Autumn 2020): 343-385.
- Lebow, Richard Ned. *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.
- Lee, Sankuk. "China's 'Three Warfares': Origins, Applications, and Organizations." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 37, no. 2 (2014): 198-221.
- Legro, Jeffrey. *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Leibold, James. *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism: How the Qing Frontier and its Indigenes Became Chinese*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.

- Leng, Rong, and Wang Zuoling, *Deng Xiaoping nianpu, 1975-1997* [Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping's life, 1975-1997]. Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe, 2004.
- Levy, Jack S. "The Diversionary Theory of War: A Critique." In *Handbook of War Studies*, edited by Manus I. Midlarsky, 259-288. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- . "Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China." In *China's Ascent: Power, Security and the Future of International Politics*, edited by Robert Ross and Zhu Feng, 11-33. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- . "Counterfactuals, Causal Inference, and Historical Analysis." *Security Studies* 24, no. 3 (2015): 378-402.
- Li, Cheng. *China's Leaders: The New Generation*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- . "China's Fifth Generation: Is Diversity a Source of Strength or Weakness?" *Asia Policy*, no.6 (July 2008): 53-93.
- . "Rule of the Princes." *Cairo Review of Global Affairs* 8 (2013): 34-47.
- . *Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era: Reassessing Collective Leadership*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2016.
- Li, Mingjiang. *Mao's China and the Sino-Soviet Split: Ideological Dilemma*. Abington: Routledge, 2012.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth G., and Michael Oksenberg. *Policy Making in China: Leaders, Structures, and Processes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth G. "Introduction: The 'Fragmented Authoritarianism' Model and Its Limitations." In *Bureaucracy, Politics and Decision Making in Post-Mao China*, edited by Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton, 1-32. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- . *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004.
- . *Managing the China Challenge: How to Achieve Corporate Success in the People's Republic*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013.
- Little, Daniel. *Varieties of Social Explanation*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.
- Liu, Feng. "The recalibration of Chinese assertiveness: China's responses to the Indo-Pacific challenge." *International Affairs* 96, no. 1 (2020): 9-27.
- Liu, Jianfei, "zhongguo minzhu zhengzhi jianshe yu zhong mei guanxi" [China's democratic political construction and China-US relations], *zhanlüe yu guanli* [Strategy and Management], February 28, 2003, https://www.guancha.cn/LiuJianFei/2003_02_28_128730.shtml
- Low, Alfred D. *The Sino-Soviet Dispute: An Analysis of the Polemics*. Associated University Presses, 1976.
- Lu, Ning, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decision-Making in China*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.
- Lu, Ning, "The Central Leadership, Supraministry Coordinating Bodies, State Council Ministries, and Party Departments." In *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, edited by David M. Lampton, 39-60. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Ma, Xiao. "Term limits and authoritarian power sharing: theory and evidence from China." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 16, no. 1 (Mar. 2016): 61-85.

- Macfarquhar, Roderick and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Maddison, Angus. *Contours of the World Economy, 1-2030 AD: Essays in Macro-Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Mahoney, James, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. "Comparative Historical Analysis." In *Comparative Historical Analysis*, edited by Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 3-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Fate of Nations: The Search for National Security in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . *The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World's Government in the 21st Century*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2005.
- Mao Tse-Tung. *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, vol. 1. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965.
- . *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, vol. 3. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965.
- . *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, vol. 4. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965.
- . *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. 5. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1977.
- . *A Critique of Soviet Economics*, translated by Moss Roberts and annotated by Richard Levy. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977.
- . *Mao Tse-tung On Guerrilla Warfare*. Champaign, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- . *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1966.
- Marin, Alexandra, and Barry Wellman. "Social Network Analysis: An Introduction." In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, edited by John Scott and Peter J. Carington. London: SAGE Publications, 2011.
- Mayer, Maximilian. "China's historical statecraft and the return of history." *International Affairs* 94, no. 6 (2018): 1217-1235.
- McGregor, Richard. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. London: Penguin Books, 2012.
- Mead, Walter Russell. "The Return of Geopolitics." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 3 (May-June 2014): 69-79.
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001.
- . "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 381-396.
- . *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018.
- . "Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the International Liberal Order." *International Security* 43, no. 4 (Spring 2019): 7-50.
- . "The Inevitable Rivalry: America, China, and the Tragedy of Great-Power Politics." *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 2021): 48-59.
- Meibauer, Gustav, *Doing Something: Neoclassical Realism, US Foreign Policy and the No-Fly Zone, 1991-2016*. London: PhD Diss., 2017 [unpublished].

- . “Interests, ideas, and the study of state behaviour in neoclassical realism.” *Review of International Studies* 46, no. 1 (Jan. 2020): 20-36.
- Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*. New York: The Free Press, 1999.
- Mertha, Andrew. “Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0: Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process.” *China Quarterly* 200 (Dec. 2009): 995-1012.
- Meyer, David A., Megha Ram, Laura Wilke. “Circulation of the elite in the Chinese Communist Party.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 16, no. 1 (Mar. 2016): 147-184.
- Meyer, David, Victor C. Shih, Jonghyuk Lee. “Factions of different Stripes: Gauging the recruitment logics of factions in the reform period.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 16, no. 1 (Mar. 2016): 43-60.
- Miller, Alice. “Overlapping Transitions in China's Leadership.” *SAIS Review* 16, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 21-42.
- . “The PLA in the Party Leadership Decision-making System.” In *PLA Influence on China's National Security Policymaking*, edited by Phillip C. Saunders and Andrew Scobell, 58-83. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Minzner, Carl. *End of An Era: How China's Authoritarian Revival is Undermining Its Rise*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Mitter, Rana. *China's war with Japan 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival*. London: Allen Lane, 2013.
- Morgan, Patrick M. *Deterrence. A conceptual Analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.
- Mühlhahn, Klaus. *Making China Modern: From the Great Qing to Xi Jinping*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2019.
- Nathan, Andrew J. “A Factionalism Model for CCP Politics.” *China Quarterly* 53 (Mar. 1973): 34-66.
- Nathan, Andrew J. and Perry Link, *The Tiananmen Papers: The Chinese Leadership's decision to use force against their own people – in their own words*. London: Abacus, 2002.
- Nathan, Andrew J., and Bruce Gilley. *China's New Rulers: The Secret Files*. New York: New York Review of Books, 2003.
- Nathan, Andrew J. “China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience.” *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 6-17.
- Nathan, Andrew J., and Andrew Scobell. *China's Search for Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Naughton, Barry. *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
- Nye, Joseph S. “Will The Liberal Order Survive: The History of an Idea.” *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 10 (Jan.-Feb. 2017): 10-16.
- Onea, Tudor. “Putting the ‘Classical’ in Neoclassical Realism: Neoclassical Realist Theories and US Expansion in the Post-Cold War.” *International Relations* 26, no. 2 (2012): 139-164.

- . *US Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era: Restraint versus Assertiveness from George H.W. Bush to Barack Obama*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Organski, A.F.K. *World Politics*. New York: Knopf, 1958.
- . “Power Transition.” In *Realism Reader*, edited by Colin Elman and Michael A. Jensen, 207-210. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.
- Ortmann, Stephan, and Mark R. Thompson. “China’s obsession with Singapore: learning authoritarian modernity.” *Pacific Review* 27, no. 3 (2014): 433-455.
- Owen, John M. “How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace.” *International Security* 19, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 87-125.
- Pan, Wei. “‘daguo jueqi’: wudao juece ceng he minzhong de chengong shangye yunzuo” [‘The rise of great powers’: a successful business operation that misleads policymakers and the people], *ai sixiang* [Love Thought], December 28, 2006, <https://www.aisixiang.com/data/12434.html>
- Pape, Robert A. *Bombing to Win; Air Power and Coercion in War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Paulson, Henry M. *Dealing with China: An Insider Unmasks the New Economic Superpower*. New York: Twelve, 2015.
- Payette, Alex. “Profiling Future Chinese Politburo Members: Looking at Trends and Characteristics of Newly Promoted Central Committee Members (1992-2012),” *East Asia* 34, no. 1 (2017): 1-21.
- Pei, Minxin. “How China and America See Each Other.” *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 2014): 143-147.
- Pempel, T.J. “More Pax, Less Americana in Asia.” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 10, no. 3 (Sept. 2010): 465-490.
- Perdue, Peter C. “The Tenacious Tributary System.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, no. 96 (2015): 1002-1014.
- Pieke, Frank N. *The Good Communist: Elite Training and State Building in Today’s China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- . *Knowing China: A Twenty-First Century Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Pines, Yuri. *The Everlasting Empire: The Political Culture of Ancient China and its Imperial Legacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Pinker, Steven. *Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism, and Progress*. New York: Viking, 2018.
- Giulio Pugliese and Aurelio Insisa. *Sino-Japanese Power Politics: Might, Money, and Minds*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Pye, Lucian W. *The Mandarin and the Cadre: China’s Political Cultures*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988.
- Qian, Qichen. *Ten Episodes in China’s Diplomacy*. New York: Harper Collins, 2005.
- Qiang, Xiao. “The Rise of Online Public Opinion and Its Political Impact.” In *Changing Media, Changing China*, edited by Susan L. Shirk. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

- Qin, Yaqing. "Why is there no Chinese International Relations Theory?" *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7, no. 3 (Sept. 2007): 313-340.
- Reilly, James. "A Wave to Worry About? Public Opinion, Foreign Policy and China's Anti-Japan Protests." *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, no. 86 (2013): 197-215.
- Ren, Xiao, "Toward a Chinese School of International Relations." In *China and the New International Order*, edited by Wang Gungwu and Zheng Yongnian, 293-309. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Ripsman, Norrin M., Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell. *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies." *World Politics* 43, no. 4 (July 1991): 479-512.
- Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (Oct. 1998): 144-172.
- Rowe, William T. *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Rozman, Gilbert. "China's changing images of Japan, 1989-2001: the struggle to balance partnership and rivalry." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 2, no. 1 (2002): 95-129.
- Saich, Tony. *Governance and Politics of China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Saunders, "China's Role in Asia." In *International Relations of Asia*, edited by David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda, 127-149. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.
- Saunders, Phillip C., and Andrew Scobell. "Introduction: PLA Influence on China's National Security Policymaking." In *PLA Influence on China's National Security Policymaking*, edited by Phillip C. Saunders and Andrew Scobell, 1-32. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Schell, Orville, and John Delury. *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Random House, 2014.
- Schelling, Thomas C. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Schneider, Florian. *China's Digital Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Schwartz-Shea, Peregrine, and Dvora Yanow. *Interpretive Research Design: Concepts and Processes*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Schweller, Randall L. *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- . "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing." *International Security* 29, no. 2 (2004): 159-201.
- . "China's Aspirations and the Clash of Nationalisms in East Asia: A Neoclassical Realist Examination." *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies* 23, no. 2 (2014): 1-40.
- Scobell, Andrew, and Scott W. Harold. "An "Assertive" China? Insights from Interviews." *Asian Security* 9, no. 2 (2013): 111-131.
- Scott, David. *China Stands Up: The PRC and the international system*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.

- Selznick, Philip. *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*. New Orleans: Quid Pro Books, 2014.
- Shambaugh, David. "China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy." *China Journal* 57 (Jan. 2007): 25-58.
- . *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*. Ewing: University of California Press, 2008.
- . "Coping With a Conflicted China." *Washington Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 7-27.
- . *China's Future*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016 (eBook).
- Shen, Simon, and Shaun Breslin. "When China Plugged In: Structural Origins of Online Chinese Activism." In *Online Nationalism and Chinese Bilateral Relations*, edited by Simon Shen and Shaun Breslin, 3-12. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010.
- Shi, Yinhong. "911 shijian dui meiguo waijiao zhengce de yingxiang ji zhongguo mianlin de jiyu yu tiaozhan" [The impact of 9/11 on US foreign policy and the opportunities and challenges facing China], *ai sixiang* [Love Thought], October 8, 2001, <https://m.aisixiang.com/data/2003.html>
- Shih, Victor C. *Factions and Finance in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Shih, Victor, Christopher Adolph, and Mingxing Liu. "Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 1 (Feb. 2012): 166-187.
- Shirk, Susan. "The Politics of Industrial Reform." In *The Political Economy of Reform in Post-Mao China*, eds. Elizabeth J. Perry and Christine Wong, 193-221. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- . *China: Fragile Superpower*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Snyder, Glenn H. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics." *World Politics* 36, no. 4 (July 1984): 461-495.
- Snyder, Jack. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Song, Xinning, "Building International Relations Theory with Chinese Characteristics." *Journal of Contemporary China* 10, no. 26 (2001): 61-74.
- Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990.
- Stanley, Jason. *How Propaganda Works*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Sterling-Folker, Jennifer. "Neoclassical realism and identity: peril despite profit across the Taiwan Strait." In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, edited by Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, 99-138. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Stevens, Friso M.S. "The Great War Analogy and the Sino-American Security Dilemma: Fallacious or Foreboding?" *Asian Perspective* 44, no. 4 (Fall 2020): 677-699.
- . "China's Long March to National Rejuvenation: Toward a Neo-Imperial Order?" *Asian Security* 17, no. 1 (2021): 46-63.

- Stockmann, Daniela. "Responsive Authoritarianism in Chinese Media." In *China's Challenges*, edited by Jacques deLisle and Avery Goldstein, 139-156. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Strauss, Julia C. "The Evolution of Republican Government." *China Quarterly* 150 (June 1997): 329-351.
- Taliaferro, Jeffrey W. "State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource-Extractive State." *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (July-Sept. 2006): 464-495.
- Taliaferro, Jeffrey W., Steven E. Lobell, and Norrin M. Ripsman. "Introduction: Neoclassical realism, the state, and foreign policy." In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, edited by Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, 1-41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Tang, Yongsheng, "zhongguo guoji juese fenxi" [Analysis of China's international role], *xiandai guoji guanxi* [Modern International Relations] 1 (2007), <http://rdbk1.ynlib.cn:6251/Qk/Paper/337147#anchorList>
- Tannenwald, Nina. "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-use." *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 433-468.
- Teiwes, Frederick C. "Normal Politics with Chinese Characteristics." In *The Nature of Chinese Politics: From Mao to Jiang*, edited by Jonathan Unger, 239-257. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Teufel Dreyer, June. "The 'Tianxia Trope': will China change the international system?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, no. 96 (2015): 1015-1031.
- Thies, Cameron H. "A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations." *International Studies Perspectives* 3 (2002): 351-372.
- Tong, James W. *Revenge of the Forbidden City: The Suppression of the Falungong in China, 1999-2005*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. *History and Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- . *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Trubowitz, Peter. *Politics and Strategy: Partisan Ambition and American Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Tsai, Wen-Hsuan. "How 'Networked Authoritarianism' was Operationalized in China: methods and procedures of public opinion control." *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 101 (2019): 731-744.
- Tsou, Tang. "Prolegomenon to the Study of Informal Groups in CCP Politics." *China Quarterly* 65 (Mar. 1976): 98-114.
- Turchin, Peter. *War and Peace and War: The Rise and Fall of Empires*. New York: Plume by Penguin Group, 2007.
- Vasquez, John A. *The War Puzzle Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ven, Hans J. van de. "The Emergence of the Text-Centered Party," in *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution*, eds. Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven, 5-32. London: Routledge, 1995.
- . *War and Nationalism in China: 1925-1945*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

- Vogel, Ezra F. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Walder, Andrew G. *China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Waley-Cohen, Joanna. *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2006.
- Walker, Stephen G., Marc Schafer, and Michael D. Young. "Profiling the Operational Codes of Political Leaders." In *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, edited by Jerrold M. Post., 215-245. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- . "The Enduring Relevance of the Realist Tradition." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- . *Theory of International Politics*. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979.
- . "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory." *Journal of International Affairs* 40, no. 1 (Apr. 1990): 21-37.
- Wang, Dong, and Chengzhi Yin. "Mainland China Debates U.S. Pivot/Rebalancing to Asia." *Issues & Studies*, 50, no. 3 (Sept. 2014): 57-101.
- Wang, Dong, and Friso M.S. Stevens. "Why is There No Northeast Asian Security Architecture? – Assessing the strategic impediments to a stable East Asia," *Pacific Review* 34, no. 4 (2021): 577-604.
- Wang, Hui, "dangdai zhongguo de sixiang zhuangkuang yu xiandai xing wenti" [Contemporary China's ideological status and the issues of modernity], *Tianya* [Frontiers] 5 (1997).
- Wang Huning, "xiandaihua jincheng zhong zhengzhi lingdao fangshi fenxi" [An analysis of political leadership in the process of modernization], *fudan xuebao* [Fudan Journal] 2 (1988).
- . "wenhua kuozhang yu wenhua zhuquan: dui zhuquan guannian de tiaozhan" [Cultural expansion and cultural sovereignty: A challenge to the concept of sovereignty], *fudan xuebao* [Fudan Journal] 3 (1994).
- Wang, Jiangli and Barry Buzan. "The English and Chinese Schools of International Relations: Comparisons and Lessons," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 1-46.
- Wang, Jisi. "International Relations Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: A Chinese Perspective." In *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, edited by Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh, 481-505. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- . "China's Search for a Grand Strategy." *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 2011): 68-79.
- Wang Shaoguang, "The rise of the regions: fiscal reform and the decline of central state capacity in China." In *The Waning of the Communist State: Economic Origins of Political Decline in China and Hungary*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Wang, Zheng, "National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China." *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (Dec. 2008): 783-806.

- . *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*. Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Wæver, Ole. "Insecurity, security, and asecurity in the West European non-war community." In *Security Communities*, edited by Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, 69-118. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Weatherley, Robert, and Qiang Zhang. *History and Nationalist Legitimacy in Contemporary China: A Double-Edged Sword*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947.
- . *The Methodology of Social Sciences*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949.
- Weldes, Jutta. "Constructing National Interests." *European Journal of International Relations* 2, no. 3 (1996): 275-318.
- Wells, Audrey. *The Political Thought of Sun Yat-sen: Development and Impact*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 391-425.
- . "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 71-81.
- . *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- . *Restless Empire: China and the World Since 1750*. London: Vintage Books, 2013.
- Wheeler, Nicholas J. *Trusting Enemies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- White, Hugh. *The China Choice: Why We Should Share Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Whiting, Allen S. *China Crosses the Yalu: The Decision to Enter the Korean War*. New York: Macmillan, 1960.
- . "Assertive Nationalism in Chinese Foreign Policy." *Asian Survey* 23, no. 8 (Aug. 1983): 913-933.
- Wight, Martin. *Systems of State*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977.
- . *International Theory: The Three Traditions*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992.
- Wight, Colin. "State agency: social action without human activity?" *Review of International Studies* 30, no. 2 (Apr. 2004): 269-280.
- Wohlforth, William Curti. *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- . "Realism and the End of the Cold War." *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/1995), 91-129.
- Wolfers, Arnold. *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962.

- Wuthnow, Joel, Xin Li, and Lingling Qi. "Diverse Multilateralism: Four Strategies in China's Multilateral Diplomacy." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 17, no. 3 (2012): 269-290.
- Xi, Jinping. *The Governance of China*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2014.
- . *The Governance of China II*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2017.
- Xiong, Guangkai. "China's diplomatic strategy: Implication and translation of *Tao Guang Yang Hui*." Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, *Foreign Affairs Journal* 98 (Winter 2010).
- Xu, Ben. "Postmodern-Postcolonial Criticism and Pro-Democracy Enlightenment." *Modern China* 27, no. 1 (Jan. 2001): 117-147.
- Yahuda, Michael. "China's New Assertiveness in the South China Sea." *Journal of Contemporary China* 22, no. 81 (2013): 446-459.
- Yan, Xuotong, Qin Yaqing, Ni Lexiong, Li Qiang, and Zhang Wenmu, "'*daguo de jueqi yu zhongguo de xuanze' bitan*" [Written discussion on 'the rise of great powers and China's choices'], *zhongguo shehui kexue* [Social Sciences in China] 5 (2004), http://www.tuiir.tsinghua.edu.cn/_local/3/46/81/D5F0FF36AE80D9DAB4979CBC43F_A C223980_744DD.pdf?e=.pdf
- Yan, Xuotong. *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, edited by Daniel A. Bell and Sun Zhe. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- . "From Keeping a Low Profile to Striving for Achievement." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 153-184.
- Yang, Yi, "*zhanlue jiyu qi de zhongguo guojia anquan*" [China's national security during the period of strategic opportunity], *jiaoxue yu yanjiu* [Teaching and Research] 4 (2006), <https://www.aisixiang.com/data/9900.html>
- Yao, Yang, "The Disinterested Government: An Interpretation of China's Economic Success in the Reform Era," *UNI-WIDER*, Research Paper, no. 2009.33, May 2009, <https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/RP2009-33.pdf>
- Ye, Zicheng, *daguo dazhanlue: zhongguo chengwei shijie daguo de zhuyao wenti ji zhanlue xuanze* [China's grand strategy: Important issues and strategic choices for China in becoming a greatpower in the world]. Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2003.
- Yeo, Andrew. "China's rising assertiveness and the decline in the East Asian regionalism narrative." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 20, no. 3 (2020): 445-475.
- Yu, Sui. "*xin shiqi de guoji jushi he zhongguo de waijiao zhanlüe*" [The international situation in the New Era and China's diplomatic strategy], *lilun qianyan* [Theoretical Frontier] 12, (2002), <http://rdbk1.ynlib.cn:6251/Qk/Paper/189110#anchorList>
- Zagare, Frank C. "Game Theory." In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Paul D. Williams, 48-62. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Zakaria, Fareed. *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- . *The Post-American World: And the Rise of the Rest*. New York: Penguin, 2011.
- Zanasi, Margherita. *Saving the Nation: Economic Modernity in Republican China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

- Zhang, Baijia, “*gaibian ziji, yingxiang shijie: 20 shiji zhongguo waijiao jiben xiansuo chuyi*” [Change oneself, influence the world: A humble opinion on the basic threads of China’s diplomacy in the 20th century], *zhongguo shehui kexue* [Chinese Social Sciences] (2002), <http://rdbk1.ynlib.cn:6251/Qk/Paper/189032#anchorList>
- Zhang, Feng. “Rethinking the ‘Tribute System’: Broadening the Conceptual Horizon of Historical East Asian Politics.” *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 545-574.
- . “The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism in International Relations.” *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 2 (2011): 305-328.
- Zhang, Qingmin. “Toward an Integrated Theory of Chinese Foreign Policy: Bringing Personality Back In.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 33, no. 89 (2014): 1-21.
- . “Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy-making,” *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9, no. 4 (2016): 435-458.
- Zhang, Wenmu. “*quanqiu hua shiye zhong de zhongguo guojia anquan wenti*” [China’s national security issues in the perspective of globalization], *shijie jingji yu zhengzhi* [World Economy and Politics] (June 2002), <http://rdbk1.ynlib.cn:6251/qw/Paper/189057#anchorList>Zhang, Yiwu et al. “*chonggu ‘xiandaixing’*” [Reevaluating ‘modernity’], *Huanghe* [Yellow River] 4 (1994): 195-207.
- Zhang, Yongjin, and Barry Buzan, “The Tributary System as International Society in Theory and Practice.” *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 3-36.
- Zhao Dingxin. *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001.
- Zhao, Kejin. “China’s Rise and its Discursive Power Strategy.” *Chinese Political Science Review* 1 (2016): 539-564.
- Zhao, Suisheng, “Rethinking Chinese World Order: the imperial cycle and the rise of China.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 24 (96) (2015): 961-982.
- . “China’s Foreign Policy Making Process: Players and Institutions.” In *China and the World*, ed. David Shambaugh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 93.
- . “Rethinking the Chinese World Order: the imperial cycle and the rise of China.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, no. 96 (2015): 961-982.
- Zheng, Bijian. “China’s “Peaceful Rise” to Great-Power Status.” *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 2005): 18-24.
- Zheng, Yongnian, and Chen Gang. “Xi Jinping’s Rise and Political Implications.” *China: An International Journal* 7, no. 1 (Mar. 2009): 1-30.
- Zheng, Yongnian. *The Chinese Communist Party as Organizational Emperor: Culture, reproduction and transformation*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Zhu, Jiangnan, and Dong Zhang, “Weapons of the Powerful: Elite Competition and Politicized Anticorruption in China.” *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 9 (2017): 1186-1220.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Friso M.S. Stevens was born in 1985 in the Betuwe, the Netherlands. After majoring in economics and society during his pre-university (VWO) secondary education, Friso enrolled in a Bachelor's program in Dutch and European law at the Vrije Universiteit (VU) in Amsterdam in 2005. He then went on to pursue two master's degrees at the same institution: one program in international and criminal law and one interdisciplinary program in international security studies, obtaining them in 2013 and 2014 respectively. Half of the former program was completed at the Northwestern Pritzker School of Law in Chicago in 2010, where he specialized in the law of war, while in the course of the second he conducted foreign policy research at the VU's Political Science Department as well as at the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Washington, D.C. Next, Friso moved to Beijing to explore the Chinese side of the Sino-American security relationship he wrote his second graduate thesis on. From 2015 to 2017, Friso spent two years at Peking University's School of International Studies studying the intricacies of Chinese elite politics and the domestic drivers of Chinese foreign policy; his Beijing thesis on Chinese assertiveness would become the foundation of his Leiden doctoral dissertation. Among honors received was the generous support provided through the Sino-Dutch Bilateral Exchange Scholarship and Prince Bernhard Culture Fund Fellowship. Alongside the Ph.D. track he embarked on at the Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs in The Hague in 2017, Friso taught qualitative research courses at the VU from 2017 to 2020. Some of the work he completed during that time has been published in *The Pacific Review*, *Asian Security*, and *Asian Perspective*. From CSIS, where he was a Pacific Forum Young Leader, Friso made his way to The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies in 2020, where he is a Subject Matter Expert for China and East Asian affairs. In the fall of 2021, Friso commenced a postdoctoral program in Florence at the European University Institute as a Max Weber Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

