

## GETTING CHINA RIGHT: CHINA IN THE WORLD

### Duke University, December 6–7, 2019

---

As China has grown in power and stature as the second largest economy in the world, a dominant trading partner, and a world power, its interests have also grown global. Many issues of Chinese domestic politics are now also truly issues of global politics. In the politically charged atmosphere that now characterizes U.S.–China relations, the need for rigorous, objective, and engaged scholarship is more critical than ever. This conference brings together scores of scholars across generations and a broad spectrum of substantive expertise in China politics. It aims to forge a connection between scholars whose research focuses on domestic Chinese politics and those who take China’s global role as their point of departure. Such a dialogue occurs rarely, but negative and dangerous responses to China’s global role require the two communities to better understand strengths and weaknesses in collective knowledge. The conference strives to connect scholarly knowledge about Chinese politics with the public discourse and public policy, so as to develop, from an existing strong foundation of relevant scholarship, the appropriate expertise and capacity to bring evidence and perspective to bear on important questions about China and its role as a new global power.

The conference is co-organized by Mary Gallagher at the University of Michigan, Melanie Manion at Duke University, Jean Oi at Stanford University, Elizabeth Perry at Harvard University, and Lily Tsai at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It is a product of their 2016 planning meeting at Duke University, which was followed by a 2017 workshop at Harvard University and a 2018 conference at Stanford University, each of which brought together some 50 scholars who actively conduct research on Chinese politics and train graduate students in political science.

We gratefully acknowledge the generous support of the Henry Luce Foundation and the following sponsors at Duke University. Without them, this conference could not have happened: Office of the Provost, Dean’s Office at Trinity College of Arts and Sciences, Asia Pacific Studies Institute, Center for International and Global Studies, Global Asia Initiative, and Department of Political Science.

### Walking to and from Program Venues

J.B. Duke Hotel to Brodhead Center: 0.78 mile, ~15-minute walk  
Brodhead Center to Duke Chapel: 0.10 mile, 2–3-minute walk  
Brodhead Center to Perkins Library: 0.15 mile, ~3-minute walk  
Perkins Library to J.B. Duke Hotel: 0.80 mile, ~20-minute walk  
J.B. Duke Hotel to Gross Hall: 0.45 mile, ~10-minute walk  
J.B. Duke Hotel to Washington Duke Inn: 0.30 mile, ~6-minute walk

### Program for Friday, December 6

Those who arrive before the formal program, which begins at 2:00, are invited to lunch at 12:00 and to a climb, in two groups of no more than 15 persons each, to the top of the Duke Chapel tower at 1:00 or 1:30. Lunch is served in the Bolton Family Tower Room, Brodhead Center 303.

**2:00**

**Brodhead Center o68**

Welcome, followed by one-on-one “speed briefings” (think speed dating)

**3:00**

Duke Chapel or remain in Brodhead Center 068

For those interested in a docent-led Duke Chapel tour, this happened to be the only available time. Otherwise, remain at Brodhead 068 to continue speed briefings until we break at about 3:30.

**4:00–5:15**

Korman Assembly Room, Perkins Library 217

[Getting China Right: Perspectives on the Challenge of China in the World](#)

This is the public face of the conference. Songying Fang, Taylor Fravel, Avery Goldstein, and Jessica Chen Weiss offer brief remarks for a general audience. Melanie Manion as moderator invites other conference participants to supplement perspectives of speakers with their own brief remarks and to participate in answering questions from the audience.

**6:00–8:00**

J. B. Duke Hotel

Ecostyle Transportation bus departs for dinner at Convivio. See <https://convivio.wine>

If you miss the bus, please find your way to the restaurant in downtown Durham, at 104 City Hall Plaza, Suite 100. The bus will take you from Convivio back to the J. B. Duke Hotel at 8:15.

### Program for Saturday, December 7

All plenary sessions are held in Gross Hall 270. Breakfast, breaks, and lunch are served in the Winter Garden, the open space just outside Gross Hall 270.

**8:00–8:45**

Continental Breakfast

**8:45–9:00**

Winter Garden

Organizational Remarks for Breakout Group Discussions and Subsequent Plenary Sessions

**9:00–9:55**

Gross Hall 230C, 230E, 230L, 230M, 230N

[Discussion of Selected Briefings in Breakout Groups, see pages 3–4](#)

We have organized many briefings by topic, as best we can, and assigned participants to a group to discuss those selected briefings. When we reconvene in plenary session, breakout group members summarize discussion for other conference participants and open up discussion to the floor. Suggested questions to organize discussion: As we consider China in the world, what perspectives and knowledge—especially those that may not be widely appreciated, perhaps even among China experts—about your group’s topic are important for scholars and policymakers to grasp? What are key misconceptions? What new knowledge and changed circumstances are important to consider?

**10:00–10:45**

[Plenary Session 1. Implications of Public Opinion in China for Global Engagement](#)

Moderator: Melanie Manion

Panel: Martin Dimitrov, Dimitar Gueorguiev, Yinan He, Karrie Koesel, Xiaojun Li, Jennifer Pan, Jeremy Wallace, Jessica Chen Weiss, Yiqing Xu

**10:45–11:00**

Break

**11:00–11:45**

Plenary Session 2. China's Domestic Politics and Engagement with the World

Moderator: Jean Oi

Panel: Taylor Fravel, Avery Goldstein, Haifeng Huang, Tyler Jost, Ning Leng, Andrew Mertha, Samantha Vortherms, Min Ye

**11:45–12:30**

Plenary Session 3. China as a Development Model

Moderator: Lily Tsai

Panel: Songying Fang, Dalton Lin, Kristen Looney, Kerry Ratigan, Maria Repnikova, Yeling Tan

**12:30–1:30**

Lunch

**1:30–2:15**

Plenary Session 4. Beijing's Export of Political Control

Moderator: Elizabeth Perry

Panel: Bruce Dickson, Sheena Greitens, Victoria Hui, Daniel Mattingly, Lynette Ong, Rory Truex

**2:15–3:00**

Plenary Session 5. International Implications of China's Domestic Political Economy

Moderator: Margaret Pearson

Panel: Ling Chen, Scott Kastner, Lizhi Liu, Meg Rithmire, Weiyi Shi, Hiroki Takeuchi, Boliang Zhu

**3:00–3:30**

Break

**3:30–4:30**

Plenary Session. Getting U.S. Policy on China Right

Andrew Nathan offers remarks to open up a broad, policy-oriented discussion with all conference participants on what it means to get U.S. policy on China right in the current political environment. You are welcome to consult page 5 for links to some material that may help anchor discussion.

Moderator: Melanie Manion

**4:30–5:00**

Closing Remarks

**6:00**

Dinner at [Washington Duke Inn](https://www.washingtondukeinn.com). See <https://www.washingtondukeinn.com>. This is within walking distance of Gross Hall and very close to the hotel, just across Cameron Boulevard, at 3001 Cameron Boulevard.

## Breakout Groups and Papers Selected for Discussion

### Gross 230C

#### Group 1. Implications of Public Opinion in China for Global Engagement

Chair: Melanie Manion

Martin Dimitrov, Dimitar Gueorguiev, Yinan He, Karrie Koesel, Xiaojun Li, Andrew Nathan, Jennifer Pan, Jeremy Wallace, Jessica Chen Weiss, Yiqing Xu

1. Cultural Security, Martin K. Dimitrov
2. Public Opinion in China, Dimitar D. Gueorguiev
3. Nationalist Narrative and China's Foreign Relations, Yinan He
4. Political Education and the Delegitimation of Democracy, Karrie Koesel
5. Public Perceptions and Misperceptions of China, Xiaojun Li
6. The Implications of Multi-Dimensional Preferences for the World's Engagement with China, Jennifer Pan and Yiqing Xu
7. The Domestic Politics of Chinese Foreign Policy, Jessica Chen Weiss and Jeremy L. Wallace

### Gross 230E

#### Group 2. China's Domestic Politics and Engagement with the World

Chair: Jean Oi

Taylor Fravel, Avery Goldstein, Yue Hou, Haifeng Huang, William Hurst, Tyler Jost, Ning Leng, Andrew Mertha, Emerson Niou, Samantha Vortherms, Min Ye

1. Chinese Foreign Policy and the Domestic Level of Analysis, M. Taylor Fravel
2. China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: The Challenging Quest for Rejuvenation, Avery Goldstein
3. Getting the World Right, Haifeng Huang
4. The Dictator's Ear: Foreign Policy Advice and Accountability in Authoritarian Regimes, Tyler Jost
5. China's Engagement with the World at the Local Level, Ning Leng and Samantha A. Vortherms
6. The Study of Chinese Domestic Politics No Longer Stops at Water's Edge, Andrew Mertha
7. Misperceptions of the Belt and Road Initiative: Domestic Politics's Influence on China's Foreign Policy, Min Ye

### Gross 230L

#### Group 3. China as a Development Model

Chair: Lily Tsai

Meina Cai, Iza Ding, Songying Fang, Dalton Lin, Kristen Looney, Kerry Ratigan, Maria Repnikova, Yeling Tan, Yuhua Wang

1. China and United Nations Peacekeeping, Songying Fang and Xiaojun Li
2. China's Experiment in Peaceful Power Transition: Belt and Road Initiative and a China-Centric Order, Dalton Lin
3. China and the East Asian Model, Kristen Looney
4. Hablando Chino: Is a "China Model" Gaining Appeal in Latin America? Not Yet, Kerry Ratigan
5. Exporting Authoritarianism? The Case of China's Trainings of African Elites, Maria Repnikova
6. State Strategies under Global Rules: Chinese Industrial Policy in the WTO Era, Yeling Tan

### Gross 230M

#### Group 4. Beijing's Export of Political Control

Chair: Elizabeth Perry

Bruce Dickson, Sheena Greitens, Victoria Hui, Yuting Li, Daniel Mattingly, Lynette Ong, Victor Shih, Rory Truex

1. It's the Party, Stupid, Bruce J. Dickson
2. The Global Diffusion of Chinese Surveillance and Policing Technology, Sheena Chestnut Greitens
3. The Hong Kong Reckoning in the China Reckoning, Victoria Tin-bor Hui
4. The China Model of Political Control? Daniel Mattingly
5. Outsourcing Violence, Repression and Hong Kong Protests, Lynette H. Ong
6. Exporting Censorship, Rory Truex

### Gross 230N

#### Group 5. International Implications of China's Domestic Political Economy

Chair: Margaret Pearson

Lucy Best, Ling Chen, Scott Kastner, Lizhi Liu, Xiaobo Lu, Edmund Malesky, Margaret Pearson, Meg Rithmire, Weiyi Shi, Hiroki Takeuchi, Boliang Zhu

1. State, Business, and Capitalist Authoritarianism in China, Ling Chen
2. Assessing China's Economic Influence, Scott L. Kastner and Margaret M. Pearson
3. Digital China and the World, Lizhi Liu
4. How Does China's Domestic Political Economy Affect its Internationalization? The Importance of Discretion, Meg Rithmire
5. Risky Business? China's Multinational Corporations and Host Country Political Risks, Weiyi Shi and Boliang Zhu
6. China as Number One? Hiroki Takeuchi

#### Closing Plenary Session. Getting U.S. Policy on China Right

[https://asiasociety.org/files/US-China\\_Task\\_Force\\_Report\\_FINAL.pdf](https://asiasociety.org/files/US-China_Task_Force_Report_FINAL.pdf)

[https://asiasociety.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/CourseCorrection\\_FINAL\\_2.7.19\\_1.pdf](https://asiasociety.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/CourseCorrection_FINAL_2.7.19_1.pdf)

[https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/00\\_diamond-schell-chinas-influence-and-american-interests.pdf](https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/00_diamond-schell-chinas-influence-and-american-interests.pdf)

<https://presentdangerchina.org/>

[https://cfrd8-files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/CSR%2084\\_Blackwill\\_Trump\\_o.pdf](https://cfrd8-files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/CSR%2084_Blackwill_Trump_o.pdf)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/making-china-a-us-enemy-is-counterproductive/2019/07/02/647d49d0-9bfa-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.5a6dcdb54636](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/making-china-a-us-enemy-is-counterproductive/2019/07/02/647d49d0-9bfa-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html?utm_term=.5a6dcdb54636)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/07/09/why-united-states-doesnt-need-return-gentler-china-policy/?utm\\_term=.576203b6a41b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/07/09/why-united-states-doesnt-need-return-gentler-china-policy/?utm_term=.576203b6a41b)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/07/09/why-united-states-doesnt-need-return-gentler-china-policy/?utm\\_term=.576203b6a41b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/07/09/why-united-states-doesnt-need-return-gentler-china-policy/?utm_term=.576203b6a41b)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/07/09/why-united-states-doesnt-need-return-gentler-china-policy/?utm\\_term=.576203b6a41b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/07/09/why-united-states-doesnt-need-return-gentler-china-policy/?utm_term=.576203b6a41b)

<http://www.jpolrisk.com/stay-the-course-on-china-an-open-letter-to-president-trump/>

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/04/03/468136/limit-leverage-compete-new-strategy-china/>