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# PLIR 4500

## China's National Security: Challenges and Statecraft

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**CHEN WANG**

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📅 : Mondays 10-11 AM or by appointment

**SPRING 2021**

🗣️ : Tuesdays 6-8:30 PM

📍 : <https://virginia.zoom.us/my/uvacwang>

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

More than four decades after the “reform and opening”, the rise of China is no longer hypothetical. Yet despite its economic vitality, technological advancement, and military modernization, the security environment facing Beijing, both at home and abroad, remains complex and challenging. There are also signs of further deterioration. At the same time, China’s reaction (or overreaction) to its perceived national security threats tends to have near-automatic global implications. How do China’s leaders define their (evolving) national security interests? What are the factors that have shaped the dynamics of competitions, disputes, and conflicts involving China? What kinds of statecraft have China employed to advance its interests? This course is designed to provide students with the knowledge to evaluate rigorously these questions, and to think critically and creatively about strategies for balancing American and Chinese interests in Asia and beyond.

The course is roughly divided into three parts. The first part introduces the Chinese view of national security interests as well as the structure and process of China’s national security decision-making. The second part discusses in depth the nature and sources of several issues that China has long perceived as enduring national security challenges, including social unrest and political violence within China, sovereignty and territorial disputes between China and different regional players, and, of course, the US-China strategic competition. The third part focuses on evaluating the statecraft that China has adopted to deal with these challenges. Specifically, we seek to understand the rationale behind China’s domestic social and information control strategies, the conditions under which China is more or less likely to resort to military force (or aggressive behaviors in general), the strategic logic and effectiveness of China’s increasing reliance on economic and institutional statecraft, and the guiding principles that underlie China’s grand strategy (if there is any).

Undoubtedly, due to time restrictions, we are not able to discuss the full panoply of issues and viewpoints in contemporary scholarship on China and security. For instance, the syllabus regrettably does not cover topics such as environmental security, cyber security, China-India border disputes, and China-Russia competition in Central Asia. But by evaluating broad classes of problems and exposing students to diverse perspectives, hopefully the course will prepare students to apply the knowledge they acquire to analyzing other important questions in China related security issues and policies.

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### **OBJECTIVES**

By the end of the course, students are expected to:

1. Understand from multiple perspectives the causes and development of some national security challenges that China's leaders seek to resolve as well as the rationale and effectiveness of their strategies.
  2. Be able to independently and critically (re)evaluate whether China's certain actions can be justified on the grounds of national security or manifest a rising power's revisionist agenda.
  3. Learn useful skills that will serve you in your professional and academic lives.
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## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

### Attendance and Participation — 25%

We will take advantage of the small size of this class by organizing our sessions as discussion seminars via Zoom. Students are expected to have access to stable internet, functioning audio and video devices, and a relatively quiet environment during the meetings.<sup>1</sup> Attendance and participation are essentially important in seminars. If you can't make a class, please discuss the situation with me in advance. The course will succeed only if students have completed all the *required* readings before class, and arrive prepared and ready to share insightful thoughts and questions about the subject matter.

### Discussion Questions and Memos — 25%

*Discussion Questions (10%)*: Each student should post 2 discussion questions to the Collab Forum every week by 11:59 PM on Monday before each class (starting from the second meeting on Feb 9). The discussion questions can either be based on specific required readings or address the general topic of that week. The Collab Forum will be set as anonymous (only the instructor has access to the identity of each post), so you should feel free to share your thoughts.

*Memos (15%)*: Each student is required to write 2 discussion memos throughout the semester. The memo should be emailed to me by 11:59 PM on Monday before the class. Students can pick any two weeks between February 9 and May 4.

Memos should be 2-3 pages (double-spaced) in length and focus on 1 article assigned for that week (among the required readings). The first part of the memo should be a succinct summary of the key points of the article:

- What is the question or puzzle the author(s) are trying to address?
- Are there any existing answers to this question?
- What is the author(s)' answer/argument?
- What kind of evidence have the author(s) provided to support the argument (or to reject other explanations)?

The second part of the memo should be focused on discussing your own *opinions* about the article. Things that could be discussed include:

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<sup>1</sup> Hopefully, we could return to in-person mode at some point this semester! Also, please do not hesitate to contact me if you have difficulties with zoom.

- What surprised you most about the discussion in the article? What did you find most interesting (e.g., something that you didn't know or thought about before or something that contradicts your conventional understanding)?
- To what extent do you buy or don't buy the author(s)' argument, analysis, and/or evidence? Why?
- What are some questions on which you want to hear other participants' opinions? (**Note that it is ok if these questions are the same as those you post to the Collab Forum**)
- What are some other things that the author could have discussed that were not covered in the article?

Students who wrote memos will be the point person for the seminar that week. We will usually open the discussion with brief presentations where the student(s) will highlight *three* items from the *second* part of the memo they wrote. The presentation should be short (5-10 mins) and casual (you can prepare 2-3 slides, but that's not a hard requirement), and focused on your opinions instead of summarizing the article. I'll discuss expectations in more detail in class, but part of the idea here is to develop skills that you will all draw on in your careers – presenting as well as leading a meeting.

### **Writing Assignments — 50%**

This writing assignment can take two forms—**policy paper** or **an academic research paper**. Students are free to choose which type of the writing assignment they want pursue, depending on your needs, interests, and training experiences.

The policy paper (no more than 20 pages, double spaced) should address one of the following China-related security issues to a hypothetical group of U.S. policymakers.

- Political violence in Xinjiang
- Taiwan strait
- East China Sea disputes
- National Security Law in Hong Kong
- North Korea (de)nuclearization
- South China Sea disputes

A more detailed description of the assignment will be distributed early in the semester, but the overarching objective of the paper is to answer four major questions: (1) What is the origin and the current status of the issue, and why is the issue perceived by Chinese leaders as a national security threat? (2) What US interests are at stake? (3) What are some policy options for the US to advance its interests? (4) Why is one certain policy or a combination of several policy instruments most desirable (a.k.a. outperforms other policy options)? This assignment provides students with a chance to not only sharpen their knowledge of the nature and dynamics of these China-related security issues, but also practice their ability to think critically and creatively, and to write persuasively about strategies for balancing American and Chinese interests in these issue areas. If you prefer to address an issue not included in the above list, please meet with me to discuss paper ideas no later than the seventh meeting (March 23). The policy paper will be due in multiple stages:

- A one-page proposal that outlines what you plan to write about in each section (**5%**) – **due March 23**.
- A draft (approximately 5-6 pages) that discusses (1) the US interests regarding the issue and (2) potential policy options for the US to advance its interests (**10 %**) – **due April 20**.
- The final paper (**35%**) – **May 11**.

Students can also choose to write a research paper on China's National Security (broadly defined). Like all research projects, you need to first identify a research question that has not been adequately or satisfactorily addressed by the literature. You also need to come up with an argument that is backed by a logically coherent theory. Lastly, you need to find a scientific way to test your hypothesis, which could either be case studies or a large-N design (**For this course, the paper only needs to present the research design in detail; the section on Results or Findings is optional**). Students are highly encouraged to meet with me to discuss paper ideas before submitting a proposal. Similarly, the research paper will also be due in multiple stages:

- A one-page proposal that describes your research question **(5%) – due March 23**.
- A draft (approximately 5-6 pages) of the research question, literature review, and working theory **(10%) – due April 20**.
- The final paper **(35%) – May 11**.

Late papers will be penalized one-third of a letter grade for each day late except in the event of a documented medical or family emergency.

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## POLICIES

I try to make myself very accessible to students, and you should always feel free to email me to schedule Zoom meetings.

1. *Academic Integrity*. Cheating and plagiarism are taken very seriously in this course. All assignments must be solely the original work of the student. Violations include cheating on examinations and quoting or paraphrasing another author without attribution on written assignments. Avoid plagiarism by using footnotes (with page numbers) whenever you quote, paraphrase, or otherwise borrow someone else's ideas. If you are unsure whether you are committing plagiarism, do not hesitate to ask me for guidance (before you submit your work). Note that forming a group to study for exams or offering feedback on a draft of another student's paper are not considered violations of academic integrity. On the other hand, writing portions of a classmate's paper or copying a paragraph from a book or website without attribution are very serious violations. Violators risk failing the course and being reported to the Honor Committee.
2. *Grade Appeals*. Hopefully there will be no reason to contest a grade. However, a student who believes strongly that a paper or exam has been graded incorrectly may appeal by writing a one-page, typed memo explaining why the grade was inappropriate. No sooner than 72 hours and no later than 10 days after the original grade was issued, the memo must be submitted along with the original graded assignment to me for re-grading.
3. *Religious Holidays*: Although students are expected to attend every meeting, exceptions will of course be made for religious holidays. Students who know they will miss class owing to observance of a religious holiday need to notify the instructor during the first week of the semester.
4. *Disabilities*: SDAC will be providing their services remotely for the Fall 2020 semester. Please use

SDAC Online Portal (<https://studenthealth.virginia.edu/sdac>) to request accommodation letters.

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## COURSE MATERIALS

There is one required book, which can be easily found on Amazon, AbeBooks.com, Textbooks.com, etc.

Nathan, Andrew J., and Andrew Scobell. 2015. *China's search for security*. Columbia University Press.



All other readings are available on UVa Collab site.

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## SCHEDULE

Readings denoted by “•” are required; those denoted by “+” are recommended.

### WEEK 1 (February 2): Organizational meeting & Why study China’s national security?

- Nathan & Scobell: Introduction Chapter
- Blumenthal, Daniel. 2019. “The Unpredictable Rise of China.” *The Atlantic*.
- Allison, Graham. 2020. “The US-China Strategic Competition: Clues from History” *Aspen Institute*.  
<https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/us-china-strategic-competition-clues-history>
- + Pillsbury, Michael. 2014. “Misunderstanding China.” *The Wall Street Journal*. September 18.
- + Wang, Jisi, Stapleton Roy, Aaron Friedberg, Thomas Christensen, Patricia Kim, Joseph S. Nye Jr, Eric Li, Kurt M. Campbell, and Ely Ratner. 2018. “Did America Get China Wrong: The Engagement Debate.” *Foreign Affairs*. 97: 183.
- + Goldstein, Avery. 2020. “US–China Rivalry in the twenty-first century: Déjà vu and Cold War II.” *China International Strategy Review*. 1.
- + Walt, Stephen. 2020. “Everyone Misunderstands the Reason for the U.S.-China Cold War.” *Foreign Policy*.

## PART I: Concepts, Actors, and Institutions.

## WEEK 2 (February 9): The Chinese view of national security.

- Ji, You. 2016. "China's National Security Commission: theory, evolution and operations." *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 98: (only p178-p183 are required).
- Zeng, Jinghan, Yuefan Xiao, and Shaun Breslin. 2015. "Securing China's core interests: the state of the debate in China." *International Affairs*.
- Swaine, Michael D. 2019. "How China's Defense Establishment Views China's Security Environment." *China Leadership Monitor*
- *A ChinaFile Conversation*. 2020. "Has COVID-19 Changed How China's Leaders Approach National Security?"  
<https://www.chinafile.com/conversation/has-covid-19-changed-how-chinas-leaders-approach-national-security>.
- + Nathan and Scobell: Chapter 1.
- + Glaser, Bonnie S. 1993. "China's security perceptions: interests and ambitions." *Asian Survey* 33, no. 3.
- + Swaine, Michael D., and Ashley J. Tellis. 2000. *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future*. Santa Monica, CA; Washington, D.C.: RAND Corporation: Chapter 2: China's Security Problem.
- + Shambaugh, David. 2000. "China's military views the world: ambivalent security." *International security* 24, no. 3.
- + Wong, Edward. 2015. "Security Law Suggests a Broadening of China's 'Core Interests'." *The New York Times*. July 2.

## WEEK 3 (February 16): Decision-making: players, structure, and process.

- Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 2.
- Sun, Yun. 2013. "Chinese national security decision-making: processes and challenges." *Brookings Working Paper*.
- Fravel, M. Taylor. 2015. "The PLA and National Security Decisionmaking: Insights from China's Territorial and Maritime Disputes." In Saunders, Phillip C., and Andrew Scobell, eds. *PLA influence on China's national security policymaking*. Stanford University Press.
- Lampton, David M. 2015. "Xi Jinping and the National Security Commission: policy coordination and political power." *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, no. 95.
- + Gill, Bates, and Adam Ni. 2019. "China's Sweeping Military Reforms." *Security Challenges* 15, no. 1.
- + Wuthnow, Joel. 2017. "China's New 'Black Box': Problems and Prospects for the Central National Security Commission." *The China Quarterly* 232.
- + Swaine, Michael D. 1996. "The PLA and Chinese national security policy: Leaderships, structures, processes." *The China Quarterly* 146.
- + Glaser, Bonnie S., and Phillip C. Saunders. 2002. "Chinese civilian foreign policy research institutes: evolving roles and increasing influence." *China Quarterly*.

## Part II: Challenges at Home and Abroad

### WEEK 4 (February 23): Social Unrest.

- Lai, Hongyi. 2010. "Uneven Opening of China's Society, Economy, and Politics: pro-growth authoritarian governance and protests in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 19, no. 67.
- Chen, Xi. 2009. "The power of troublemaking: protest tactics and their efficacy in China." *Comparative Politics* 41, no. 4.
- Zhong, Yang, and Wonjae Hwang. 2016. "Pollution, institutions and street protests in urban China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 98.
- Carter, Erin Baggott, and Brett L. Carter. 2020. "Focal Moments and Protests in Autocracies: How Pro-democracy Anniversaries Shape Dissent in China." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- + O'Brien, Kevin J. 1996. "Rightful resistance." *World Politics* 49, no. 1.
- + Tanner, Murray Scot. 2004. "China rethinks unrest." *The Washington Quarterly* 27, no. 3.
- + Chen, Xi. 2012. *Social protest and contentious authoritarianism in China*. Cambridge University Press: Chapter 2.
- + Ong, Lynette H., and Donglin Han. 2019. "What drives people to protest in an authoritarian country? Resources and rewards vs risks of protests in urban and rural China." *Political Studies* 67, no. 1.

### WEEK 5 (March 2): Xinjiang

- Potter, Phillip BK. 2013. "Terrorism in China: Growing threats with global implications." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 7, no. 4.
- Mumford, Andrew. 2018. "Theory-testing Uyghur terrorism in China." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12, no. 5.
- Cao, Xun, Haiyan Duan, Chuyu Liu, and Yingjie Wei. 2018. "Local religious institutions and the impact of interethnic inequality on conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 4.
- Potter, Philip BK and Chen Wang. "Governmental Responses to Terrorism in Autocracies: Evidence from China" *British Journal of Political Science* (Forthcoming).
- + Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 8 **p.204-p.208**.
- + Bovingdon, Gardner. 2002. "The not-so-silent majority: Uyghur resistance to Han rule in Xinjiang." *Modern China* 28, no. 1.
- + Bovingdon, Gardner. 2004. "Autonomy in Xinjiang: Han nationalist imperatives and Uyghur discontent." **(Executive Summary & p.1-p.17)**.
- + Hong, Ji Yeon, and Wenhui Yang. 2018. "Oilfields, mosques and violence: Is there a resource curse in Xinjiang?" *British Journal of Political Science*.

**\*\*\* NO CLASS ON MARCH 9 \*\*\***

## WEEK 6 (March 16): Hong Kong and Taiwan

- Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 8 (p.208-p.221).
- Ma, Ngok. 2012. "The rise of 'anti-China' sentiments in Hong Kong and the 2012 Legislative Council elections." *The China Review*.
- Hass, Ryan. 2020. "Why now? Understanding Beijing's new assertiveness in Hong Kong." *Brookings*.
- Zhu Feng. 2004. "Why Taiwan Really Matters to China" *China Brief* Volume: 4 Issue: 19
- Kastner, Scott L. 2016. "Is the Taiwan Strait still a flash point? Rethinking the prospects for armed conflict between China and Taiwan." *International Security* 40, no. 3.
- + Ma, Ngok. 2005. "Civil society in self-defense: The struggle against national security legislation in Hong Kong." *Journal of Contemporary China* 14, no. 44.
- + Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 9.
- + Grossman, Derek, Sheryn Lee, Benjamin Schreer, and Scott L. Kastner. 2016. "Correspondence: Stability or Volatility across the Taiwan Strait?." *International Security* 41, no. 2.
- + McDevitt, Michael. 2006. "Taiwan: The tail that wags dogs." *Asia Policy* 1, no. 1.

## WEEK 7 (March 23): The Northeast Asia Theater

- Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 5.
- Hardy-Chartrand, Benoit. 2016. "Misperceptions, Threat Inflation and Mistrust in China-Japan Relations." *CIGI Paper*.
- Fravel, M. Taylor. 2010. "Explaining stability in the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands dispute." *Getting the triangle straight: Managing China-Japan-US relations*: 144-164.
- Shambaugh, David. 2003. "China and the Korean peninsula: Playing for the long term." *The Washington Quarterly* 26, no. 2.
- + He, Yanan. 2007. "History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict." *Journal of Contemporary China*, 16:50.
- + Pan, Zhongqi. 2007. "Sino-Japanese dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands: The pending controversy from the Chinese perspective." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 12, no. 1.
- + Wu, Xinbo. 2005. "The end of the silver lining: A Chinese view of the US-Japanese alliance." *The Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2005): 117-130.
- + Hoshino, Masahiro, and Shunji Hiraiwa. 2020. "Four factors in the "special relationship" between China and North Korea: a framework for analyzing the China-North Korea Relationship under Xi Jinping and Kim Jong-un." *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*.

## WEEK 8 (March 30): South China Sea

- Fravel, M. Taylor. (July 13, 2016 Wednesday). “Why does China care so much about the South China Sea? Here are 5 reasons.” *Washington Post Blogs*
- Dutton, Peter. 2011. “Three disputes and three objectives: China and the South China Sea.” *Naval War College Review* 64, no.
- Yahuda, Michael. 2013. “China's new assertiveness in the South China Sea.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 22, no. 81.
- Zhang, Feng. 2017. “Chinese thinking on the South China Sea and the future of regional security.” *Political Science Quarterly* 132, no. 3.
- + Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 6 (p. 139-p.146; p.148-p.159).
- + Hyer, Eric. 1995. “The South China Sea disputes: implications of China's earlier territorial settlements.” *Pacific Affairs*: 34-54.
- + Garver, John W. 1992. “China's push through the South China Sea: the interaction of bureaucratic and national interests.” *The China Quarterly* 132.
- + Morton, Katherine. 2016. “China's ambition in the South China Sea: is a legitimate maritime order possible?.” *International Affairs* 92, no. 4.

#### **WEEK 9 (April 6): The U.S.**

- Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 4.
- Pillsbury, Michael. 2015. “China’s Seven Fears When it Comes to America.” <https://www.hudson.org/research/11039-china-s-seven-fears-when-it-comes-to-america>
- Liff, Adam P. 2018. “China and the US alliance system.” *The China Quarterly* 233.
- Glaser, Charles L. 2015. “A US-China grand bargain? The hard choice between military competition and accommodation.” *International Security* 39, no. 4.
- CSIS Dialogue. 2019. “Are the United States and China in an Ideological Competition?” (the edited excerpts are available in Collab; interested students could also watch the full event: <https://www.csis.org/events/are-us-and-china-ideological-competition>)
- + Lieberthal, Kenneth, and Wang Jisi. 2012. *Addressing US-China strategic distrust*. Vol. 4. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- + Copeland, Dale. 2003. “Economic Interdependence and the Future of US-Chinese relations.” In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*.
- + Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. 2016. “The rise and fall of the great powers in the twenty-first century: China's rise and the fate of America's global position.” *International Security* 40, no. 3.
- + Lake, David A. 2018. “Economic openness and great power competition: Lessons for China and the United States.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11, no. 3.

### **Part III: Statecraft**

#### **WEEK 10 (April 13): Social Control**

- Qin, Bei, David Strömberg, and Yanhui Wu. 2017. "Why does China allow freer social media? Protests versus surveillance and propaganda." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31, no. 1.
- Xu, Xu. 2020. "To Repress or to Co-opt? Authoritarian Control in the Age of Digital Surveillance." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Leibold, James. 2020. "Surveillance in China's Xinjiang Region: Ethnic Sorting, Coercion, and Inducement." *Journal of Contemporary China* 29, no. 121.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, Myunghee Lee, and Emir Yazici. 2020. "Counterterrorism and Preventive Repression: China's Changing Strategy in Xinjiang." *International Security* 44, no. 3.
- + Wang, Yuhua, and Carl Minzner. 2015. "The rise of the Chinese security state." *The China Quarterly*: 339.
- + Truex, Rory. 2019. "Focal points, dissident calendars, and preemptive repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, no. 4.
- + Lorentzen, Peter. 2014. "China's strategic censorship." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 2.
- + King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression." *American Political Science Review*.

#### **WEEK 11 (April 20): Military Force**

- Fravel, M. Taylor. 2008. "Power shifts and escalation: explaining China's use of force in territorial disputes." *International Security* 32, no. 3.
- Fravel, M. Taylor. 2005. "Regime insecurity and international cooperation: Explaining China's compromises in territorial disputes." *International Security* 30, no. 2.
- Carter, Erin Baggott. *Working Paper*. "Elite Welfare Shocks and Autocrat Foreign Policy: Evidence from China."
- Fravel, M. Taylor, and Evan S. Medeiros. 2010. "China's search for assured retaliation: the evolution of Chinese nuclear strategy and force structure." *International Security* 35, no. 2.
- + Mastro, Oriana Skylar. 2011. "Signaling and military provocation in Chinese national security strategy: A closer look at the impeccable incident." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 34, no. 2.
- + Burles, Mark, and Abram N. Shulsky. 2000. *Patterns in China's Use of Force*. No. RAND/MR-1160-AF. RAND CORP SANTA MONICA CA.
- + Nathan & Scobell: Chapter 11.

#### **WEEK 12 (April 27): Economic and Institutional Statecraft**

- Reilly, James. 2012. "China's unilateral sanctions." *The Washington Quarterly* 35, no. 4.
- Zhang, Ketian. 2019. "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing's Use of Coercion in the South China Sea." *International Security* 44, no. 1.

- Drezner, Daniel W. 2009. "Bad debts: assessing China's financial influence in great power politics." *International Security* 34, no. 2.
- Ikenberry, G. John, and Darren J. Lim. 2017. "China's emerging institutional statecraft." *The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the prospects for counter-hegemony. Project on International Order and Strategy. Washington DC: Brookings.*
- + Zhang, Xiaotong, and James Keith. 2017. "From wealth to power: China's new economic statecraft." *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 1: 185-203.
- + Zhao, Tong. 2010. "Sanction experience and sanction behavior: an analysis of Chinese perception and behavior on economic sanctions." *Contemporary Politics* 16, no.3.
- + Bräutigam, Deborah, and Tang Xiaoyang. 2012. "Economic statecraft in China's new overseas special economic zones: soft power, business or resource security?." *International Affairs* 88, no. 4.
- + Liang, Wei. 2020. "China's Institutional Statecraft under Xi Jinping: Has the AIIB Served China's Interest?." *Journal of Contemporary China.*

### **WEEK 13 (May 4): Grand Strategy**

- Schweller, Randall L., and Xiaoyu Pu. 2011. "After unipolarity: China's visions of international order in an era of US decline." *International security* 36, no. 1.
- Pu, Xiaoyu, and Randall L. Schweller. 2014. "Status signaling, multiple audiences, and China's blue-water naval ambition." in *Status in world politics: 141-162*, edited by Paul, Thazha V., Deborah Welch Larson, and William C. Wohlforth.
- Yan, Xuetong. 2014. "From keeping a low profile to striving for achievement." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 2.
- Goldstein, Avery. 2020. "China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance." *International Security* 45, no. 1.
- + Wang, Jisi. 2011. "China's search for a grand strategy: A rising great power finds its way." *Foreign Affairs: 68-79.*
- + Buzan, Barry. 2014. "The logic and contradictions of 'peaceful rise/development' as China's grand strategy." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 4.
- + Friedberg, Aaron L. 2014. "The sources of Chinese conduct: Explaining Beijing's assertiveness." *The Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 4.
- + Wang, Yong. 2016. "Offensive for defensive: the belt and road initiative and China's new grand strategy." *The Pacific Review* 29, no. 3.
- + Zhao, Suisheng. 2016. "The ideological campaign in Xi's China: Rebuilding regime legitimacy." *Asian Survey* 56, no. 6.