

Win without battle: why China still needs a peaceful rise?

Yihe Chang^{1, *}, Shuwei Zhang², Qijun Xue³

¹High School Affiliated to Renmin University of China, Beijing, 100080, China

²No.2 High School of East China Normal University, Shanghai, 201203, China

³Nanjing Foreign Language School, Nanjing, Jiangsu, 210008, China

*Corresponding Author. Email: Yihe_Chang@163.com

Abstract: This article examines the feasibility of the peaceful rise strategy for China and how China should conduct its behaviors under this guideline. After the Reform and Opening up, China has acquired dramatic development especially in military and economic realms, surpassing its neighbors. But there is still a wide gap between China and the U.S. Given the existence of this gap, a peaceful rise strategy reveals fewer risks and thus being more appropriate for China. The goal of this strategy is to create a more conducive environment for China to rise through cultivating at least stable relationships with its neighbors and the U.S., expanding its economic impact, and creating a coherent and positive figure.

Keywords: China, Peaceful Rise, Strategy

1. Introduction

With China's rapid multidimensional development and breakthroughs in recent years, arguments concerning the rise of China has been under the spotlight. This article examines the reason why peaceful rise is an appropriate option for China and how should it conduct its strategies. Researches on this topic could provide appropriate strategies for rising powers like China through comparison and theoretical derivation.

In the work, we firstly determined a definition of peaceful rise, containing basic concepts that would be referred to throughout the article. Secondly, there is an elaboration on the feasibility of the peaceful rise strategy for China. Then, there is a general discussion of China's current economic and military situations. Comparisons would be utilized in this part to better fix China's position and elaborate on the reason why a peaceful strategy would be more appropriate. Fourthly, there are analyses of strategies for the peaceful rise of China, divided in three dimensions: military, economics, and culture. Finally, there is an evaluation of the benefits and limitations of the peaceful rise strategies, both internally and externally.

2. Definition

Here, the authors define "peaceful rise", or the so-called "peaceful development" used in China's official rhetoric, as a largely benign, non-belligerent rise of China in global status, including, but not limited to, building up necessary military capability to defend its core interests or, as China's leaders described, "active defense"[1], maneuvering economic tools to gain influence in international arena, and exporting its cultural soft power to enhance its attraction. In a word, to develop China itself while gaining international influence without direct use of coercion and aggression. From this sense, peaceful rise does not necessarily mean rise uninvolved military means; rather military buildup is an essential component of peaceful rise. Yet, as possession of nuclear retaliation ability has already guaranteed China's homeland security, China can therefore avoiding showcasing military strength to intimidate other states, and even avoiding using any forms of intimidation and coercion to create a benign image, thus reducing its threat perceived by other states and possibility of counterbalancing backlash, so as to create a peaceful environment for it to pursue other secondary interests. On this logic that as long as security is guaranteed, states, e.g. China, can thus pursue its economic growth and other goals.[2]

3. Feasibility

Before we delve into analyzing why China still needs to seek peaceful rise, we need to address one problem: is peaceful rise feasible?

Indeed, some scholars argue that a peaceful rise is simply impossible [3], and some claim that as strategic pressure from US is mounting, China feels increasing pressure to fight back [4]. However, in this paper, the authors argue that peaceful rise is not only beneficial, but also feasible. First of all, as mentioned above, with the advent of nuclear weapons, China has guaranteed its security need; indeed, there has no war breaking out between nuclear powers after WW II.[5] Moreover, the presence of China's threat can also strengthen solitary of US allies in East Asia, which serves as justification for US military presence in East Asia.[6] Second, in this economically globalized world, China's economic engine is increasingly important for global economic growth, including US itself, so undermining stability of China or even East Asia is also not in US interests.[7] Finally, China can play an active role in keeping peaceful rise: countries balance based on threat,[8] so if China's threat is limited, not aggressive enough to other states' survival, then other states will be unwilling to be strapped in US strategic track, and this is particularly true for Southeast Asian states, which have suffered a long time of colonialism, and thus treasure independence to the greatest extent, and would continue to pursue "double-binging" whenever possible.[9] In the next part, China's current economic and military capability will be discussed and a gap between China and the U.S. will be revealed, strengthening the necessity for China to conduct a peaceful rise strategy.

4. Current Situations and Gaps

4.1. Current Military Situations of China

When it comes to the argument of peaceful rise, military strategies are always neglected. People tend to equal military instrument with aggressiveness and assertiveness. Nevertheless, the military could still play a vital role in the peaceful rise of China. What matter are how China will set its military strategies and how other countries, especially the ones in Asia, perceive them. Also, the role of the United States in this process should not be overlooked. At first, there is an examination of the current military situations of China.

China has made substantial military breakthroughs in recent years, especially in its air force and navy. Those include J-20, the first fifth-generation fighter of China, commissioned in September 2017; *Shandong*, the first aircraft carrier made in China, commissioned on December 17, 2019; Type-055 destroyer, commissioned on January 12, 2020; and perhaps a new type of SSBN under construction. In the military parade of the 70th anniversary of China, China demonstrated its efforts in modernizing its army, especially the People's Liberation Army Rocket Force (PLARF), including DF-17 and DF-41. However, compared with the U.S., the only superpower in the world, which commissioned its fifth-generation fighters as early as 2005 and now has 11 aircraft carriers in service,[10] the People's Liberation Army (PLA) still lags far behind. Besides, owing to its advanced blue-water navy and massive overseas military bases, the U.S. Armed Forces own an unparalleled global power projection and Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD) capability. Apart from that, there is also a gap between the U.S. and China's expenditures on defense as well as on research and development (R&D). Using 2018 as the base year, 2019 defense expenditure was \$731.72 billion for the U.S. and \$261.09 billion for China. The 2018 indexes for the U.S. and China of gross domestic spending on R&D were 2.826% and 2.186%. Note there was a disparity between their GDPs. Admittedly, a delicate conclusion cannot be drawn from such a cursory comparison, but it is tangible to sense a wide gap between two countries' military forces. However, it needs to be clarified that even with the existence of this gap, the PLA still barely finds a matched counterpart in Asia.

Individual military exercises and patrols have become the primary trend of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) military activities. They serve to demonstrate the growing capability of PLAN, to consolidate China's claims in the South China Sea, and to deter other claimants in this region. Systematical records of PLAN military exercises in the South China Sea are hard to gather. Nevertheless, in the past few years, the pace, scope and tempo of exercises in the area appear to have increased.[11] China has sent both of its aircraft carriers to the South China Sea for exercises, suggesting its assertiveness in consolidating claims in this region.[12]

Unlike individual military exercises, joint military exercises serve as a way for China to cultivate its

military relationships. In 2019, China participated in 27 joint military exercises,[13] many of which were with Russia and countries in Southeast and Central Asia. Since 2012, China has signed 5 major multilateral Anti-Terrorism treaties with mainly the members of the SCO,[14] which further strengthened their military cooperation.

For China's peaceful rise, its relationship with Japan is perhaps the most important in the world.[15] However, after the 2012 Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute,[16] the exchange of warship visits between them was suspended, which indicated jeopardy to China-Japan military relations.

In conclusion, military strength is a pillar for China's rise, no matter peacefully or aggressively. Adopting an aggressive strategy, China is more likely to get involved in conflicts with neighboring countries. Undoubtedly the PLA surpasses the military forces of those countries. However, if the U.S. intervenes, regardless of concern for its self-interest or the security of its allies in Asia, the whole process will become extremely complicated. The U.S. intervention would bring not only higher risks but also uncertainties to China's aggressive rise. Apart from that, switching to an aggressive strategy means that China is likely to violate its claimed defensive national defense policy and independent foreign policy of peace,[17] hurting its own prestige and maybe even causing it to lose the ties cultivated in these years. And thus, at least militarily, a peaceful rise strategy seems to be more appropriate.

4.2. Current Economic Situations of China

With the development of modern society and the further deepening of economic globalization, the competition between countries in the economic field is escalating. China, with her gross domestic product (GDP) growing at an annual rate of approximately 7% since 2011[18], has surpassed Japan and become the world's second largest economy. Therefore, China now poses a challenge to the US as the world's dominant economic power and is poised to reconstruct the current world trade order.

4.2.1. An Emerging Power in Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGO)

China, with the US, shapes the course of the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations and plays an increasingly influential role in the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In 2014, with India, Singapore and other 18 states, China established the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). AIIB challenged the World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) as the fundamental source of aid for developing countries. Also, China promoted the establishment of the New Development Bank (NDB), whose head office is in Shanghai.

The participation of China in these NGOs undoubtedly reinforced China's influence over world economy, especially over East Asian economy.

4.2.2. One of the Largest Export Markets

In 2009, China replaced the US as Japan's largest export market. By 2014, China has become the most important export market for countries in South East Asia, such as Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia and Philippines. For example, in Malaysia, the exports to China took 16.46% of its GDP. In the case of Australia, 34.93% of its total exports was contributed to China. And most importantly, the total exports took 22.63% of China's GDP. These statistics reveals the great dependence of South East Asian countries on China.

4.2.3. Distance Between Chines economy and US economy

The facts, evidence and statistics listed above proves the status of China in world economy has risen to a new level. However, when it comes to the competition in economic field between China and the United States, things become utterly different. For many countries that are of great political significance to China, China is not their most important export market. For example, Vietnam is undoubtedly an important country to China, for its strategic location and the security of its border with China. But in 2014, the United States was the biggest export market for Vietnam. Its economic reliance on the United States is doubtlessly a threat for China. However, it is extremely difficult for China to reverse the dominant power of the United States on world economy for the disparity between the economic power of the two countries. China's GDP dependence on the US market in 2014 (3.83%) was far greater than US GDP dependence on the Chinese market (0.95%). In this situation, if China chose to rise in an aggressive way and insist to launch a trade war against the United States, not only the sanctions but also the wastage within the country would be unaffordable. Therefore, a route of peaceful rising would be essential and appropriate for China.

Given the analysis of China's current positions in military and economy fields, suggestions on how

China should conduct the peaceful rise strategy are proposed in the next part.

5. Feasible Measures

5.1. Feasible Future Military Strategies

There is a strong correlation between global status and the place of power concerned in its region.[19] China should at first achieve a consensual hegemony in its region. Under this concern, the goal of China's military strategies following the peaceful rise should be to obtain the capability to secure its national interest in Asia (through increasing defense and R&D expenditures) while preventing other Asian countries from perceiving increasing military threats. China should also try to keep U.S.-China military relation stable.

5.1.1. Within the Region

One opinion is that the current responses of some Asian countries towards China's rise tend to be bandwagon rather than balance.[20] On the other hand, South Korea's deployment of THAAD and conspicuous U.S. military sales to Taiwan suggest some powers in the region may work as offshore balancers for the U.S. And surely there are also countries in the middle.

China should maintain benign military relationships with its existing partners like Russia and members of the SCO and try to improve ties with countries in the middle, especially with Japan. Militarily, this could be attempted through frequent joint exercises and cooperation, foreign military sales, and security treaties. The PLA should keep restrained in disputed lands and waters, and deterrence should be prudently utilized. For the determined balancers, China should at least maintain a stable military relationship with them, preventing the escalation of tension. Nevertheless, reducing hostility and cultivating partnership should always be the optimizing choice. Through the measures mentioned above, China needs to create a credible, positive, and coherent figure to the Asian countries as well as maintaining the stability of this region.

5.1.2. With the U.S.

The military relationship between China and the U.S. is relatively stable. Even during the trade war in 2018,[21] both countries participated in Exercise Kowari 2018 and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response Exercise of Cobra Gold 18 as usual.[22] Although incidents like U.S. presence near China's claimed waters and U.S. military sales towards Taiwan stimulated tension, the tension was only temporary and barely changed the essential characteristics of this military relation.

China should avoid direct stalemates with the U.S. Armed Forces, maintaining this stable relationship. However, when concerning events related to China's claimed or controlled waters, China has to reveal assertiveness to the U.S. After decades, if China could acquire a relative military advantage to the U.S. in East Asia, inevitably the U.S. forces will be gradually pushed out of this region. Nevertheless, China cannot fully push the U.S. forces out because this action would lead to the concern and insecurity of the U.S. and its allies. The lack of security assurance of the U.S. allies and the diminishment of influence of the U.S. may lead to their more aggressive behaviors, which could destabilize this region and hinder the peaceful rise of China. China needs to behave with high precision.

A significant concern of the strategies is that whether the U.S. will maintain coherent military strategies. The U.S. under Trump Administration has revealed an inconsistency in its foreign policies with the former administrations. Therefore, there is a possibility that in the future the U.S. will adopt more aggressive military strategies against China, bringing more challenges to the peaceful rise of China.

5.2. Future Economic Measures and Strategies

Considering the current situation China faces and the international status China has, the author considers China should develop its economy peacefully using following measures and strategies:

- 1) Encouraging the RMB to become the core of East Asian monetary system and maintain its strong purchasing power;
- 2) Increasing Chinese investment in developing countries;
- 3) Reshaping the value-added part of Chinese companies in the entire international value chain and shifting some parts of production to places with lower labor costs, including some developing countries;

4) Expanding and strengthening the power and effect of the One Belt, One Road initiative, using it as one of the most important economic initiative in the next decade.

5.2.1. Make RMB the Core of East Asian Monetary System

In the author's point of view, one of the reasons why there is a disparity between China and the US is that RMB does not have a dominant power as USD. It is strategically important for China to build a monetary system with RMB as its core. It would be helpful for RMB to increase its status. The first step to build such a system should be establishing the structure of it on a small scale, for example in East Asia. Then it would be the aspiration of China to expand this system into a global scale and acquire the power to challenge USD.

5.2.2. Invest in Developing Countries

Investing in developing countries is a strategy that China applied decades ago. The benefits of this strategy would not only be in economic field but also in political and even military field. For example, in the development of Pakistan, China provided financial and technological aids. As a result, Pakistan and China have developed an all-weather strategic partnership of cooperation, the highest level of cooperation that China currently possesses. The friends China makes through this process would be helpful for China when it needs supports in some international conferences. Also, the preference of trading of these countries would promote the economy of China.

5.2.3. Reshape the Value-added Part of Chinese Companies

Not only the trade between governments is of great importance to China, but the trade between multinationals is of the same value. Reshaping the value-added part of Chinese companies in the entire international value chain and shifting some part of production to places with lower labor costs, including some developing countries, can boost the economy of China through a deep, multi-angle and all-direction way.

5.2.4. Expand and Strengthen the influence of One Belt, One Road initiative

China's "One Belt One Road" initiative clearly reads as an audacious vision for transforming the political and economic landscapes of Eurasia and Africa over the coming decades via a network of infrastructure partnerships across the energy, telecommunications, logistics, law, IT, and transportation sectors [23]. One Belt, One Road initiative is considered as an important mechanism for deepening bilateral and multilateral collaboration. This initiative, from the author's perspective, should be the most important economic strategy for China in the next decade. By expanding the influence and power of this initiative, China can enlarge her trading scale and expand her global market. By the way, from the cultural aspect, One Belt, One Road initiative would be a good road of cultural communication. The growth in cultural communication between China and countries along this road will also aid to Chinese economy since the export of cultural commodity would be very profitable.

5.3. Feasible Cultural Measures

5.3.1. Current Situations and problems

China's socialist market economy reform has been carried out for many years, making full use of the advantages of market-oriented resources to develop the economy. However, in the field of cultural output, the CCP's strategy still seems to remain in the stage of a planned economy, that is, propaganda controlled by the central government. The main means of this "planned economy" of cultural output are Confucius Institutes and official accounts set up on overseas social media by CGTN, Xinhua News Agency, and others. Confucius Institutes are difficult to be accepted by foreigners, unfortunately. There are two reasons for this. First, it has not gone through the market competition, so it can hardly grasp the users' demand. Poetry, Peking Opera, Confucianism...all these taught by Confucius Institute are too hard for beginners to understand. This only is a wishful thinking of the Chinese government, without considering the degree of receipt. At the folk level, China also has a small number of popular entertainment products going abroad, such as Tiktok, a short-video sharing Application, and Wuxiaworld, a website publishing online Kungfu fiction novels. However, this way of cultural export has not been taken seriously by the government and is restricted by the government's strict domestic censorship. Second, the intention and motives contained in China's cultural output are too strong and too deliberate. There are lots of attached ideologies in the culture that China exports to the world, and its political attribute is even greater than the cultural attribute, almost turning its cultural output into political propaganda.[24] Such propaganda is extremely ineffective, especially for foreigners wary of Chinese ideology. The official accounts'

clashed propaganda and over-obvious indoctrination will only further antagonize the audience, making China's international image even worse. Some of the censorship provisions are even comical, such as "to protect the mental health of children, a strand of hair of cartoon characters is not allowed to be dyed" and "online novels cannot depict naked parts from the neck down".

5.3.2. Solutions for current problems on external cultural output

The government should change its insistence that the culture it exports must be "superior". This may come from the ideological paradigm of the Chinese official standard and China's historical identity of "the Celestial Empire". The cultural influence of ancient China in East Asia and Southeast Asia is mostly carried out from the top to the bottom. That is to say, China conquers its ruling class with its "advanced" and "civilized" culture first, then influences the cultural identity of the people through the elites' broad voice.

However, in the contemporary international community, ideological differences have led the Western elite to be defensive about China. Even if the elite accepted Chinese culture, the western countries' democratic system determined that the rulers could not impose their ideas on the people. Therefore, public diplomacy aiming to win the hearts of the general public is very important.[25] In order to make foreigners feel good about China, the government should not just promote the Confucius Theory, Tai Chi, and Peking Opera, which are difficult to master. Instead, it should encourage, rather than restrict, popular domestic entertainment products to go abroad and win people's favor. Because only when the domestic people themselves like these cultural products could it attract foreigners. From the authors' perspective, a truly successful cultural output should be a process of "spillover", in which cultural products first compete in a prosperous cultural market to meet the needs of the domestic citizens. In the competition, the products become better, and then spreads out to the rest of the world naturally.

Encourage non-governmental organizations (such as the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries) to organize traditional Chinese cultural festivals and try to attract foreigners as much as possible. It is a good idea to combine Chinese and Western cultures, such as a dish named General Tso's chicken, which combines Western tastes with Chinese ones.

As for institutional organizations such as Confucius Institute, academic transparency needs to be strengthened, otherwise China's academic freedom will be criticized by more and more foreign scholars, and China will be seen as an authoritarian state without freedom. We need to reverse this image in the eyes of foreigners.

And following would be a holistic evaluation on the suggested strategies proposed above.

6. Evaluation

6.1. Benefits

First, choosing a path of peaceful rise would slow down the blockade and sanction imposed by western countries on China, thus creating a better environment for China's rise so as to accumulate strength. In addition, the money previously spent on the military can be used to develop the economy, and thus improve domestic citizen's living standards. Second and a related one, if China chooses to rise aggressively, surrounding countries will choose to form a strategic alliance with the United States in order to protect themselves. Rising peacefully enables China to cultivate a broader friendship with East and Southeast Asian countries, creating a more peaceful regional environment and reducing the strategic pressure on China's rise. Finally, China adopting a peaceful rise strategy can lead to a better view of foreigners towards the country,[26] thereby the domestic citizens would view it as the government gaining face for them. That will literally increase CCP's legitimacy to govern the country.[27]

6.2. Drawbacks

By adopting the strategy of peaceful rise, China's military force will not be able to effectively protect its power abroad, weakening the legitimacy of the ruling party. For example, if there were a repeat of the American bombing of the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999, China would still not be able to retaliate forcefully. Catalyzed and fermented by the Internet, the people would be really upset.

It can be seen from the above analysis that the current peace strategy has created a favorable domestic and international development environment for China. However, it can be expected that as China's overall national strength and international status continue to rise, its threat to American hegemony will

also continuously increase. Therefore, under this condition, the United States will adopt some containment measures to limit China's development. Therefore, in the face of this difficult situation, the aggressive strategy, which is opposite to the peaceful strategy, has become the choice of China's future development mode.

7. Conclusion

Although China has made substantial progress economically and militarily in the recent decades, there still presents a wide gap between China and the U.S., the only superpower in the world. Given the existence of this gap, the peaceful rise strategy may be the most appropriate one for China. However, as far as we know, by far there is no academic paper exclusively analyzing peaceful rise strategy, and in this paper, the authors laid out its framework.

Militarily, China should try to cultivate benign military ties with countries within its region, especially with Japan, and China should behave with great restraint in disputed waters and lands. As to its military relationship with the U.S., China should maintain this tie stable, avoiding direct conflicts. Moreover, even if China gains a relative military advantage to the U.S. in its region, China should not fully push the U.S. out. Economically, China needs to promote RMB as the core of East Asian monetary system, invest in developing countries, and strengthen the influence of the One Belt, One Road initiative. Internally, it needs to enhance the value-added part of its industries. Culturally, China needs to cease its insistence on its culture being advanced and encourage domestic entertainment product to go abroad. Besides, China can encourage NGOs to organize events related to Chinese culture. It also needs to increase transparency of its academic institutes.

On the other hand, a major concern for the peaceful rise of China is the inconsistency of the U.S. foreign policies. If the U.S. adopts more radical conducts to China, imposing significant uncertainty, it is feasible for China to switch to a more aggressive rising path. Thus, in this sense, grand strategy is always a game, so one's best strategy depends on the other's policy and its own assessment of the current situation. Therefore, in the foreseeable future, we would still see China remains open to all kinds of grand strategies, and peaceful rise may end up being a merely transition to a more aggressive one.

Finally, our article leaves out a critical question: how China should maintain its peaceful rise given its increasing rise, and thus threat perceived by others, as well as uncertainty of US foreign policies. Future scholars may find it interesting to debate the prospect of peaceful rise strategy.

References

- [1] M Taylor Fravel, *Active Defense: China's Military Strategy Since 1949* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019)
- [2] Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- [3] John J. Mearsheimer, "Can China Rise Peacefully?," in *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014)
- [4] Minghao Zhao, "Is a new Cold War inevitable? Chinese perspectives on US-China strategic competition," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 12, no. 3 (2019): 371-94
- [5] Robert Jervis, "Why nuclear superiority doesn't matter," *Political Science Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (1979): 1-45.
- [6] Aaron L Friedberg, "The future of US-China relations: Is conflict inevitable?," *International security* 30, no. 2 (2005): 28.
- [7] Mark Thompson, "Mutually-Assured Economic Destruction," *Time.com*, last modified October 10th, 2011, Accessed August 16, 2020, <https://nation.time.com/2011/10/10/mutually-assured-economic-destruction/>.
- [8] Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- [9] Amitav Acharya, "Will Asia's Past Be Its Future?," *International Security* 28, no. 3 (2004): 152.
- [10] Petty, Dan. "The US Navy Aircraft Carriers." *Official Website of the United States Navy*. Accessed July 05, 2020. <https://www.navy.mil/navydata/ships/carriers/cv-list.asp>.
- [11] Fravel, M. Taylor. "China's Strategy in the South China Sea." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 33, no. 3 (2011): 292. doi:10.1355/cs33-3b.
- [12] Dai, Mengmeng. "Wo Guo Di Er Sou Hang Mu Tong Guo Taiwan Hai Xia." CCTV.
- [13] Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China database
- [14] SCO: Shanghai Cooperation Organization; See *China's National Defense in the New Era*. Beijing,

China: Foreign Languages Press, 2019.

[15] Buzan, B. "China in International Society: Is Peaceful Rise Possible?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3, no. 1 (2010): 5-36. doi:10.1093/cjip/pop014.

[16] "Japan Government 'reaches Deal to Buy' Disputed Islands." *BBC News*. September 05, 2012. Accessed July 06, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19485565>.

[17] *China's National Defense in the New Era*. Beijing, China: Foreign Languages Press, 2019.

[18] Robert S. Ross, *On the fungibility of economic power: China's economic rise and the East Asian security order*, *European Journal of International Relations* 1–26

[19] Buzan, Barry, and Ole Waever. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

[20] Kang, David C. "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks." *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 57-85. doi:10.1162/016228803321951090.

[21] Swanson, Ana. "Trump's Trade War with China Is Officially Underway." *The New York Times*. July 05, 2018. Accessed July 06, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/05/business/china-us-trade-war-trump-tariffs.html>.

[22] Jianing, Yao. "China, Australia, US Conduct Exercise Kowari-2018 in Cairns." *China, Australia, US Conduct Exercise Kowari-2018 in Cairns - China Military*. Accessed July 06, 2020. http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2018-09/05/content_9272890.htm.; "Cobra Gold 18: Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief Exercise." *U.S. Indo-Pacific Command*. February 23, 2018. Accessed July 06, 2020. <https://www.pacom.mil/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/1449465/cobra-gold-18-humanitarian-assistance-and-disaster-relief-exercise/>.

[23] Tim Winter, *One Belt, One Road, One Heritage: Cultural Diplomacy and the Silk Road*, *The Diplomat* 2/04/2016, 3:22 PM

[24] Walker, Christopher, and Jessica Ludwig. "The meaning of sharp power: How authoritarian states project influence." *Foreign Affairs* 16 (2017).

[25] Wang, Yiwei. "Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 257-73.

[26] Nye Jr, Joseph S. "Soft Power." *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153-71.

[27] Edney, Kingsley. "Building National Cohesion and Domestic Legitimacy: A Regime Security Approach to Soft Power in China." *Politics* 35, no. 3-4 (2015): 259-72.