

## The construction of China's national interest: between top-down rule and societal ideas

Mokry, S.

## Citation

Mokry, S. (2023, November 14). *The construction of China's national interest: between top-down rule and societal ideas*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3656754

Version: Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3656754

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

## 9 Bibliography

- Aarstad, Asne Kalland. 2015. "Introduction: Societal Actors in European Foreign Policy." In *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*, eds. Knud Erik Jorgensen et al. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc., 389–97.
- Abb, Pascal. 2015. "China's Foreign Policy Think Tanks: Institutional Evolution and Changing Roles." *Journal of Contemporary China* 24(93): 531–53.
- Abb, Pascal, and Patrick Koellner. 2015. "Foreign Policy Think Tanks in China and Japan: Characteristics, Current Profile, and the Case of Collective Self-Defence." *International Journal* 70(4): 593–612.
- Anh, Hoang The. 2022. "The Relationship Between the CPC and Think-Tanks in Xi Jinping's New Era." Voluntas 58(3, SI): 283–99.
- Barbashin, Anton, and Alexander Graef. 2019. *Thinking Foreign Policy in Russia: Think Tanks and Grand Narratives Atlantic Council*. Atlantic Council. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/thinking-foreign-policy-in-russia-think-tanks-and-grand-narratives/ (December 20, 2021).
- Barras, Gordon, and Nigel Inkster. 2018. "Xi Jinping: The Strategist Behind the Dream." *Survival* 60(1): 41–68.
- Barris, Jen et al. 2021. American International Relations and Security Programs Focused on China: A Survey of the Field. New York: National Committee on U.S.-China Relations (NCUSCR) and Carnegie Corporation of New York. https://www.carnegie.org/publications/american-international-relations-and-security-programs-focused-china-survey-field/ (June 2, 2022).
- Barros, Robert. 2016. "On the Outside Looking In: Secrecy and the Study of Authoritarian Regimes." Social Science Quarterly 97(4): 953–73.
- Bell, Mark S., and Kai Quek. 2018. "Authoritarian Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *International Organization* 72(1): 227–42.
- Blanchette, Jude. 2022. "Party of One: The CCP Congress and Xi Jinping's Quest to Control China." Foreign Affairs. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/party-one-ccp-congress-xi-jinping?check\_logged\_in=1&utm\_medium=promo\_email&utm\_source=lo\_flows&utm\_campaig n=registered\_user\_welcome&utm\_term=email\_1&utm\_content=20221021 (December 7, 2022).
- Boas, Taylor C. 2006. "Weaving the Authoritarian Web: The Control of Internet Use in Nondemocratic Regime." In *How Revolutionary Was the Digital Revolution? National Responses, Market Transitions, and Global Technology*, eds. John Zysman and Abraham Newman. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 361–78.
- Brown, Kerry, and Una Aleksandra Bērziņa-Čerenkova. 2018. "Ideology in the Era of Xi Jinping." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 23(3): 323–39.
- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre. 2021. "China's Foreign and Security Policy Institutions and Decision-Making under Xi Jinping:" *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 23(2): 319–36.
- Cai, Kevin G. 2020. "Constructing an Analytical Framework for Explaining Chinese Foreign Policy." *Chinese Political Science Review* 5(3): 355–73.
- Cai, Penghong (蔡鹏鸿). 2013. "亚太两强竞争性合作格局趋势与中国外交 (The Trend of Competitive Cooperation between Asia-Pacific Two Powers and China's Diplomacy)." *International Review (国际观察)* 01: 9–16.

- Cao, Dejun (曹德军. 2015. "中美印不对称三角关系的'信任—权力'分析 (Trust and Power: On the Asymmetric, Strategic Sino-India-U.S. Triangle )." *Global Review (国际展望)* 05: 128-145+150.
- Center for China and Globalization (CCG). 2019. CCPTPP 中国未来自由贸易发展的新机遇 (CPTPP, New Opportunity for China in Future Free Trade). Beijing.
- Cha, Chang Hoon. 2017. "China's Search for Ideological Values in World Politics: Chinese Adaptation to Liberal Order Drawn from Political Reports of the Chinese Communist Party Congress since 1977." *Pacific Focus* 32(3): 416–44.
- Chang-Liao, Nien-chung. 2018. "Winds of Change: Assessing China's Assertive Turn in Foreign Policy." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 53(6): 880–95.
- Chen, Dongxiao (陈东晓). 2014. "中国的'主场外交': 机遇、挑战和任务 (China's 'Host Diplomacy': Opportunities, Challenges and Tasks)." *International Studies (国际问题研究)* 05: 4-16+129.
- Chen, Jidong, Jennifer Pan, and Yiqing Xu. 2016. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2): 383–400.
- Chen, Minghui. 2017. "Ways to Improve the Teaching Effectiveness of Ideological and Political Course in Colleges and Universities in China." *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Research* 32: 766–69.
- Chen, Qi, and Lanyu Liu. 2020. "The Debates among Chinese IR Scholars on China's National Interest Strategy, 2010-2015." In *Chinese Scholars and Foreign Policy Debating International Relations*, eds. Huiyun Feng, Kai He, Yan, and Xuetong. London: Routledge, 63–85.
- Cheng, Guoping (程国平). 2014. "促进亚洲安全与合作的重要平台 (An Important Platform for Promoting Security and Cooperation in Asia)." *Global Review (国际展望)* 03: 1–3.
- Chin, Josh, and Liza Lin. 2022. Surveillance State: Inside China's Quest to Launch a New Era of Social Control. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Christensen, Johan. 2023. "Studying Expert Influence: A Methodological Agenda." West European Politics 46(3): 600–613.
- Chubb, Andrew. 2019. "Assessing Public Opinion's Influence on Foreign Policy: The Case of China's Assertive Maritime Behavior." *Asian Security* 15(2): 159–79.
- De Mesquita, Bruno Bueno, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 2004. "Testing Novel Implications from the Selectorate Theory of War." *World Politics* 56(3): 363–88.
- Dellmuth, Lisa M, and Elizabeth A Bloodgood. 2019. "Advocacy Group Effects in Global Governance: Populations, Strategies, and Political Opportunity Structures." *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 8(3): 255–69.
- Deng, Yong. 1998. "The Chinese Conception of National Interests in International Relations." *China Quarterly* 154: 308–29.
- Ding, Yuxia. 2017. "Reflections on the Construction of Teachers' Ethics in Ideological and Political Education in Colleges and Universities." *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Research* 32: 665–67.
- Doshi, Rush. 2019. "Hu's to Blame for China's Foreign Assertiveness." *The Brookings Institution* January. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/hus-to-blame-for-chinas-foreign-assertiveness/ (June 5, 2019).

- Downs, Erica S. 2011. "New Interest Groups in Chinese Foreign Policy." *Brookings*. https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/new-interest-groups-in-chinese-foreign-policy/(November 9, 2019).
- Dür, Andreas. 2008. "Measuring Interest Group Influence in the EU: A Note on Methodology." *European Union Politics* 4: 559–76.
- Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51–58.
- Feng, Huiyun, and Kai He. 2016. "How Chinese Scholars Think about Chinese Foreign Policy." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 694–710.
- ——. 2020. "The Study of Chinese Scholars in Foreign Policy Analysis: An Emerging Research Program." *The Pacific Review* 33(3–4): 362–85.
- Feng, Huiyun, Kai He, and Xuetong Yan. 2019. *Chinese Scholars and Foreign Policy: Debating International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Feng, Yujun (冯玉军). 2014. "中国周边环境的立体图景解析 (A Three-Dimensional Analysis of China's Surrounding Environment)." *Contemporary International Relations (现代国际关系)* 10: 10-15+44+63.
- Finnemore, Martha. 1996. National Interests in International Society. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Foot, Rosemary. 2014. "Doing Some Things in the Xi Jinping Era: The United Nations as China's Venue of Choice." *International Affairs* 90(5): 1085–1100.
- Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2014. "A Dictator's Toolkit: Understanding How Co-Optation Affects Repression in Autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(3): 332–46.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. 2018. "Globalisation and Chinese Grand Strategy." Survival 60(1): 7–40.
- Gallagher, Mary, and Jonathan Hanson. 2015. "Power Tool or Dull Blade? Selectorate Theory for Autocracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 367–85.
- Gallagher, Mary, and Blake Miller. 2021. "Who Not What: The Logic of China's Information Control Strategy." *The China Quarterly* 248(1): 1011–36.
- Gamso, Jonas. 2019. "China's Ivory Bans: Enhancing Soft Power through Wildlife Conservation." International Affairs 95(6): 1389–1402.
- Gan, Nectar. 2021. "Chinese People Ordered to Think like Xi as Communist Party Aims to Tighten Control." CNN. https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/16/china/ccp-ideological-political-work-mic-intl-hnk/index.html (February 14, 2023).
- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." Comparative Political Studies 40(11): 1279–1301.
- Garrett, Banning. 2001. "China Faces, Debates the Contradictions of Globalization." *Asian Survey* 41(3): 409–27.
- Garrison, Jean. 2007. "Constructing the 'National Interest' in U.S.? China Policy Making: How Foreign Policy Decision Groups Define and Signal Policy Choices." Foreign Policy Analysis 3(2): 105–26.
- General Office of the CCP Central Committee, and State Council Information Office (SCIO). 2015. "关于加强中国特色新型智库建设的意见 (Opinions on Strengthening the Construction of New-

- Type Think Tanks with Chinese Characteristics)." http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-01/20/content\_2807126.htm (July 10, 2021).
- George, Alexander L. 1994. "The Two Cultures of Academia and Policy-Making: Bridging the Gap." *Political Psychology* 15(1): 143–72.
- Ghiselli, Andrea. 2021. Protecting China's Interests Overseas: Securitization and Foreign Policy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gitter, David, and Leah Fang. 2018. "The Chinese Communist Party's Use of Homophonous Pen Names: An Open-Source Open Secret." *Asia Policy* 13(01): 3–44.
- Glaser, Bonnie S, and Evan S Medeiros. 2007. "The Changing Ecology of Foreign Policy Making in China: The Ascension and Demise of the Theory of 'Peaceful Rise." *The China Quarterly* 190: 291–310.
- Goffman, Erving. 1974. Frame Analysis An Essay on the Organization of Experience. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Gong, Xue. 2018. "The Role of Chinese Corporate Players in China's South China Sea Policy." Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs 40(2): 301–26.
- Graham, Allision T., and Morton H. Halperin. 1972. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications." *World Politics* 24: 40–79.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, and Rory Truex. 2020. "Repressive Experiences among China Scholars: New Evidence from Survey Data." *The China Quarterly* 242: 349–75.
- Guo Shuyong (郭树勇). 2018. "新型国际关系:世界秩序重构的中国方案 (New Model of International Relations: The Chinese Path to Reconstruct the World Order)." 公关世界 (PR World).
- ———. 2019. "试论 70 年来新中国外交的主要特点 (On the Main Features of New China's Diplomacy in the Past 70 Years)." *Social Sciences Digest* 12: 23–25.
- Gupta, Rukmani. 2012. "China's National Interests: Exploring the Domestic Discourse." *Strategic Analysis* 36(5): 804–18.
- Han, Rongbin. 2015. "Defending the Authoritarian Regime Online: China's 'Voluntary Fifty-Cent Army." *China Quarterly* 224: 1006–25.
- Han, Zhaoying (韩召颖), and Tian, Guangqiang (田光强). 2015. "印度对于 21 世纪'海上丝绸之路'倡议的战略疑虑 (Indian Strategic Concerns for the 21st Century 'Maritime Silk Road'Initiative)." Contemporary International Relations (现代国际关系) 09: 16-20+52+65.
- Hayward, Jane. 2018. "The Rise of China's New-Type Think Tanks and the Internationalization of the State." *Pacific Affairs* 91(01): 27–47.
- He, Fan (何帆), Weijiang (冯维江) Feng, and Jin (徐进) Xu. 2013. "全球治理机制面临的挑成 及中国的对茉 (On the Challenges of Global Governance Mechanism and China's Countermeasures)." *World Economics and Politics (世界政治)* 04: 9-39+156-157.
- He, Kai, and Huiyun Feng. 2013. "Xi Jinping's Operational Code Beliefs and China's Foreign Policy." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 06: 209–31.
- ——. 2019. "Why Do Chinese IR Scholars Matter?" In *Chinese Scholars and Foreign Policy Debating International Relations*, eds. Kai He, Huiyun Feng, and Xuetong Yan. London: Routledge, 3–20.

- He, Kai, Huiyun Feng, and Xuetong Yan. 2019. "Rethinking the Role of Scholars in Chinese Foreign Policy." In *Chinese Scholars and Foreign Policy Debating International Relations*, London: Routledge, 193–203.
- Hermann, Charles. 1990. "Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy." International Studies Quarterly 34(01): 3–21.
- Hildebrandt, Timothy. 2013. Social Organizations and the Authoritarian State in China. Cambridge University Press.
- Holbig, Heike. 2014. "Shifting Ideologics of Research Funding: The CPC's National Planning Office for Philosophy and Social Sciences." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 43(2): 13–32.
- Hu, Weixing. 2019. "Xi Jinping's 'Major Country Diplomacy': The Role of Leadership in Foreign Policy Transformation." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(115): 1–14.
- Hua, Xin. 2017. "Chinese Think Tanks' Influence on Foreign Policy Making: A Case Study of CIIS and SIIS in the Making of China's Europe Policy." In *Think Tanks, Foreign Policy and Geo-Politics Pathways to Influence*, eds. Donald E. Abelson, Stephen Brooks, and Xin Hua. London and New York: Routledge, 132–53.
- Huang, Yanzhong. 2015. "China's Think-Tank Great Leap Forward." Forbes. https://www.forbes.com/sites/yanzhonghuang/2015/09/28/chinas-think-tank-great-leap-forward/ (February 14, 2023).
- Humphreys, Adam R. C. 2015. "From National Interest to Global Reform: Patterns of Reasoning in British Foreign Policy Discourse." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 17(4): 568–84.
- Jakobson, Linda. 2013. "China's Foreign Policy Dilemma." Lony Institute Analysis. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10137.
- Jaros, Kyle, and Jennifer Pan. 2018. "China's Newsmakers: Official Media Coverage and Political Shifts in the Xi Jinping Era." *The China Quarterly* 233: 111–36.
- Jecker, Constanze. 2017. Entmans Framing-Ansatz Theoretische Grundlegung Und Empirische Umsetzung. Köln: Herbert von Halem Verlag.
- Jeffreys, Elaine, and Jian Xu. 2018. "Governing China's Coal Challenge: Changing Public Policy, Debate and Advocacy." *Environmental Communication* 12(5): 575–88.
- Jiang, Jiaying, and Yilong Yan. 2019. "The Influence of Think Tanks on China's Mid- to Long-Term Strategic Planning: A Case Study of the Institute of Contemporary China Studies at Tsinghua University." *China Policy Journal* 1(2): 35–56.
- Jin, Canrong (金灿荣), and Yuanliang (起远良) Zhao. 2014. "构建中美新型大国关系的条件探索 (Exploring and Taking Advantage of Favorable Conditions to Establish a New Model of Major-Country Relations between China and the United States)." World Economics and Politics (世界政治) 03: 50-68+156-157.
- Jin, Ling (金玲). 2013. "欧盟全球治理新思路及对中欧关系的影响 (New Ideas of EU Global Governance and Its Impact on China-EU Relations)." *International Studies* (国际问题研究) 02: 59–71.

- Jin, Yan, Simon Schaub, Jale Tosun, and Justus Wesseler. 2022. "Does China Have a Public Debate on Genetically Modified Organisms? A Discourse Network Analysis of Public Debate on Weibo." *Public Understanding of Science* 31(6): 732–50.
- Johnson, Ian. 2022. "Xi Jinping Exposed." *Council on Foreign Relations, Asia Unbound and Asia Program Blog.* https://www.cfr.org/blog/xi-jinping-exposed (December 7, 2022).
- Jones, Evan. 2017. "Sellout' Ministries and Jingoes: China's Bureaucratic Institutions and the Evolution of Contested National Role Conceptions in the South China Sea." Foreign Policy Analysis 13(2): 361–79.
- Kaiser, Wolfram, and Jan-Henrik Meyer. 2013. Societal Actors in European Integration: Polity-Building and Policy-Making 1958-1992. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kang, Dake. 2022. "In Xi's China, Even Internal Reports Fall Prey to Censorship." *Associated Press News*. https://apnews.com/article/health-china-beijing-covid-wuhan-3c199e3f1a084013da18fc9e6061e775 (December 7, 2022).
- Katzenstein, Peter J. 1978. "Conclusion: Domestic Structures and Strategies of Foreign Economic Policy." In *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States*, Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 295–336.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 326–43.
- ———. 2014. "Reverse-Engineering Censorship in China: Randomized Experimentation and Participant Observation." *Science* 345(6199): 1–10.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument." *American Political Science Review* 111(3): 484–501.
- Kitaoka, Shinichi. 2016. "Sustainable Development Goals and Japan's Official Development Assistance Policy: Human Security, National Interest, and a More Proactive Contribution to Peace." *Asia-Pacific Review* 23(1): 32–41.
- Klotz, Audie. 1995. "Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and U.S. Sanctions against South Africa." *International Organization* 49(3): 451–78.
- Kossa, Martin. 2020. "China's Arctic Engagement: Domestic Actors and Foreign Policy." *Global Change Peace & Security* 32(01): 19–38.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1978. Defending the National Interest Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich. 1982. "On the Notion of 'Interest' in International Relations." *International Organization* 36(1): 1–30.
- Krebs, Ronald R. 2015. Narratives and the Making of US National Security. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lai, Hongyi, and Su-Jeong Kang. 2012. "Economic Development and China's Foreign Policy." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Chinese Foreign Policy*, ed. Emilian Kavalski. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 113–21.
- ———. 2014. "Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 23(86): 294–313.

- Lake, David A. 2009. "Open Economy Politics: A Critical Review." *The Review of International Organizations* 4(3): 219–44.
- Lang, Ping (郎平). 2012. "发展中国家区域经济一体化框架下的政治合作 (The Political Cooperation under RTA for Developing Countries)." World Economics and Politics (世界政治) 08: 129-148+160.
- Lee, Sangkuk. 2017. "An Institutional Analysis of Xi Jinping's Centralization of Power." *Journal of Contemporary China* 26(105): 325–36.
- Li, Cheng. 2017. *The Power of Ideas: The Rising Influence of Thinkers and Think Tanks in China*. New Jersey; London; Singapore; Beijing; Shanghai; Hong Kong; Taipei; Chennai; Tokyo: World Scientific. http://www.worldscientific.com/worldscibooks/10.1142/9990 (February 14, 2023).
- Li, Keqiang (李克强). 2014. "Jointly Open up New Vistas for Asia's Development (共同开创亚洲发展新未来)." http://www.gov.cn/guowuyuan/2014-04/11/content\_2656979.htm (May 15, 2018).
- ——. 2018. "Government Work Report 2018 (2018 政府工作报告)." http://www.gov.cn/zhuanti/2018lh/2018zfgzbg/zfgzbg.htm (September 16, 2018).
- Li, Wei (李伟). 2013. "新环境下的国际战略思考 (China's Strategic Considerations in the New International Environment)." Contemporary International Relations (现代国际关系) 10: 40–41.
- Li Xiangyang (李向阳). 2014. "论海上丝绸之路的多元化合作机制 (On the Diversified Cooperation Mechanism of the Maritime Silk Road)." 世界经济与政治 (World Economics and Politics) 11: 5–17.
- Li, Xiaoting. 2016. "Applying Offensive Realism to the Rise of China: Structural Incentives and Chinese Diplomacy toward the Neighboring States." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 16(2): 241–71.
- Li, Xushi (李秀石). 2015. "论日美同盟战略对接——从双向安保合作到'全球伙伴关系' (The Strategic Coordination of the Japan-U.S.Alliance:From Bilateral Security Cooperation to 'Global Partnership')." *Japanese Studies (日本学刊)* 04: 19–38.
- Li, Zhongyi (刘宗义). 2013. "印非合作机制建设及其对中国的启示 (The Establishment of Mechanisms for India-Africa Cooperation and Lessons for China)." *South Asian Studies* (南州研究) 03: 113–27.
- Lin, Limin (林利民). 2014. "年国际战略形势评析: 怎一个'乱'字了得 (An Assessment of the Situation in 2014 A Turbulent Year)." Contemporary International Relations (现代国际关系) 12: 1-9+36+65.
- Lin, Peng. 2021. "China's Evolving Humanitarian Diplomacy: Evidence from China's Disaster-Related Aid to Nepal." *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 6(3): 221–37.
- Lin, Zhimin. 2019. "Xi Jinping's 'Major Country Diplomacy': The Impacts of China's Growing Capacity." Journal of Contemporary China 28(115): 31–46.
- Liu, Changming (刘昌明). 2012. "理性看待"美国霸权衰落论 (Looking at the 'Theory of American Hegemonic Decline' Rationally)." *People's Tribune Frontiers (学术前沿)* 09: 67–75.
- ——. 2018. "澳大利亚对南海争端的认知与回应 (Australia's Perception of and Response to the South China Conflict)." *国际论坛 (International Forum)* 20(01): 20–26.
- Liu, Changming (刘昌明), and Sun, Tong (孙 通). 2019. "习近平外交思想的创新发展与学术话语体系建构 (Xi Jinping's Diplomatic Thought: Innovative Development and Academic Discourse

- System Construction)." 当代世界社会主义问题 (Issues of Contemporary World Socialism) 01: 22—32.
- Liu, Jiangyong (刘江永). 2011. "可持续安全要靠王道而非霸道 (Sustainable Security Relies on Kingcraft, Not Hegemony: Re-Discussion on Constructing Sustainable Security Strategy)." 世界 经济与政治 (World Economics and Politics) 08: 112-126+158-159.
- ———. 2013. "新兴大国的可持续安全战略 (On the Sustainable Security Strategy of Emerging Powers
   The New Security Concept Based on the 'Chinese Dream')." *People's Tribune Frontiers (学术前沿)*06: 22–27.
- ——. 2014. "甲午战争以来东亚战略格局演变及启示 (The Evolution of Strategic Configuration in East Asia since the First Sino-Japanese War and Its Inspiration)." 日本学刊 (Japanese Studies) 01: 1–45.
- ——. 2015a. "地缘政治思想对中美曰关系的影响 (The Impact of Geopolitical Thoughts on China-U.S.-Japan Relations)." *日本学刊 (Japanese Studies)* 03: 1–20.
- ———. 2015b. 开创人类可持续安全的新纪元 (Pioneering a New Era of Sustainable Human Security). Shanghai.
- ———. 2015c. "海击和合备:'一带一路'可持读矣全的地缘政治学 (The 'Maritime and Continental Power Cooperation' Approach: Geopolitics in Sustainable Security for One Belt One Road)." 国际安全研究 (Journal of International Security Studies) 05: 3-21+155-156.
- Liu Jiangyong (刘江永). 2016. "世界大变局与中国的国际战略 (The Great Global Change and China's International Strategy)." *当代世界 (Contemporary world)* 12: 23–25.
- Liu, Youfa (刘友法). 2013. "新型大国关系基本特征及中国对策思考 (The Basic Characteristics of the New Type of Major-Country Relationship and China's Countermeasures)." *CIIS Reports*. https://m.ciis.org.cn/yjcg/yjcg\_xslw/202007/t20200710\_1276.html (September 28, 2022).
- Lu, Chuanying (鲁传颖). 2017. "移动互联网治理挑战与话语权提升(Mobile Internet Governance Challenges and Discourse Enhancement)." 政策评论 (Policy Review): 80–87.
- Lu, Junyuan (陆俊元). 2010. 北极地缘政治与中国应对 (Geopolitics in the Arctic and China's Response).

  Beijing: Shishi Chubanshe.
- Manion, Melanie. 2008. "When Communist Party Candidates Can Lose, Who Wins? Assessing the Role of Local People's Congresses in the Selection of Leaders in China." *The China Quarterly* 195: 607–30.
- Matthes, Jörg. 2009. "What's in a Frame? A Content Analysis of Media Framing Studies in the World's Leading Communication Journals, 1990-2005." 86(2): 349–67.
- Matthes, Jörg, and Mattias Kohring. 2008. "The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity." *Journal of Communication* 58: 258–79.
- Mattis, Peter. 2019. "The Party Congress Test: A Minimum Standard for Analyzing Beijing's Intentions." War on the rocks. https://warontherocks.com/2019/01/the-party-congress-test-a-minimum-standard-for-analyzing-beijings-intentions/ (June 10, 2019).
- Mayer, Maximilian. 2018. "China's Historical Statecraft and the Return of History." *International Affairs* 94(6): 1217–35.

- Mello, Patrick A. 2021. *Qualitative Comparative Analysis: An Introduction to Research Design and Application.*Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Men, Honghua (门洪华). 2019. "推动中国对外开放进入新时代 (China's Opening-up in the New Era: Retrospect and Prospect since CPC's 18th National Congress)." *Journal of Social Sciences (社会科学)* 01: 3–13.
- Miller, Alice. 2017. "How to Read Xi Jinping's 19th Party Congress Political Report." *China Leadership Monitor* 53: 1–7.
- Mitchell, Gordon R. 2011. "Rhetoric and International Relations: More Than 'Cheap Talk." In *The SAGE Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd, 247–64.
- Mokry, Sabine. 2016. "Chinese International Relations (IR) Scholars' Publishing Practices and Language: The 'Peaceful Rise'—Debate." In *Globalizing International Relations: Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, eds. Ingo Peters and Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 135–63. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-57410-7\_6.
- 2021. "Reading between the Lines: How Frame Analysis Reveals Changes in Policy Priorities." In The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Studies, eds. Chris Shei and Weixiao Wei. London: Routledge, 622–37.
- ——. 2022. "What Is Lost in Translation? Differences between Chinese Foreign Policy Statements and Their Official English Translations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 18(03): 1–17.
- ——. 2023. "Frame Analysis." In Routledge Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis Methods, London and New York: Routledge, 133–49.
- ———. Forthcoming. "China's Foreign Policy Rhetoric Between Orchestration and Cacophony." *The Pacific Review*.
- Moore, Gregory J. 2016. "The Power of 'Sacred Commitments': Chinese Interests in Taiwan." Foreign Policy Analysis 12(2): 214–35.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." International Organization 51(4): 513–53.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. 1960. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Morin, Jean-Frédéric, and Jonathan Paquin. 2018. Foreign Policy Analysis A Toolbox. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nathan, Andrew J. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy* 14(1): 6–17.
- ———. 2016. "Domestic Factors in the Making of Chinese Foreign Policy." *China Report* 52(3): 179–91.
- Nathan, Andrew J, and Boshu Zhang. 2022. "A Shared Future for Mankind': Rhetoric and Reality in Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping." *Journal of Contemporary China* 31(133): 57–71.
- National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC). 2016. "The 13th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China (中华人民共和国国民经济和社会发展第十三个五年规划纲要)." http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2016-03/17/content 5054992.htm (March 18, 2018).
- Neuendorf, Kimberley A. 2017. The Content Analysis Guidebook. Los Angeles: SAGE.

- Nuechterlein, Donald E. 1976. "National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making." *British Journal of International Studies* October(2): 246–66.
- Perry, Elizabeth J. 2020. "Educated Acquiescence: How Academia Sustains Authoritarianism in China." Theory and Society 49: 1–22.
- Poh, Angela, and Mingjiang Li. 2017. "A China in Transition: The Rhetoric and Substance of Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping." *Asian Security* 13(2): 84–97.
- Pu, Xiaoyu, and Chengli Wang. 2018. "Rethinking China's Rise: Chinese Scholars Debate Strategic Overstretch." *International Affairs* 94(5): 1019–35.
- Qi, Dongtao. 2018. "The Roles of Government, Businesses, Universities and Media in China's Think Tank Fever: A Comparison with the American Think Tank System." *China An International Journal* 16(2): 31–50.
- Quek, Kai, and Alastair Iain Johnston. 2017. "Can China Back Down? Crisis De-Escalation in the Shadow of Popular Opposition." *International Security* 42(3): 7–36.
- Rathbun, Brian C. 2004. Partisan Interventions European Party Politics and Peace Enforcement in the Balkans. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Reilly, James. 2014. "A Wave to Worry About? Public Opinion, Foreign Policy and China's Anti-Japan Protests." *Journal of Contemporary China* 23(86): 197–215.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1991. "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies." *World Politics* 43(4): 479–512.
- Roberts, David B. 2014. "British National Interest in the Gulf: Rediscovering a Role?" *International Affairs* 90(3): 663–67.
- Robertson, Jeffrey. 2017. "More than Old Friends? Narrative in Australia's Relationship with Korea." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 63(1): 15–30.
- Rudd, Kevin. 2022. "The World According to Xi Jinping -What China's Ideologue in Chief Really Believes." Foreign Affairs November/December: 8–21.
- Sabbagh, Dan. 2022. "Putin Involved in War 'at Level of Colonel or Brigadier', Say Western Sources." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/may/16/putin-involved-russia-ukraine-war-western-sources (January 22, 2023).
- Schlaufer, Caroline et al. 2021. "Narrative Strategies in a Nondemocratic Setting: Moscow's Urban Policy Debates." *Policy Studies Journal*: 1–22.
- Shambaugh, David. 2011. "International Relations Studies in China: History, Trends, and Prospects." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 11: 339–72.
- Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS). 2013a. 中国特色外交理论的新探索——评《创造性介入——中国之全球角色的生成》 (A New Exploration of Diplomatic Theory with Chinese Characteristics: A Review of "Creative Intervention: The Making of China's Global Role). Shanghai.
- ———. 2013b. 对中国参与"2015 年后国际发展议程"的思考 (Reflections on China's Participation in the Post-2015 International Development Agenda ).
- ———. 2014. 站在新起点的中国外交战略调整 (China's Diplomatic Strategic Adjustment at a New Beginning). Shanghai.

- ———. 2015. 北极治理与中国极地战略—以北极航道开辟利用为案例上海国际问题研究院系列 课题报告 (SIIS Task Force Report Arctic Governance and China's Polar Strategy—A Case Study of the Exploration of Arctic Shipping Routes). Shanghai: SIIS.
- Sharma, Yojana. 2021. "China Studies Scholars Reluctant to Return to China." World University News. https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20210702145447222 (September 26, 2021).
- Shih, Chih-yu, and Chiung-chiu Huang. 2015. "China's Quest for Grand Strategy: Power, National Interest, or Relational Security?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 8(1): 1–26.
- Shih, Chih-yu, and Jiwu Yin. 2013. "Between Core National Interest and a Harmonious World: Reconciling Self-Role Conceptions in Chinese Foreign Policy." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 6(1): 59–84.
- Smith, Stephen N. 2021. "China's 'Major Country Diplomacy': Legitimation and Foreign Policy Change." Foreign Policy Analysis 17(2): 1–18.
- Snyder, Jack. 1991. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Song, Guoyou (宋国友). 2015. "中国崛起、一带一路与中美合作 (On Rise of China and Sino-US Collaboration in 'One Belt, One Road')." *China Opening Journal (开放导报)* 04: 16–20.
- Song, Lilei (宋黎磊), and Cai, Liang (蔡亮). 2013. "新时期中国国际角色定位的内涵与意义 (The Connotation and Significance of China's International Role Positioning in the New Era)." 新视野 (Expanding Horizons) 05: 16–20.
- Song, Weiqing. 2020. "China's Normative Foreign Policy and Its Multilateral Engagement in Asia." *Pacific Focus* 35(2): 229–49.
- ———. 2017. "China's Policies on Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation (中国的亚太安全合作政策)." http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2017-01/11/content\_5158864.htm (February 18, 2018).
- ——. 2018a. "China and the World Trade Organization (中国与世界贸易组织)." http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2018-06/28/content\_5301884.htm (February 18, 2018).

12/01/content\_5141177.htm.

———. 2018b. "China's Arctic Policy (中国的北极政策)." http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2018-01/26/c\_1122320088.htm (February 2, 2018).

- ———. 2019. "China and the World White Paper (新时代的中国与世界)." http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2019-09/27/content\_5433889.htm (December 1, 2019).
- Stockmann, Daniela. 2013. Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Su, Changhe. 2010. "Understanding Chinese Diplomatic Transformation: A Multi-Actors' Perspective." The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 5(4): 313–29.
- Sun, Taiyin. 2017. "Earthquakes and the Typologies of State–Society Relations in China." *China Information* 31(3): 304–26.
- Sun, Tong (孙 通), and Liu, Changming (刘昌明). 2019. "国际秩序观塑构中的文化特 (Culture Attributes in Shaping the Vision of International Order On the Cultural Origin of 'the Building of a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind')." 太平洋学报 (Pacific Journal) 27(02): 13–24.
- Sun, Tong (孙通), and Liu, Changming (刘昌明). 2018. "'追随'或'自主':美澳同盟中澳大利亚外交困境与选择 ('Followers' or 'Autonomy': Australian Diplomatic Dilemmas and Choices in the U.S.-Australia Alliance)." Forum of World Economics and Politics 03: 62–77.
- Taber, Nick. 2018. "How Xi Jinping Is Shaping China's Universities." *The Diplomat*. https://thediplomat.com/2018/08/how-xi-jinping-is-shaping-chinas-universities/ (February 13, 2023).
- Tang, Guoqiang (唐国强), and Zhengyu (王震宇) Wang. 2014. "亚太区域经济一体化的演变、路径及展望 (The Evolution, Path and Prospect of Asia-Pacific Regional Economic Integration)."

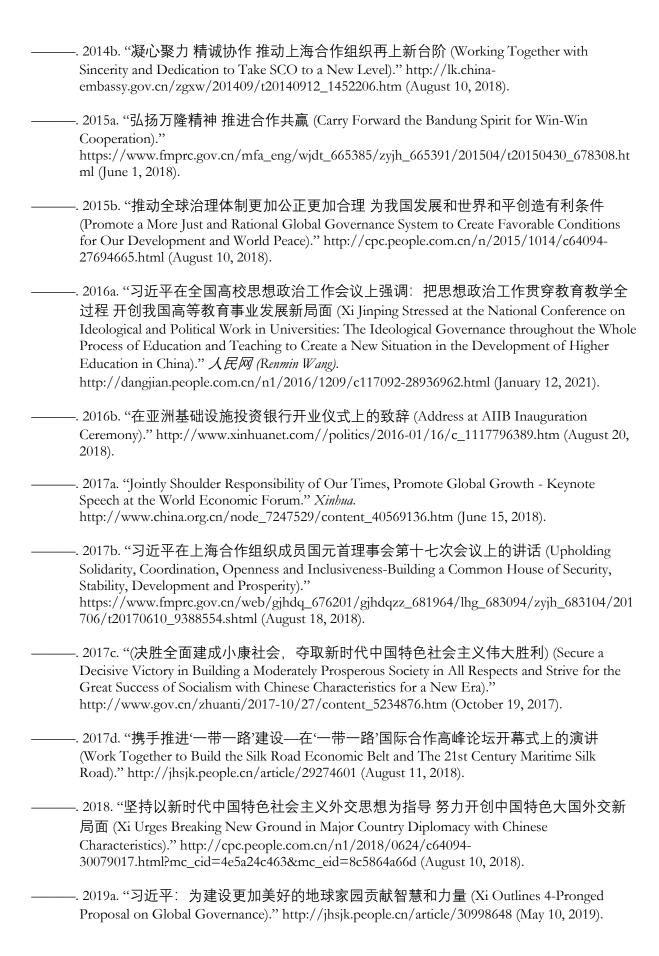
  China International Studies (中国国际问题研究) 01: 96–114.
- Tang, Lanlan. 2020. "Research on the Innovation Path of University Ideological and Political Work Based on Big Data Technology." *Journal of Physics*.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. Power in Movement Social Movements and Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Teets, Jessica C. 2013. "Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: The Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in China." *The China Quarterly* 213: 19–38.
- Thomas, Daniel C. 2009. "Explaining the Negotiation of EU Foreign Policy: Normative Institutionalism and Alternative Approaches." *International Politics* 46(4): 339–57.
- Trubowitz, Peter. 1998. Defining the National Interest Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Truex, Rory. 2017. "Consultative Authoritarianism and Its Limits." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(3): 329–61.
- Tsang, Steve. 2020. "Party-State Realism: A Framework for Understanding China's Approach to Foreign Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 29(122): 304–18.
- Tsang, Steve, and Olivia Cheung. 2021. "Has Xi Jinping Made China's Political System More Resilient and Enduring?" *Third World Quarterly* 43(1): 225–43.
- Vannoni, Matia. 2017. "Studying Preference Attainment Using Spatial Models." *European Political Science* 16(3): 369–80.

- Vu, Anh Ngoc Vu, and Binh Quang Le. 2022. "The Politics of Civil Society Narratives in Contestation between Liberalism and Nationalism in Authoritarian Vietnam." Contemporary Politics.
- Wang, Falong (王发龙). 2014. "中国海外利益维护路径研究基于国际制度的视角 (Approaches of Safeguarding China's Overseas Interests: Analysis Based on International Institution Theory)." 国际展望 (Global Review) 03: 51-67+155-156.
- Wang, Frances Yaping. 2021. "Barking Without Biting: Understanding Chinese Media Campaigns During Foreign Policy Disputes." *Security Studies* 30(4): 485–517.
- Wang, Huiyao (王辉耀). 2017. 中国将在全球治理中展现大国担 (China Will Show Its Role as a Great Power in Global Governance). Center for China and Globalization (CCG).
- Wang, Jianwei. 2019. "Xi Jinping's 'Major Country Diplomacy:' A Paradigm Shift?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(115): 15–30.
- Wang, Luyao (王璐瑶), and Ge, Shunqi (葛顺奇). 2017. "推进全球投资治理规则体系变革 (Promoting Changes in the Global Investment Governance Rules System)." *国际经济合作* (Journal of International Economic Cooperation) 06: 18–23.
- Wang, Qishan (王岐山). 2019. "Stay Confident and Work Together for A Shared Future (坚定信心 携手前行 共创未来—世界经济论坛 2019 年年会上的致辞)." http://www.xinhuanet.com/world/2019-01/24/c\_1124033368.htm (January 20, 2020).
- Wang, Shida (王世达). 2014. "巴基斯坦政局动荡及其前景分析(An Analysis of Pakistani Political Turmoil and Its Prospect)." 现代国际关系 (Contemporary International Relations) 10: 10-15+44+63.
- Wang, Simin (王斯敏), and Qu, Yilin (曲一琳). 2016. "智库建设如何'去虚火,强筋骨' (How Can Think Tank Development Avoid a Growth Bubble and Strengthen Quality)." 光明日报 (Guangming Ribao). http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2016-06/01/c\_129033928.htm (February 14, 2023).
- Wang, Weihua (王伟华). 2014. "基于亚洲新安全观的克什米尔问题解决方案 (Solutions to the Kashmir Dispute Based on the New Asian Security Concept)." *国际展望 (Global Review)* 06: 71-89+155-156.
- Wang, Yi (王毅). 2013a. "Embark on a New Journey of China's Diplomacy." https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\_eng/wjdt\_665385/zyjh\_665391/t1109943.shtml (August 28, 2018).
- ———. 2013b. "站在新起点上的中国 (China at a New Starting Point)." https://www.un.org/zh/ga/68/meetings/gadebate/china.shtml (August 28, 2018).
- ———. 2014a. "中国新发展 世界新机遇 (New Development in China, New Opportunities for the World)." https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao\_674904/zyjh\_674906/t1122808.shtml (August 28, 2018).
- ———. 2014b. "共谋和平发展共守法治正义一在联合国大会第 69 届会议一般性辩论上的发言) (Jointly Pursue Peace and Development and Uphold Rule of Law and Justice)." https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao\_674904/zyjh\_674906/201409/t20140928\_7945248.shtml (August 28, 2018).



Wang, Yizhou. 2002. "国家利益再思考 (Guojia Liyi Zai Sikao - Rethinking National Interests)." 中国社会科学 (Social Sciences in China) (2): 160–70.

- Wang, Yuhua. 2021. "State-in-Society 2.0: Toward Fourth-Generation Theories of the State." *Comparative Politics*: 175–98.
- Wang, Yuzhu (王玉主). 2013. "小国集团的能动性 (The Flexibility of Small State Groupings: Research on ASEAN's Regional Cooperation Strategies)." 当代亚太 (Journal of Contemporary Asian-Pacific Studies) 03: 93-110+157-158.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2013. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." International Organization 67(01): 1–35.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2014. Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2019. "How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at 'Rising Nationalism' and Chinese Foreign Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(119): 679–95.
- Weldes, Jutta. 1996. "Constructing National Interests." European Journal of International Relations 2(3): 275–318.
- ——. 1999. Constructing the National Interest The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wintrobe, Ronald. 1998. The Political Economy of Dictatorship. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wischermann, Jörg. 2017. "Authoritarian Rule." In Routledge Handbook of Civil Society in Asia, Routledge, 344–61.
- Woodman, Sophia, and Tim Pringle. 2022. "Differentiating Risks to Academic Freedom in the Globalised University in China." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 48(4): 642–51.
- Wu, Feng (巫峰). 2009. "首轮中美经济对话:除上月球外主要问题均已谈及 (Shou Lun Zhong Mei Jingji Duihua: Chu Shang Yueqiu Wai Zhuyao Wenti Jun Yi Tan Ji The First Round of China-U.S. Economic Dialogue: All Major Issues except the Moon Have Been Discussed)." *Zhongguo Xinwen Wang.* http://www.chinanews.com/gn/news/2009/07-29/1794984.shtml (January 21, 2021).
- Wu, Fuzuo. 2022. "Shaping China's Engagement with the Arctic: Nationalist Narratives and Geopolitical Reality." *Journal of Contemporary China*: 1–16.
- Wu, Jinan (吴寄南). 2012. "中日关系: '不惑之年'的思考 (Sino-Japanese Relations: Reflections on 'The Year of No Confusion')." *日本学刊 (Japanese Studies)* 05: 3-15+157.
- Xi, Jinping (习近平). 2013a. "共同创造亚洲和世界的美好未来 (Working Together Toward a Better Future for Asia and the World)." http://jhsjk.people.cn/article/21048139 (August 8, 2018).
- ———. 2013b. "更好统筹国内国际两个大局 夯实走和平发展道路的基础 (Better Integration of the Two Major Situations at Home and Abroad to Strengthen the Foundation of the Road to Peaceful Development)." http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2013/0130/c64094-20368861.html (August 10, 2018).
- ——. 2014a. "习近平出席中央外事工作会议并发表重要 (Xi Speech Central Foreign Affairs Work Conference)." http://www.xinhuanet.com//politics/2014-11/29/c\_1113457723.htm (August 10, 2018).



- ———. 2019b. "习近平在第二届'一带一路'国际合作高峰论坛开幕式上的主旨演讲 (Working Together to Deliver a Brighter Future For Belt and Road Cooperation)."
  http://jhsjk.people.cn/article/31052388 (May 20, 2019).
- ———. 2019c. "习近平在金砖国家领导人巴西利亚会晤公开会议上的讲话 (Together for a New Chapter in BRICS Cooperation)." http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/2019-11/15/c\_1125233767.htm (January 20, 2020).
- Xia, Cai. 2022. "The Weakness of Xi Jinping: How Hubris and Paranoia Threaten China's Future." Foreign Affairs September/October. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/xi-jinping-china-weakness-hubris-paranoia-threaten-future (December 7, 2022).
- Xin, Qiang (信强). 2014. "'五不'政策: 美国南海政策解读 ('Five No's' Policy: The U.S. Adjustment of the South China Sea Policy)." *The Chinese Journal of American Studies (美国研究)* 06: 51-68+6-7.
- Xiong, Xiaoxiao (熊晓晓), Shi, Yunyan (施云燕), and Ren, Fujun (任福君). 2021. "中国智库的经费运营模式研究-以中国高端智库为例 (Research on the Funding Operation Model of Chinese Think Tanks Taking China's High-End Think-Tanks as an Example)." 科协智库网 (Modern Science) 4: 54-63+77.
- Xu, Jin. 2016. "Debates in IR Academia and China's Policy Adjustments." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9(4): 459–85.
- Xue, Lan, Xufeng Zhu, and Wanqu Han. 2018. "Embracing Scientific Decision Making: The Rise of Think-Tank Policies in China." *Pacific Affairs* 91(1): 49–71.
- Yan, Xuetong. 1996. 中国国家利益分析 (Zhongguo Guojia Liyi Fenxi Analysis of China's National Interest).
  Tianjin: 天津人民出版社.
- Yang, Florence. 2021. "More Stick than Carrot?: Xi's Policy toward Establishment Intellectuals." *Issues & Studies* 52(2).
- Yang, Jiemian (杨洁勉). 2015. "中国外交哲学的探索、建设和实践 (The Exploration, Construction and Practice of Chinese Diplomatic Philosophy)." *国际观察 (International Review)* 06: 1–12.
- Yang, Yanling. 2019. "The Role of the Non-State Film Industry in Promoting China's Soft Power." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 14(4): 426–46.
- Ye Jiang (叶江). 2015. "浅析联合国 2015 年后全球发展议程新动向—兼谈中国的应对之道 (An Analysis of the New Trends in the UN Post-2015 Global Development Agenda and China's Response)." 当代世界 (Contemporary World) 04: 6–9.
- Ye, Xiaodi. 2019. "Rediscovering the Transition in China's National Interest: A Neoclassical Realist Approach." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 48(1): 76–105.
- Ye, Zicheng (叶自成), and Peng (杜鵬) Du. 2012. "世界形势大调整大变革中的中国外交 (China's Diplomacy under the Great Adjustment and Great Change of the World Situation )." *国际展望* (Global Review) 03: 12-26+40+139.
- Yu, Jun (于军). 2015. "印度海外利益的拓展与维护及其对中国的启示 (The Expansion and Maintenance of India's Overseas Interests and Its Enlightenment to China)." 探索 (Probe) 2: 53–58.

- Zeng, Jinghan, Yuefan Xiao, and Shaun Breslin. 2015. "Securing China's Core Interests: The State of the Debate in China." *International Affairs* 91(2): 245–66.
- Zhang, Chun (张春). 2012. "试论中国特色外交理论建构的三大使命 (On Three Tasks for Building Chinese School of Diplomacy Theory)." *国际展望 (Global Review)* 02: 1-14+133.
- Zhang, Chun (张春). 2015. "中非合作的政策空间变化与应对战略 (Policy Space Changes and Policy Prescriptions for China-Africa Cooperation)." 西亚非洲 (West Asia and Africa) 03: 33–50.
- Zhang, Denghua. 2017. "China's Diplomacy in the Pacific: Interests, Means and Implications." *Security challenges* 13(2): 32–53.
- Zhang, Feng. 2016. "China as a Global Force." Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies 3(1): 120–28.
- ———. 2019a. "China's Long March at Sea: Explaining Beijing's South China Sea Strategy, 2009–2016." The Pacific Review 33(5): 757–87.
- ——. 2019b. "The Xi Jinping Doctrine of China's International Relations." Asia Policy 14(3): 7–73.
- Zhang, Jian. 2014. "The Domestic Sources of China's More Assertive Foreign Policy." *International Politics* 51(3): 390–97.
- ———. 2015. "China's New Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping: Towards 'Peaceful Rise 2.0'?" Global Change Peace & Security 27(1): 5–19.
- Zhang, Shengjun (张胜军), and Zheng, Xiaowen (郑晓雯). 2019. "从国家主义到全球主义: 北极治理的理论焦点与实践路径探析 (From Nationalism to Globalism: The Arctic Governance Exploring the Theoretical Focus and Practical Path)." *国际论坛 (International Forum)* 04: 3–18.
- Zhang, Yongjin. 2016. "Introduction Dynamism and Contention: Understanding Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping." *International Affairs* 92(4): 769–72.
- Zhang, Yuyan (张宇燕). 2013. "中国的国际环境与对外战略构想 (China's International Environment and Foreign Policy Set-Up)." *长江论坛 (Yangtze Tribune)* 06: 4–9.
- Zhang, Zhexin (张哲馨). 2012. "中美在亚太的地缘安全 (The Dilemma of China-US Geo-Security Cooperation in the Asian-Pacific Region)." 亚非纵横 (Asia and Africa Review) 05: 8-14+59+61.
- Zhao, Kejin, and Xin Gao. 2016. "Pursuing the Chinese Dream Institutional Changes of Chinese Diplomacy under Xi Jinping." *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 01(01): 35–57.
- Zhao, Suisheng. 2013. "Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: The Strident Turn." *Journal of Contemporary China* 22(82): 535–53.
- ———. 2016. "The Ideological Campaign in Xi's China." Asian Survey (November/December): 1168–93.
- Zheng, Chen. 2016. "China Debates the Non-Interference Principle." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9(3): 349–74.