STRATEGIC STUDIES QUARTERLY

Soft Power in China's Security Strategy

LTC Mikail Kalimuddin, SAF
David A. Anderson

Abstract

The concept of "soft power" came to prominence in Chinese political and academic discourse in the mid-2000s and is now arguably a deliberate and integral part of Chinese foreign policy, facilitating China's rise by shaping the external environment. Examples of Chinese soft power include economic diplomacy with the global South, the "Beijing Consensus," public diplomacy initiatives like Confucius Institutes, and even tourism. This study expands on the existing body of scholarly literature on Chinese soft power by exploring its integration with China's security strategy. Two cases are examined: (1) the territorial disputes in the South China Sea and (2) cross-strait relations. The study demonstrates that soft power is integrated into China's security strategy and involves a wide range of sources of power.[1]

❋❋❋❋❋

> *The history of mankind tells us that problems are not to be feared. What should concern us is refusing to face up to problems and not knowing what to do about them. In the face of both opportunities and challenges of economic globalization, the right thing to do is to seize every opportunity, jointly meet challenges and chart the right course for economic globalization.*
>
> — Xi Jinping, World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2017

In what was the single most headline-grabbing moment of the World Economic Forum's 2017 annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland, the president of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, spoke at the opening plenary in defense of economic globalization. This took place

LTC Mikail Kalimuddin is a field artillery officer in the Singapore Army. He holds a BA in political science and economics and an MA in economics from Brown University. He is a graduate of the US Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC), Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Dr. David A. Anderson is a supervisory professor in the Department of Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Operations at the US Army CGSC.

against the backdrop of the recently concluded US presidential elections and growing concern about the incoming Trump administration's apparent willingness to embrace trade protectionism and isolationism. (As of 22 March 2018, President Trump did impose trade sanctions against China.) Whether merely an honest attempt to safeguard one of the critical requirements for China's continued economic growth or a deliberate masterstroke in strategic communications, the impact of Xi's comments on the narrative surrounding China's role in the international system was both immediate and profound. Many media outlets were quick to declare China as what *Newsweek* termed "the linchpin of global economic stability"—a title that would almost certainly have been heretofore reserved for the United States.[2]

Ostensibly, Xi's speech had not changed anything of material significance. Neither China's economy nor its military had increased in strength as a consequence of the speech. Yet China, at least according to the mainstream media, appeared to have assumed a new mantle of some importance. Clearly, then, some element of the relative power of actors in the international system had changed, but not in a manner that would be captured in any measurement of gross domestic product, troop numbers, nuclear missiles, or other metrics of that nature. What the meeting participants listening to Xi in Davos witnessed firsthand, whether they had realized it or not, was a palpable increase in Chinese soft power.[3]

By many estimates, major powers such as the US, the UK, Germany, France, and Japan currently enjoy a commanding lead over China in soft power terms.[4] Consequently, policy makers who focus solely on the role of hard power in state-to-state relations must recognize that their analysis is premised on the existence of this soft power disparity. While this may remain the case in the short term, China's continued development could result in this gap closing, if not at least narrowed. Indeed, soft power now enjoys a distinct role in China's security strategy. This article assesses the role of soft power in China's security strategy so policy makers dealing with China are equipped to conduct a holistic assessment of Chinese power and adjust their strategies accordingly. Then it analyzes the territorial disputes in the South China Sea (SCS) and China's handling of its relations with Taiwan. The case studies are delimited in two ways. First, the cases will be bounded in time from 2010 to the present. Second, the analysis will seek only to explain how soft power is used—not

whether it is effective. Dealing with the rise in Chinese soft power has implications for policy makers.

Assessing Soft Power and Chinese Security

Accumulating and exercising soft power has become a deliberate component of Chinese foreign policy. The paramount leaders of the Chinese political establishment have spoken and continue to speak on this subject. Then-Chinese President Hu Jintao made reference to soft power (*ruan li liang*), while addressing the Chinese Central Foreign Affairs Leadership Group in 2006.[5] This emphasis on soft power has continued a decade into Xi's tenure and is viewed as one of the elements necessary to realize the "Chinese Dream"—the revitalization of Chinese society and achievement of national glory.[6] The concept of soft power is also prevalent in Chinese academic discourse, with works by Chinese intellectuals forming a large part of the body of literature on Chinese soft power. Regardless of the extent to which Chinese politicians and intellectuals speak and write about soft power, the real world is rife with examples of Chinese soft power at work. Confucius Institutes—nodes of Chinese culture and language—number in the hundreds and are present on six continents. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a Chinese initiative that came to fruition at the end of 2015, has a membership of 50 states and half as much capital as the World Bank. More importantly, China controls over a quarter of the votes in the AIIB. The list of soft power tools at China's disposal is long and growing, the significance of which actors in the international system can ill afford to ignore.

For the purposes of this research, "soft power" is defined as the "ability to obtain desired outcomes through attraction rather than coercion or payment."[7] The characteristic feature of soft power is that it enables a country to "structure a situation so other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own."[8] Critically, this definition does not limit soft power to any particular type of power; it deals instead with the intended effects of power. For completeness, the antithesis of soft power is "hard power," which is defined as the use of power by a country to coerce or induce other countries to take certain actions or adopt particular positions.[9] Whereas soft power is about "shaping what others want," hard power "changes what others do."[10]

It should be noted that this is not the only established definition of soft power, nor is it purported to be an unequivocally superior definition

of soft power. Rather, this definition has been selected for its utility in shedding light on the "softer" elements of China's security strategy and hence best serves the objectives of this research. Narrower definitions generally define soft power according to the type of power involved rather than its effects. Particularly in the security domain, where certain types of power predominate, a restrictive definition would severely limit the number and variety of instances of soft power in the cases being studied and unnecessarily constrain the research. Broader definitions of soft power, however, blur the line between instances of power that are soft and those that are not. Without this distinction, the question this research seeks to answer becomes invalid.

Following from the definition of soft power, an analytical framework is needed to draw the link between observed instances of power and their intended effects. To this end, the research codes observations according to the three predetermined categories of "sources," "tools," and "modes." "Sources of power" or "sources" are the domains countries draw upon to exercise hard or soft power. Examples of sources of power include the economic, military, institutional, and cultural domains. Sources of power are neither hard nor soft when considered in isolation, as they do not prescribe the manner in which power is used. Nonetheless, an expanded military force or greater cultural cache, for example, means that a state's soft power (and hard power) potential is increased. "Tools of power" or "tools" refer to the specific forms in which sources of power manifest. For example, a financial loan is a tool, as is an art exhibition. A financial loan is likely to be derived from the economic domain; an art exhibition from the cultural domain. Tools need not be physical in nature. A speech by a political figure espousing a particular position is also a tool. Like sources of power, tools of power are also neither hard nor soft. A greater variety of tools provides a state with more avenues through which to draw on its potential power. "Modes of power" or "modes" refer to the ways in which tools of power are used. A mode comprises a multitude of factors, though it is described primarily by the intent of the actor exercising power and the audience that perceives the exercise of power. The mode of power is essentially the intended effect of a tool and therefore determines whether a tool of power is ultimately soft or hard—it is power in action.

Simply identifying the various forms of Chinese soft power at play in the security domain would fall short of the purpose of the research;

a final step in the analysis is necessary. Here, core concepts—potential aspects of China's soft power strategy, or "strategic aims"—are identified, abstracted, and synthesized to generate the desired product of this research: a hypothesis about the role of soft power in China's security strategy.

The South China Sea Disputes

The disputes center on unresolved claims by a handful of East Asian countries over a variety of land features in the SCS. Countries are reluctant to concede or agree to compromises in their claims for several reasons: (1) to gain exclusive access to resources in the waters and sea bed surrounding and beneath the features such as fisheries, oil, and natural gas; (2) to control major international shipping routes; and (3) because of the symbolic significance that is invariably attached to matters of national sovereignty.[11] Resolving these claims is made especially problematic because of the limitations of international maritime law, a sizeable part of which is based on international customary law. Even where countries have committed themselves to international agreements, gray areas remain. For example, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) defines the territorial and economic rights that littoral states have with regard to the different types of land features (archipelagos, islands, reefs, rocks, etc.). However, it does not determine the rightful ownership of territory that is disputed or the appropriate status of land features in cases where countries disagree. Further complicating such agreements are the numerous caveats and reservations that countries attach to their participation.[12]

The claimants in the SCS disputes are China, Taiwan, Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. China's extensive claims in the SCS, represented by the Nine-Dash Line, overlap with the claims made by all four Southeast Asia (SEA) countries. China and Taiwan's claims are effectively identical; however, China views Taiwan's claims in the SCS as complementary to its own, if not simply invalid. China and Taiwan base their SCS claims on the same map "issued in the late 1940s by China's then-Nationalist government."[13] Since Taiwan's claims are based on the same historical evidence as China's, Taiwan's claims only serve to lend credibility to China's. In addition, China believes that the territory of Taiwan will eventually be reunified with the mainland as a single political entity; hence Taiwan's claims are not viewed as competing with

China's.[14] Involvement in the disputes is not limited to claimant states.[15] The intensity of the disputes has risen and fallen repeatedly since the end of the Second World War. The most recent period began in 2009 with a new round of claims submitted by a number of states, including China with its Nine-Dash Line.[16] Since then, tensions in the SCS have continued to escalate steadily as a result of a series of actions and counteractions by both claimants and non-claimants.

Chinese Soft Power in the SCS

China's use of soft power in its handling of the SCS disputes has three strategic aims. First, it seeks to control the terms of discussion. China's goal is to strengthen the legitimacy of its claims in the SCS. This is done by redefining the legal basis upon which maritime boundary delimitation occurs, establishing the history of its claims, and controlling the manner in which disputes are managed and resolved. Controlling the terms of discussion allows China to increase the likelihood that the disputes will ultimately be resolved in its favor. The second strategic aim is to make China a preferred partner. By increasing its value to countries in the region, particularly among claimant states, and projecting an image of constructive participation in regional affairs, China hopes to soften opposition by other states to its activities in the SCS and encourage claimant states to work with China in resolving the disputes in a manner it deems appropriate. Finally, China wants to prevent interference. By reducing the extent to which non-claimant states influence developments in the SCS, China increases its leverage over claimant states. This pertains especially to the US, which possesses the economic, military, and political heft to both counter China unilaterally and maintain a tacit coalition of states that are able to work together to oppose China in the SCS. It also ensures China is able to isolate other claimant states through bilateral negotiations.

These strategic aims are inferred based on the observed application of sources, tools, and modes by China in its handling of the SCS disputes.[17] Specific components of soft power support each strategic aim, with links between the various components (refer to figure 1).

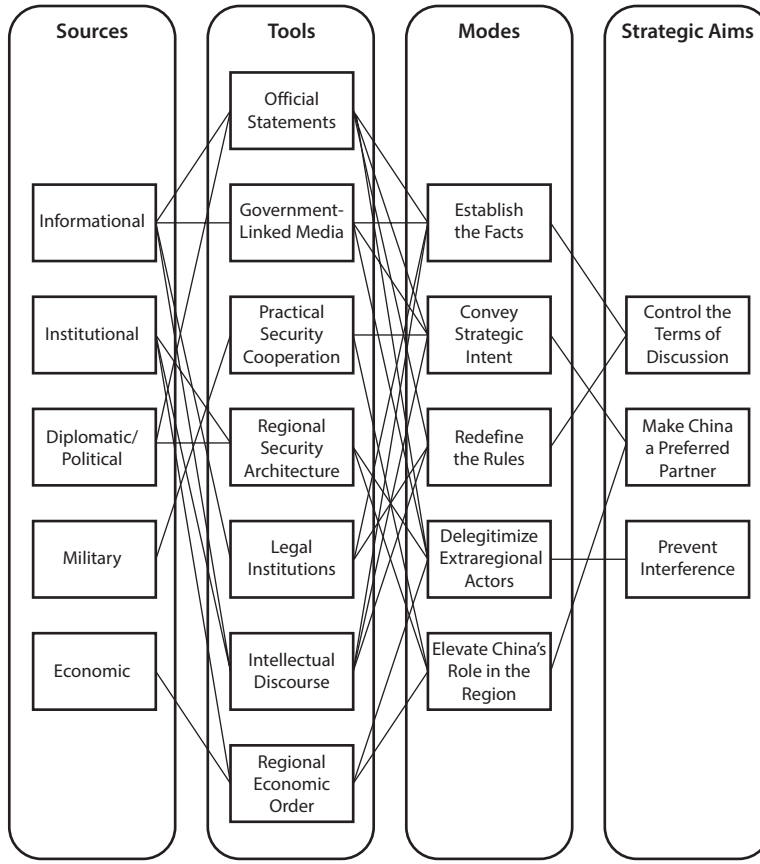

Figure 1. Depiction of soft power strategy—the SCS disputes

Control the Terms of Discussion

China's first strategic aim is to control the terms of discussion and by doing so increase the likelihood that the SCS disputes are managed and eventually resolved in its favor. This strategic aim draws on informational, institutional, and diplomatic sources of power to achieve two effects: (1) establish China's version of the facts and (2) redefine the rules to China's advantage.

Establish the facts. China's efforts in establishing the facts serve its goal of influencing what the facts are. Through a combination of official statements, products from official Chinese media, and participation by Chinese academics in the ongoing intellectual discourse on developments in the SCS, China seeks to convince the global public of the historical basis of its claims in the SCS. It argues that "the Chinese people

[were] the first to discover, name, develop and administer the Islands, and that the Chinese government was the first to peacefully and effectively exercise continuous sovereign jurisdiction on South China Sea Islands," citing both occidental and oriental historical maps as corroborating evidence.[18]

China has left no stone unturned in its efforts to "educate" the world. In 2016, China ran a video advertisement in New York City's Times Square, providing evidence for the validity of its claims in the SCS. The three-minute-long video ran 120 times a day for a period of 10 days and included soundbites from both Chinese and non-Chinese government officials.[19] Official Chinese media outlets like China Central Television (CCTV) and Xinhua have established dedicated online sites in English that reiterate China's position on the facts.[20] These sites supplement the official online repository maintained by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) that details the Chinese government's position on all SCS-related matters.[21] CCTV has also produced online videos that convey similar information but use an animated format that is likely to have greater appeal among online viewers.[22]

China's attempts at shaping intellectual discourse on the SCS go beyond the efforts of individual Chinese policy makers and academics. At the institutional level, China has established think tanks and institutions with a sole focus on the SCS. Among them are the Collaborative Innovation Center for South China Sea Studies (CICSCSS) established in 2012 and the National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCSS) established in 2013 as the successor to the Hainan Research Institute for the South China Sea. The NISCSS in turn sponsors the Institute of China-American Studies (ICAS) which is based in Washington, DC. ICAS "has a relatively low profile in Washington but has become [a] frequent contributor to American events discussing the South China Sea disputes."[23] These institutions provide China with the means to promulgate its version of the facts to non-Chinese academics and policy makers without drawing as much attention to China's underlying agenda.

Redefine the rules. China also seeks to redefine the rules by influencing which facts are relevant and how disputes should be resolved. By determining which facts are relevant, China hopes to redefine the legal basis by which international maritime boundaries are delimited and "shape international opinion in favor of a distorted interpretation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea."[24] Here again, official

statements frequently point to China's historical claim to territory in the SCS and reference "traditional fishing areas" as the basis on which China claims economic rights in various parts of the SCS. In terms of the manner in which disputes should be resolved, Chinese officials reference China's past successes in resolving boundary issues with its neighbors as an indication that bilateral negotiations are the best way forward in the SCS.[25] Institutions like the CICSCSS, NISCSS, and ICAS serve the dual purposes of providing China with a platform to share its interpretation of the rules among experts in the field and with a means by which to grow its own cadre of researchers and academic experts to bolster its institutional capacity to inform the intellectual discourse.

While China can easily establish think tanks and academic institutions to enhance its intellectual soft power, growing its influence in the area of maritime law poses a much greater challenge. Legal institutions, particularly those that function in the realm of international law, draw their legitimacy from the body of states that recognize their authority. This has not stopped China from trying to establish its own alternative legal institutions. In 2016, the chief justice of the Supreme People's Court announced that China would unilaterally establish an International Maritime Judicial Center (IMJC) that will adjudicate on maritime disputes.[26] By publicizing its judgments and judicial views, China hopes the IMJC will enable it to reshape legal norms in maritime disputes to its advantage—an approach informally termed by observers as "law fare."

Make China a Preferred Partner

China's second strategic aim is to present itself as a preferred partner to the member states of ASEAN and by so doing both soften their opposition to China's activities in the SCS and increase their receptivity to China's espoused approach to resolving the territorial disputes. This strategic aim draws on informational, institutional, diplomatic, military, and economic sources of power to achieve two effects: (1) conveying China's strategic intent and (2) elevating China's role in the region.

Convey strategic intent. China seeks to communicate a version of its strategic intent that will allay the fears of ASEAN member states and convince them of China's desire to work toward outcomes that are beneficial to all parties. At every opportunity, Chinese officials have reiterated their government's commitment to "rules and mechanisms

for management and control of differences of opinion," "realizing mutual benefits through cooperation," "safeguarding freedom of navigation in and flight over the South China Sea," and, more generally, "peace and stability in the South China Sea."[27] Official Chinese media outlets and Chinese academics from state-linked institutes present a similar refrain.

To back up its rhetoric, China has pointed to its support for ASEAN-China maritime cooperation, which includes a half-billion-dollar fund that it established in 2011, as well as to its proposals for confidence building measures (CBM) and "hotlines" to better manage potential conflicts in the SCS. It has also reiterated its support for the implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC), and continued consultation on the ASEAN-China SCS Code of Conduct (COC). These efforts in practical security cooperation serve to demonstrate China's commitment to making its "dual-track" approach work—resolution of disputes through bilateral negotiations between claimant states, supported by a multilateral ASEAN-China effort to maintain peace and stability in the SCS.

China has also communicated its intent to maintain stability in the SCS through its willingness to work with the US. For example, China agreed to a Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES) at the Western Pacific Naval Symposium in 2014.[28] It has since participated in bilateral CUES exercises with the US Navy and employed CUES during its encounters with the US naval vessels in the SCS. To allay concerns over its construction of dual-use facilities on its islands in the SCS, China has couched these developments as a way for China to "better perform [its] international responsibilities and obligations."[29]

Elevate China's role in the region. China has taken steps to increase its value and links with member states of ASEAN and in regional structures, in order to increase its attractiveness as a regional partner. In terms of the regional security architecture, China has continued to increase its participation in "multilateral dialogues and cooperation mechanisms such as the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Shangri-La Dialogue (SLD), Jakarta International Defence Dialogue (JIDD) and Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS)."[30] It has also embarked on its own initiatives, such as the Xiangshan Forum—a track 1.5 regional security dialogue, which was inaugurated in 2009 but has significantly expanded in recent years—and the establishment of the China-ASEAN Defence Ministers'

Informal Meeting in 2015. China has also stated that it "resolutely supports ASEAN exhibiting a leading role in cooperation in the East Asia region" and has taken on a series of projects to demonstrate this support in a concrete manner.[31] China is an active participant in the ARF and has led more than 40 cooperation projects, constituting one-third of the total number of projects and the highest number among member states.[32]

Practical security cooperation is also a feature of China's soft power. It conducted humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) operations in support of the Philippines following Typhoon Haiyan in 2013 and in support of Malaysia following severe flooding in 2014. It also participated in the ARF Disaster Relief Exercise 2015 held in Malaysia. With Thailand, China has "numerous shared security interests, particularly regarding non-state threats in the Mekong River basin."[33]

From an economic perspective, China's value to the region has grown significantly. In addition to the large and growing volume of bilateral trade and investment with ASEAN member states, China's institutional influence has been enhanced by its establishment of the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). The China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund, which began its operations in 2010, serves as another symbol of China's commitment to economic development in SEA.

Prevent Interference

China's third strategic aim is to prevent interference from non-claimant states, particularly the US, and by doing so maintain its freedom of action in the SCS and increase its leverage in bilaterally negotiated dispute settlements. This strategic aim draws on informational, institutional, diplomatic, and economic sources of power to delegitimize extra-regional actors.

Unlike the first two strategic aims, which serve to enhance China's soft power, this third strategic aim focuses on reducing the soft power of extra-regional actors that pose a threat to China's achievement of its goals in the SCS. Statements by Chinese officials and the state-run media have sought to "[malign] the [US'] role in initiating and escalating tensions."[34] China's line of argument is that the militaristic nature of US involvement has introduced destabilizing elements in the SCS and points to "freedom-of-navigation operations in the South China Sea, flaunting its military force, and . . . pulling in help from cliques, supporting their allies in antagonizing China."[35] China has also sought to draw attention to

what it perceives as a history of "power politics and bullying by Western Powers."[36]

China argues that states in the region should be allowed to collectively develop their own approach to achieving peace and stability in the SCS without unwanted external interference. It has proposed the idea of a "security-governance method in keeping with the special characteristics of this region" or an "Asian way of comfort" that focuses on "non-aligned relationship routes," with the goal of excluding extra-regional actors.[37] China's extensive efforts in developing ASEAN-China initiatives also serve to limit the influence of actors like the US and Japan by reducing their role in the regional security architecture.

From an economic perspective, China has sought "to undermine U.S. dominance in established trade blocs while touting the benefits of a China-led order through its own initiatives."[38] Much like the AIIB, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) offers the region an economic structure that has little in the way of a role for the US. The recent withdrawal of the US from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which would have been an alternative, has only increased the attractiveness of realizing the RCEP.[39] This regional economic framework, along with the AIIB and the various funds operated by China for ASEAN and its member states, reinforces the perception of the US' waning economic relevance in the region.[40] This undercuts US soft power in the region and weakens its ability to maintain a grouping of countries, both claimants and non-claimants, are willing to work with the US to block China from achieving its designs for the SCS.[41]

Overall, China's soft power strategy appears to work hand-in-hand with its hard power goals in the SCS to "safeguard [China's] maritime rights and interests."[42] By controlling the terms of discussion, China is able to reshape not just the physical state of play in the SCS but also the legal and historical aspects of the disputes. It also increases the likelihood that its preferred method of resolving the disputes—bilateral negotiations—will eventually be agreed to by other claimant states. China's hard power goal of countering and fragmenting opposition to its claims is supported by soft power efforts to make China a preferred partner in the region and prevent interference by extra-regional actors. As the de facto leader of the loose grouping of countries opposed to China's actions in the SCS, the US will find itself hard-pressed to maintain the commitment of other states in resisting China, particularly as its soft power in the

region is diminished. China, on the other hand, will benefit from the growing desire of other states in the region to work with it as its status as a preferred partner rises.

Cross-Strait Relations

In 1949, China's Nationalist government, the Kuomingtang (KMT), was defeated by the Communist Party of China (CPC) and fled to the island of Taiwan, marking the end of the Chinese Civil War. Since then, China's fundamental position has remained essentially unchanged: it sees Taiwan as a rogue province that must eventually be reunified with China under the control of the CPC. Up until 2000, Taiwan's government also maintained the position that the territories of China and Taiwan would eventually be reunified, albeit under its control. The combination of these two political end states was captured in the 1992 Consensus that developed out of a meeting between representatives of the CPC and KMT and is the basis for the current interpretation of the "One China principle."[43]

The election of Chen Shui-bian from the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) as president of Taiwan in 2000 marked the beginning of a period of increased turbulence in cross-strait relations. Unlike the KMT, the DPP has not publicly accepted the 1992 Consensus, and while it has not attempted to make a formal declaration of Taiwanese independence, it is a strong proponent of a distinct Taiwanese identity. From 2000 to 2008, the Chinese government employed a host of coercive measures to dissuade the DPP from putting Taiwan on a path to independence, including the suspension of high-level interactions with the Taiwanese government, the passing of the Anti-Secession Law, and intensified diplomatic isolation of Taiwan.[44] During this eight-year period, no agreements were signed between China's Association for Relations across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) and Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF), nor were there any formal interactions between the two organizations.[45]

The return to a KMT-led Taiwanese government in 2008 resulted in an immediate improvement in cross-strait relations and steadily increasing levels of cooperation between China and Taiwan in a variety of areas. However, the relatively healthy political situation is at odds with social trends among the Taiwanese population. "Since the 1992 consensus, the proportion of people on the island who identify themselves simply

as Taiwanese has more than tripled to almost 60%; the share of those who call themselves Chinese has plunged to just 3%."[46] This issue of identity is even more pronounced among Taiwanese youth and most notably manifested as student-led protests in the 2014 Sunflower Student Movement.[47]

In the 2016 round of elections in Taiwan, the DPP gained control of both the executive and legislative branches for the first time in Taiwan's history. While the current Taiwanese president, Tsai Ing-wen, has thus far taken a more conciliatory approach to cross-strait relations than former President Chen, China remains wary about her political goals and has made repeated calls for her to recognize the 1992 Consensus as a precursor to any further improvement in ties between China and Taiwan. The 2016 election also saw the emergence of the New Power Party, which has its roots in the Sunflower Student Movement and advocates independence for Taiwan. This points to trends in Taiwan's political landscape that will likely have an increasingly deleterious impact on cross-strait relations.

Chinese Soft Power in Cross-Strait Relations

The research indicates that China's use of soft power in handling cross-strait relations has two strategic aims. The first is to build robust social ties. China's goal is to undercut the emergence of a strong Taiwanese identity that is entirely separate from China. This is done by playing up the common historical identity that Taiwan shares with China and by creating an environment that promotes social reintegration between the Chinese and Taiwanese after decades of isolation from each other. Deep social ties serve as an anchor to prevent Taiwan drifting away from China toward independence. Next, China aims to engender a sense of shared prosperity. It seeks to convince the Taiwanese population that a close relationship is essential for Taiwan's continued prosperity. This involves developing a high level of economic interdependence between China and Taiwan as well as creating the perception that China is committed to supporting Taiwan's interests. By China having portrayed itself as a guarantor of Taiwan's continued prosperity, the Taiwanese will be less likely to support a political agenda that puts the stability of cross-strait relations at risk.

These strategic aims are inferred based on the observed application of sources, tools, and modes by China in its handling of cross-strait relations.[48] The components of soft power that support each strategic

aim, as well as the links between the various components, are shown in figure 2 below.

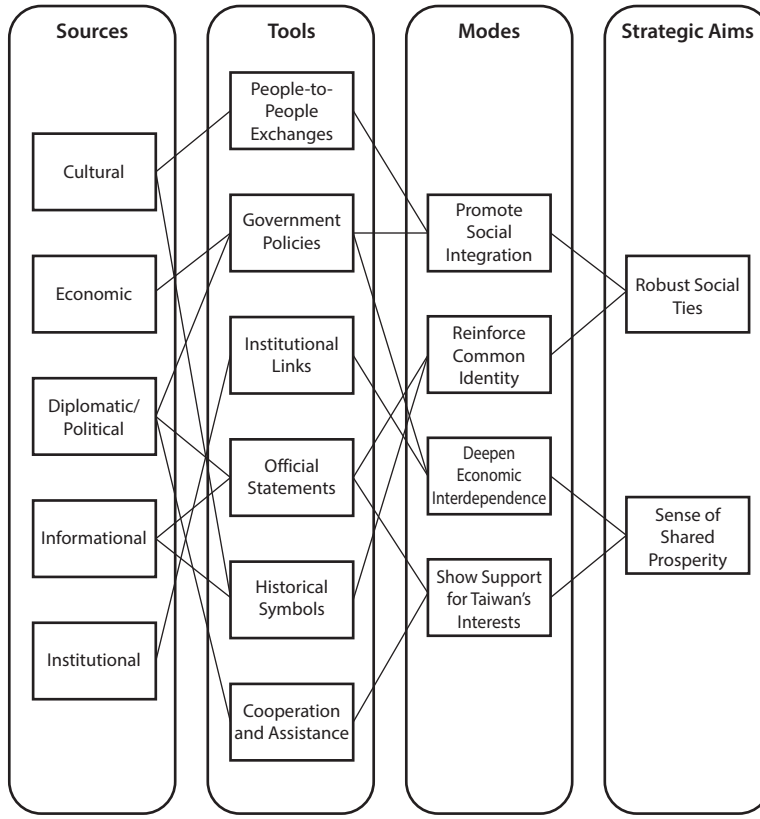

Figure 2. Depiction of soft power strategy—Taiwan

Build Robust Social Ties

China's first strategic aim is building robust social ties and by doing so provide a counter to the emergence of a Taiwanese identity that is entirely separate from China. This strategic aim draws on cultural, political, and informational sources of power to achieve two effects: (1) promote social integration and (2) reinforce a common identity.

Promote social integration. China seeks to promote the integration of the Taiwanese population into Chinese society through a combination of tools. The first of these has been to grow the number of people-to-people exchanges, "especially among ordinary citizens."[49] Cross-strait tourism appears to be one of the ways that this being achieved and is generally viewed as "a peace-building mechanism."[50] Beyond the rising

number of direct air routes and flights between China and Taiwan, entry requirements for Taiwanese to enter China have been eased. In 2015, per-visit entry permits were replaced with electronic travel passes that allow for multiple trips within a fixed duration.[51] China also is specifically targeting Taiwanese youth, as this segment of the Taiwanese population identifies very weakly with China and, consequently, serves as a strong base of support for the pro-independence agenda. Chinese officials have declared their intention to "boost the loyalty of young people from Taiwan . . . by organizing 'study trips' and exchanges for them to visit the mainland."[52] This proliferation of people-to-people exchanges also extends to the realm of academia. The number of Taiwanese students in Chinese universities has increased significantly over the past few years, from 928 in 2011 to 2,734 in 2014.[53] In 2016, a cross-strait think tank forum involving academics and experts was included for the first time in the annual Cross-Strait Forum, adding to a growing number of opportunities for exchanges between Chinese and Taiwanese academics.[54]

As evidenced by the suspension of high-level Taiwanese Affairs Office (TAO) and the Mainland Affairs Council (MAC) and ARATS-SEF interactions in May 2016, the DPP's control of the Taiwanese government may appear to constitute a major dampener on people-to-people exchanges between China and Taiwan. However, the reality is that this is largely political theater and only affects interactions between the top tiers of the two governments. In contrast, exchanges between city governments, professional associations, academic groups, and so forth have not been affected.

Policy measures have also been taken by the Chinese government to support the social integration of the Taiwanese into China. This includes preferential policies that "cover employment, social insurance and living needs" and "facilitate Taiwanese to live and work on the mainland."[55] China has made it easier for Taiwanese professionals to work in China. For example, Taiwanese law firms have been allowed to establish representative offices in China since 2011, and a sizeable number of Taiwanese are now qualified to practice law in China.[56] The number of intermarriages between Chinese and Taiwanese people has also grown significantly over time, increasing by more than 10,000 couples annually. In 2012, the Chinese government established an association specifically to provide assistance to these cross-strait couples across "a wide spectrum of

social services such as employment, social security, medical care, education and child bearing and raising."[57]

Reinforce a common identity. China has sought to reinforce the common historical identity that it shares with Taiwan. In their remarks, Chinese officials consistently refer to the Taiwanese in some form or other as "our own flesh and blood."[58] At the historic 2015 Xi-Ma meeting, Xi remarked that "we [Taiwanese and Chinese] are closely-knit kinsmen, and blood is thicker than water."[59] China has also couched this common identity in the form of a shared future by referencing the "Chinese dream" and the "great rejuvenation of the Chinese people" in the context of cross-strait relations.[60] Chinese officials have even gone as far as appealing to a sense of shared duty or national obligation by framing the disputes in the SCS and ECS as a responsibility to be borne by both Taiwan and China collectively.[61]

China has also leveraged historical symbols to emphasize the common identity between China and Taiwan. In 2011, a joint forum on Sun Yat-sen—the founder of the KMT—was held in Guangzhou and included high-level representation from the CPC. The forum coincided with the centennial of the 1911 revolution and focused on the "philosophy and ideas of Sun," "the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation," and Sun's role in the overthrowing of the Qing Dynasty.[62] In 2015, China commemorated the 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, which included a series of cross-strait events that drew attention to the contributions of the Communists and Nationalists in defeating the Japanese, with victory "only possible through the efforts of the entire nation."[63] Both KMT and CPC veterans were included at the front of the internationally televised and widely attended 2015 China Victory Day Parade. China's willingness to acknowledge and publicize the involvement of the Nationalists in modern Chinese history points to the increased emphasis it has placed on reinforcing a common Chinese identity among the Taiwanese.

Engender a Sense of Shared Prosperity

China's second strategic aim is to engender a sense of shared prosperity and use this to encourage Taiwan to pursue a political future where it remains hitched to China. This strategic aim draws on economic, political, informational, and institutional sources of power to achieve two

effects: (1) deepen economic interdependence between China and Taiwan and (2) show China's support for Taiwan's interests.

Deepen economic interdependence. China's goal is to develop a sufficiently deep level of economic integration with Taiwan such that the Taiwanese will consider a stable relationship with China essential to a prosperous future. Developing cross-strait economic links has long been a component of China's "embedded reunification" strategy; however, its potential has increased as China's economy has surged and Taiwan's has slowed.[64] China has pushed this economic integration through a combination of government policies and increased institutional links.

In terms of government policies, China and Taiwan signed the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) in 2010—the first ever cross-strait trade agreement. The economic benefits of the agreement are generally tilted in Taiwan's favor. For example, "China eliminates tariffs on almost twice as many goods as Taiwan" and "opens up more of its service sector for Taiwanese entrepreneurs to invest in on the mainland."[65] This suggests that China's motivations for establishing the agreement lie beyond the apparent economic benefits. Since then, China and Taiwan have established a plethora of additional economic agreements, covering areas like taxation, finance, aviation, shipping, and services. This has continued even in Tsai's first term as president, with the launch of a preferential customs clearance program in the second half of 2016.[66]

In general, Chinese officials have made clear their intention to pursue economic policies that are preferential toward the Taiwanese.[67] For example, a comprehensive economic zone was established on Pingtan Island, in Fujian, China, as a pilot area for cross-strait cooperation. Businesses in the area can conduct banking in both Chinese and Taiwanese currencies and benefit from tax reductions. There are also preferential policies that make it easier for Taiwanese professionals to be employed within the zone.[68] More broadly, Chinese companies have invested approximately US $1.7 billion in Taiwan since being given the green light to do so in 2009, creating 11,400 Taiwanese jobs in the process.[69]

China has also increased its institutional links with Taiwan, which in turn support the growth of economic ties. In terms of financial institutions, Taiwan-based banks have been allowed to open branches in China since 2011, and a growing number of Taiwanese securities firms now have a presence in China.[70] A Cross-Strait Industrial Cooperation Forum has been established to "[strengthen] cooperation in hi-tech and

new industries."[71] This is in addition to numerous other economic forums that have for years been promoting cooperation across a wide variety of industries. China has also expressed a desire to have ARATS and SEF establish "cross-strait offices" in Taiwan and China respectively, though this has yet to come to fruition.[72]

Show support for Taiwan's interests. Simply establishing strong economic ties is unlikely to be sufficient to convince the Taiwanese that China is deeply invested in Taiwan's long-term future. To this end, China has made an effort to demonstrate its support for Taiwan's interests through its rhetoric and actions. Beyond references to the shared realization of the "Chinese dream" and the "great rejuvenation of the Chinese people," Chinese officials have explicitly stated that "the Chinese mainland will continue to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of Taiwan compatriots."[73] In 2014, the TAO established an office specifically tasked to "manage public petitions related to Taiwan affairs" and "listen to the complaints and demands of Taiwan compatriots and Taiwanese spouses in the mainland and try to solve their problems."[74]

In terms of practical cooperation and assistance, China has offered humanitarian relief to Taiwan on a number of occasions. In 2012, China donated US $100,000 to Taiwan to assist with rainstorm-relief efforts.[75] In the aftermath of the 2015 earthquake in Nepal, China offered its assistance to Taiwanese in Nepal, saying that "both sides are of one family."[76] China has also cooperated with Taiwan on issues of cross-border crime since a mechanism for mutual assistance was established in 2009. In 2012, a joint China-Taiwan police operation resulted in a successful raid against a human-trafficking ring.[77] These actions are intended to convince the Taiwanese public that China's support for Taiwan extends beyond pure economic interest.

While the ultimate aim of all Chinese actions in regards to cross-strait relations is to prevent Taiwan from seeking independence and steer it towards eventual reunification, it appears that China's hard and soft power strategies are directed at different audiences. On the one hand, hard power has been primarily applied in a political context to influence the policies of the Taiwanese government—a combination of diplomatic strangulation as well as political tit-for-tat. On the other hand, soft power has focused on maintaining a favorable perception of China among the Taiwanese population—"to place hopes in the Taiwanese people," as the "slogan frequently uttered by Chinese leaders" goes.[78] This distinction

in the aims of China's hard and soft power strategies comports with the Taiwanese perception of "relatively low 'people-targeted' hostility" and comparably higher "'government-targeted' hostility" from China.[79]

Case Analysis and Observations

A series of meaningful observations can be made based on the results of these two case studies. First, the fundamental question of whether soft power has a distinct role in China's security strategy is answered in the affirmative. As was demonstrated in both case studies, varied combinations of sources, tools, and modes are employed by China to support a series of strategic aims. Consequently, any analysis of Chinese security strategy that deals with hard power alone or merely offers a superficial treatment of soft power should be questioned for its completeness.

Second, Chinese soft power draws on a wide range of sources, from commonly recognized sources of soft power such as culture and institutions to the traditionally "hard" domain of military power. That being said, not every source of soft power is present across all cases. The common social roots that the Chinese and Taiwanese share is unique to cross-strait relations, making culture a natural source of soft power. This is hardly applicable in the SCS disputes given the diverse range of players. On the other hand, the historical and political dynamics between China and Taiwan preclude the use of the military as a source of soft power. This differs markedly from the SCS disputes where militaries can simultaneously compete and cooperate with one another, enabling the PLA to be employed as hard and soft power.

Third, the relationship between soft and hard power varies depending on the specific issue. As highlighted in the analyses of the two cases, soft power and hard power are mutually reinforcing components of China's strategy in the SCS disputes. In the case of cross-strait relations, the purpose of exercising soft power is fundamentally different than that of hard power. It differs in time horizon (long-term rather than short-term), objective (promoting reunification rather than preventing independence), and target audience (people rather than politics). This suggests that the role of soft power is not limited to enhancing the effects of hard power; under certain circumstances, soft power may be employed to achieve aims that hard power simply cannot.

Implications for Policy Makers

The immediate implication for policy makers is self-evident: any strategy for dealing with Chinese actions that hopes to be effective must account for both the hard and soft power strategies employed by China. As an example, if the US' withdrawal from the TPP is considered solely from the perspective of hard power, it would appear to have little direct impact on the SCS disputes. Ostensibly, the withdrawal has implications for US influence in the Asia-Pacific in general, but it is difficult to identify how it might relate to China's strategy in the SCS disputes specifically. If, however, we consider the soft power strategic aim of "making China a preferred partner," then it becomes apparent that the withdrawal provides China with a strategic opportunity to advance this aim through a competing agreement like the RCEP, which advances China's agenda of substituting US leadership of the regional economic order with its own.

By understanding China's soft power strategy, policy makers can more accurately and comprehensively assess the impact of their decisions. With the SCS disputes, ignoring Chinese soft power may lead policy makers to underestimate the extent to which China can influence the various actors involved and shape the situation to its advantage. That being said, while a hard power–centric counterstrategy may fall short to some degree, it would not be misdirected in this particular case. With cross-strait relations, however, a lack of attention given to Chinese soft power is likely to have more serious consequences. A hard power analysis would fail to identify an entire aspect of China's strategy—Chinese actions directed at the people of Taiwan, rather than just the politics of Taiwan.

A second set of implications concerns the growth of China's soft power. Many major powers currently have more soft power at their disposal than China does. If this differential in soft power narrows or even flips in favor of China, these states may find that their existing strategies for managing China's rise are no longer as effective. Simply put, policy makers dealing with security issues involving China will need to pay careful attention to changes in Chinese soft power and be prepared to adjust their national strategies accordingly.

As was shown here, China's security strategy leverages multiple sources of power, presenting China with many avenues to enhance its soft power. China's economic power is huge and growing; its effects are particularly pronounced in Asia. Of all the sources of power, this is the

one that policy makers are probably most cognizant of and prepared to deal with. In terms of military power, China's growth potential is significant and involves more than just sheer size. The PLA is currently engaged in a massive modernization effort under Xi's leadership, shedding much of its antiquated doctrine and organization. As the PLA takes on new missions that involve it maintaining a greater external presence, China's ability to wield soft power through its military will grow both quantitatively and qualitatively. Considering the PLA held its first-ever exercise with a foreign military only as recently as in 2002, one can only assume that its untapped potential is significant.[80] The advancement of Chinese military technology is a possible game changer. Achieving parity with the US in military technology will have considerable hard power benefits for China, but the effect on Chinese soft power could be as large, if not greater. If countries are presented with a compelling reason to consider China as their primary technology partner, they may also be encouraged to fundamentally reconsider the centrality of their security relationships with the US.

China's institutional soft power deserves added attention. Compared with economic and military heft, institutional power takes time to cultivate. As China produces ever more scientists, academics, and professionals who operate at the cutting edge of their fields, increasing numbers of these individuals will take on positions of influence in institutions around the world and even create institutions of their own. China's ability to influence the regional and global discourse on a wide range of issues will increase correspondingly. In areas like cyber and space, where international norms have yet to be settled upon, this growth in institutional soft power will be particularly valuable.

One additional aspect of China's soft power growth policy makers should watch is the evolving role of Chinese nongovernmental entities—individuals, businesses, nongovernmental organizations (NGO), and so on. Unlike with hard power, governments do not hold a monopoly on soft power. The UK's *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015* states explicitly that "much of the UK's soft power is completely independent of government, and this is what gives it its strength."[81] A common critique of China is that it is overreliant on the government as a generator of soft power. Nye points to China's overreliance on the government as a source of soft power in the sense that "the Chinese Communist Party has not bought into the idea that

soft power springs largely from individuals, the private sector, and civil society," and instead defaults to "tools of propaganda."[82] A change in China's soft power strategy, if it were to occur, that elevates the role of nongovernmental entities could catapult China up the global soft power standings. Admittedly, there are serious structural impediments to this, one example being "the absence of Chinese NGOs on the international stage."[83] At the same time, the sheer scale of China's economic growth has inadvertently thrust some of its citizens onto the world stage. Jack Ma, the billionaire founder and executive chairman of the Alibaba Group, regularly holds court with global audiences, helping to project a softer and more appealing image of China. This serves to highlight a secondary effect that a shift toward nongovernmental soft power would have: an enhancement of informational power through the higher credibility of nongovernmental entities.

If one considers China's dynastic history as an indicator of how China might approach strategy in the modern world, the appearance of soft power in China's security strategy should come as little surprise. For 2,000 years, Chinese emperors used the diverse cultural and economic products of the "middle kingdom" as a means to maintain the Imperial Chinese tributary system across Asia. During periods of dynastic weakness, when China was unable to secure its borders against foreign invaders, the Chinese strategy was to control the invading regime from within, through the institutional influence of the mandarins. Over time, the manner in which the invaders ruled would become effectively indistinguishable from that of the Chinese rulers they had sought to displace. In a sense, soft power has long been a major part of the Chinese security strategy—as China's most famous military strategist remarked, "To win without fighting is the acme of skill."[84] A modern corollary of this can be found in the well-known PLA publication *Unrestricted Warfare*: "Spaces in nature including the ground, the seas, the air, and outer space are battlefields, but social spaces such as the military, politics, economics, culture, and the psyche are also battlefields."[85] SSQ

Notes

1. This article is based on LTC Mikail Kalimuddin's master's thesis produced while attending the US Army Command and General Staff College. Dr. David A. Anderson was his thesis chair.

2. Bessma Momani, "Xi Jinping's Davos Speech Showed the World Has Turned Upside Down," *Newsweek*, 18 January 2017, http://www.newsweek.com/davos-2017-xi-jinping-economy-globalization-protectionism-donald-trump-543993.

3. Soft power, a term coined by the American political scientist Joseph Nye in 1990, refers to sources of state power that are complementary to traditional sources of power, or "hard power." Soft power is defined as the "ability to obtain desired outcomes through attraction rather than coercion or payment." Underpinning Nye's theoretical framework is the notion that any analysis of states that limits itself to traditional sources of power is fundamentally incomplete.

4. Examples of well-established soft power indices are the Pew Research Center Global Attitude Survey, Portland's The Soft Power 30, and Monocle's Soft Power Survey.

5. Mingjiang Li, "Soft Power in Chinese Discourse: Popularity and Prospect," in *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics*, ed. Mingjiang Li (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2009), 23.

6. Xuequan Mu, "Xi: China to Promote Cultural Soft Power," Xinhua, 1 January 2014, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/201401/01/c_125941955.htm.

7. Joseph S. Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 6th ed. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), 289.

8. Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (Autumn 1990): 168, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1148580.

9. Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 5.

10. Nye, *Soft Power.*

11. *See* Sean Mirski, "The South China Sea Dispute: A Brief History," *Lawfare*, 8 June 2015, https://www.lawfareblog.com/south-china-sea-dispute-brief-history.

12. See the by-country declarations for UNCLOS listed at http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/convention_declarations.htm. As an example, China does not accept any of the dispute resolution mechanisms provided for in the Convention.

13. Austin Ramzy, "Taiwan, after Rejecting South China Sea Decision, Sends Patrol Ship," *New York Times,* 13 July 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/asia/south-china-sea-taiwan.html?_r=0.

14. Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council PRC (hereafter, Taiwan Affairs Office), "Mainland, Taiwan Responsible for S. China Sea Sovereignty: Spokeswoman," 25 April 2012, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/SpokespersonRemarks/201204/t20120426_2493232.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

15. For example, Japan supplied or agreed to supply the Philippines and Vietnam with maritime patrol vessels in 2016.

16. Mirski, "South China Sea Dispute."

17. Overall, China's employment of hard power in the SCS is indicative of three components in its overarching strategy: (1) aggressively asserting its claims while reshaping the status quo to its advantage, (2) countering and fragmenting opposition to its claims, and (3) pushing for resolution mechanisms that provide it with the greatest leverage.

18. Bingguo Dai, "Speech by Dai Bingguo at China-US Dialogue on South China Sea Between Chinese and US Think Tanks" (address, China-US Dialogue on South China Sea Between Chinese and US Think Tanks, Washington, DC, 5 July 2016), http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1377747.shtml.

19. Angela Doland, "Watch the Chinese Propaganda Ad Playing 120 Times a Day in Times Square," *Advertising Age*, 27 July 2016, http://adage.com/article/global-news/a-mind-numbing-chinese-propaganda-ad-playing-times-square-120-times-a-day/305198/.

20. Examples of these sites are http://english.cctv.com/special/southchinasea/ and http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/special/SouthChinaSea/index.htm, accessed 26 February 2018.

21. "The South China Sea Issue," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/nanhai/eng/, accessed 26 February 2018.

22. China Central Television (CCTV), "Animated Videos Tell You Who Stirred the Waves in the South China Sea," posted to YouTube by "Listen to me" 19 June 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PH7sOSmyalQ.

23. Bill Hayton, "Is China Getting Better at Charming Southeast Asia on the South China Sea?," *The Diplomat,* 17 November 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2016/11/is-china-getting-better-at-charming-southeast-asia-on-the-south-china-sea/.

24. US Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2007* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2007), http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/070523-China-Military-Power-final.pdf.

25. Jianguo Sun, "Strengthening Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific" (speech, International Institute for Strategic Studies [IISS] Shangri-La Dialogue 2015 Fourth Plenary Session, Singapore, 30 May 2015), http://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/archive/shangri-la-dialogue-2015-862b/plenary4-b8e3/sun-0dfc.

26. Qiang Zhou, "Work Report of the Supreme People's Court" (speech, fourth session of the 12th National People's Congress, 13 March 2016), http://www.chinacourt.org/article/detail/2016/03/id/1825026.shtml.

27. Jianguo Sun, "The Challenges of Conflict Resolution" (speech, IISS Shangri-La Dialogue 2016 Fourth Plenary Session, Singapore, 5 June 2016), http://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/archive/shangri-la-dialogue-2016-4a4b/plenary4-6c15/jianguo-6391.

28. CUES "offers safety measures and a means to limit mutual interference, to limit uncertainty, and to facilitate communication when naval ships or naval aircraft encounter each other in an unplanned manner." Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) Secretariat, *Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea,* WPNS report (Qing Dao, China: WPNS, 22 April 2014), 5, http://www.jag.navy.mil/distrib/instructions/CUES_2014.pdf.

29. Sun, "Strengthening Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific."

30. The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, *China's Military Strategy (M*ay 2015)**,** http://www.china.org.cn/china/2015-05/26/content_35661433.htm.

31. Sun, "The Challenges of Conflict Resolution."

32. Xia Hua, "China Supports Development of ASEAN Regional Forum with Practical Actions: FM," Xinhua, 27 July 2016, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-07/27/c_135542397.htm.

33. Stratfor, "The Limits of Soft Power in the South China Sea," 18 November 2015, https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/limits-soft-power-south-china-sea.

34. Jean-Marc F. Blanchard and Fujia Lu, "Thinking Hard about Soft Power: A Review and Critique of the Literature on China and Soft Power," *Asian Perspective* 36, no. 4 (2012): 574, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704806.

35. Sun, "The Challenges of Conflict Resolution."

36. Dai, "Strengthening Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific."

37. Dai, "Strengthening Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific."

38. Stratfor, "The Limits of Soft Power in the South China Sea."

39. Takashi Terada, "South China Sea Dispute and Institutional Balancing: ASEAN, TPP and AIIB," Doshisha University, accessed 7 November 2017, http://web.isanet.org/Web/Conferences/HKU2017-s/Archive/253b3362-6522-494b-8b8c-a4afa3b722e2.pdf.

40. Ann Marie Murphy, "Great Power Rivalries, Domestic Politics and Southeast Asian Foreign Policy: Exploring the Linkages," *Journal of Asian Security* 13, no. 3 (Special Edition 2017): 165–82, http://doi.org/ckvs.

41. Jeremy Maxie, "The Elephant in the Room: US Needs a Geo-economic Strategy for Asia, Now," *The Diplomat,* 24 February 2017, https://thediplomat.com/2017/02/the-elephant-in-the-room-us-needs-a-geo-economic-strategy-for-asia-now/.

42. The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, *China's Military Strategy.*

43. The "One China Principle," under the 1992 Consensus, is that both China and Taiwan are part of a single sovereign state, but there is disagreement over which political entity is the legitimate government of this state.

44. Article eight of the Anti-Secession Law authorizes China to use non-peaceful means to prevent Taiwan's secession from China.

45. Chien-Kai Chen, "China-Taiwan Relations Through the Lens of the Interaction Between China's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits and Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation," *East Asia* 31, no. 3 (September 2014): 226, http://doi.org/ckvt.

46. "The Great Obfuscation of One-China," *The Economist*, 11 March 2017, http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21718499-polite-fiction-there-only-one-china-has-kept-peace-east-asiabut-now-it.

47. The Sunflower Student Movement was a protest by students and civic groups in 2014 against the establishment of a trade agreement between Taiwan and China.

48. Overall, China's employment of hard power in its handling of cross-strait relations is indicative of two components in its overarching strategy: (1) delegitimizing Taiwan as a sovereign entity through diplomatic isolation, and (2) providing the Taiwanese government with disincentives for pursuing a path towards independence.

49. Taiwan Affairs Office, "More Efforts Urged in Cross-Strait Grassroots Communication," 28 June 2014, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201406/t20140630_6427961.htm.2014 (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

50. Min-Hua Chiang, "Tourism Development Across the Taiwan Strait," *East Asia* 29, no. 3 (September 2012): 236, http://doi.org/cktc.

51. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Chinese Mainland to Issue Electronic Travel Passes to Taiwan Visitors," 15 September 2015, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201604/t20160408 _11429457.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

52. Jason Lee, "China to Target Young of Taiwan, Hong Kong to Boost Loyalty," Reuters, 3 March 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-taiwan-hongkong-idUSKBN16A0ZU.

53. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Student Exchanges Double in Five Years," 8 November 2015, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201604/t20160408_11429652.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

54. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Eighth Cross-Strait Forum Sees Deepened Exchange," 17 June 2016, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201606/t20160623_11490003.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

55. Rui Zhang, "Chinese Mainland to Issue Preferential Policies for Taiwan Compatriots," CCTV.com, 2 September 2017, http://english.cctv.com/2017/02/09/ARTI4xXaowdbbQcchJdL0Htb170209.shtml. As of 2016, there are an estimated one million expatriate Taiwanese living in China.

56. Taiwan Affairs Office, "201 Taiwanese Qualified to Practice Law on Mainland," 25 September 2013, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/SpokespersonRemarks/201309/t20130926_4938025.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

57. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Association Established to Serve Cross-Strait Couples," 28 August 2012, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201208/t20120829_3003246.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

58. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland Welcomes all Taiwan Compatriots," 28 February 2014, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/SpokespersonRemarks/201402/t20140228_5749151.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

59. "Xi-Ma Meeting: Transcript of China President Xi Jinping's Opening Remarks," *Today*, 7 November 2015, http://www. todayonline.com/singapore/transcript-china-president-xi-jinpings-speech-he-meets-taiwans-ma-jing-yeou.

60. "Xi-Ma Meeting."

61. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland, Taiwan Responsible."

62. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Chinese Mainland, Taiwan to Hold Joint Forum on Sun Yat-Sen," 15 December 2011, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/SpokespersonRemarks/201103/t20110316_1788618.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

63. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Commemoration of WWII Victory Promotes Cross-Strait Relations," 3 September 2015, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201604/t20160408_11429435.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

64. Christopher M. Dent, "Taiwan and the New Regional Political Economy of East Asia," *China Quarterly* 182 (June 2005): 400, http://doi.org/c5vnd9.

65. Min-Hua Chiang, "Cross-Strait Economic Integration in the Regional Political Economy," *International Journal of China Studies* 2, no. 3 (December 2011): 682, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290573687_Cross-strait_economic_integration_in_the_regional_political_economy.

66. Straits Exchange Foundation, "Taiwan and Mainland Launch Preferential Customs Clearance Program," 1 October 2016, http://www.sef.org.tw/fp.asp?xItem=1010713&ctNode=4633&mp=300.

67. "China's Bottom Line," *The Economist*, 17 March 2015, http://www.economist.com/news/china/21646571-chinese-leaders-send-warnings-taiwans-opposition-party-ahead-elections-next-year-chinas-bottom.

68. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Chinese Mainland Island Seeks Taiwan Professionals," 14 February 2012, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201202/t20120215_2292610.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

69. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland, Taiwan Acknowledge Progress of Cross-Strait Talk," 30 November 2015, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201604/t20160408_11429690.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

70. Taiwan Affairs Office, "6 Taiwan Banks Approved to Open Mainland Branches: Spokesman," 29 December 2010, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/SpokespersonRemarks/201103/t20110316_1788623.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

71. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland, Taiwan to Strengthen Hi-Tech Cooperation," 21 November 2012, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201211/t20121123_3386684.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

72. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland Spokesman on ARATS, SEF Establishing Cross-Strait Offices," 16 January 2013, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/SpokespersonRemarks/201301/t20130117_3554951.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

73. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Chinese Mainland to Strengthen Protection of Taiwanese Rights, Interests," 12 January 2011, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/SpokespersonRemarks/201103/t20110316_1788626.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

74. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland Opens Office to Handle Taiwan-Related Petitions," 15 August 2014, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201408/t20140819_7026283.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

75. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland Sends Disaster-Relief Fund to Taiwan," 17 June 2012, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201206/t20120618_2749193.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

76. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland Helping Taiwanese in Nepal," 29 April 2015, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201505/t20150514_9801140.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

77. Taiwan Affairs Office, "Mainland, Taiwan Jointly Bust Human-Trafficking Rings," 6 August 2012, http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/en/CrossstraitInteractionsandExchanges/201208/t20120809_2896898.htm (article removed from site by 26 February 2017).

78. Jing Sun, *Japan and China as Charm Rivals: Soft Power in Regional Diplomacy* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 124.

79. Sun, *Japan and China*, 128.

80. John W. Garver, "China's Influence in Central and South Asia," in *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*, ed. David Shambaugh (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 213.

81. HM Government, *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015* (London: UK Government, 2015), 49, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-security-strategy-and-strategic-defence-and-security-review-2015.

82. Joseph S. Nye, "The Limits of Chinese Soft Power," Project Syndicate, 10 July 2015, https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/china-civil-society-nationalism-soft-power-by-joseph-s--nye-2015-07?barrier= accessreg.

83. Yiyi Lu, "Blind Spots in China's Soft Power," *The Straits Times*, 15 July 2007.

84. Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 77.

85. Liang Qiao and Xiangsui Wang, *Unrestricted Warfare* (Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House Arts, 1999), 206.