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CHINESE SOFT POWER PROMOTOTION IN THE UNITED STATES: 2005-2007

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts

By

MARTIN DANIEL KALFAS
B.A., Ohio State University 2011

2016
Wright State University

WRIGHT STATE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

August 15, 2016

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY Martin D. Kalfas ENTITLED Chinese Soft Power Promotion in the United State: 2005-2014 BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

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Chinese Soft Power Promotion in the United State: 2005-2014.

This thesis focuses on two research questions regarding the impact of economic crises on states' soft power strategies. Specifically, can economic crises lead states to abandon generating soft power within countries affected by the resulting economic changes? And, does a shift away from soft power promotion policies represent a change in a state's foreign policy strategy? To answer these questions, this thesis utilizes a case study focusing on the People's Republic of China (PRC) from 2005 to January 1, 2015, investigating soft power generating efforts by China in the United States before and after the 2007 Financial Crisis. Research into Chinese soft power promotion activities in the realms of economics, people-to-people exchanges, and the arts reveals no definitive trends as to whether states abandon soft power promotion strategies in response to economic crises and illustrates what was once considered soft power generating can be later regarded as reducing soft power.

Table of Contents:

Abstract	iii
List of Abbreviations	vi
List of Figures	ix
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chinese New Year, New Thesis Focus	1
Chinese Soft Power and the Economic Crisis	4
Research Questions	8
Premises	9
Operationalization of Terms.....	10
Economic Crisis	10
Soft Power.....	13
Methodology	17
Chapter Outline	21
Chapter Two: Hu Jintao 2005-2007.....	23
Hu Jintao and Soft Power	23
Economic Relations.....	27
Confucius Institutes.....	43
Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges	50
Chapter Three: Hu Jintao 2008-2011.....	63
Hu Jintao and Inconsistent Signals.....	63
Economic Relations.....	67
Confucius Institutes and the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchanges	84
Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges.....	95
Chapter Four: Xi Jinping 2012-2014	109
A New Leader	109
Economic Relations.....	112

Confucius Institutes and the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchanges	128
Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges.....	144
Chapter Five: Conclusions.....	156
Research Questions	156
Review of the Data.....	157
Economic Relations	157
Confucius Institutes and the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchanges	160
Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges	163
Interpretation of Results and Discussion of Soft Power	167
Possibilities for Future Research.....	173
Conclusions	175
Bibliography	178

List of Abbreviations:

AAUP	American Association of University Professors
ACTFL	American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
ACWF	All-China Women's Federation
ADIZ	Air Defense Identification Zone
AQSIQ	Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine
BIT	Bilateral Investment Treaty
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAEG	China Arts and Entertainment Group
CBA	Chinese Basketball Association
CCC	China Compulsory Certification
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDPF	China Disabled Persons' Federation
CEAIE	The China Education Association for International Exchange
CLASS	Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools
CPE	High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchanges
CWU	China Women's University
DCPS	District of Columbia Public Schools
ECP	U.S.-China Energy Cooperation Program
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FTZ	Shanghai Free Trade Zone

GAO	U.S. Government Accountability Office
GASC	General Administration of Sport
GPA	Government Procurement Agreement
Hanban	Office of Chinese Language Council International
HSK	Chinese Proficiency Test
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMG	International Management Group
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
ISCLT	International Society for Chinese Language Teaching
ITA	Information Technology Agreement
JCCT	U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade
MOFCOM	Chinese Ministry of Commerce
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAIS	National Association of Independent Schools
NBER	National Bureau of Economic Research
NCPA	National Centre for the Performing Arts
NCSSFL	National Council of State Supervisors for Languages
NDRC	National Development and Reform Commission
NEA	National Energy Administration
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
PRC	People's Republic of China

PBOC	People's Bank of China
RMB	<i>Renminbi</i>
SAIC	State Administration for Industry and Commerce
S&ED	Strategic and Economic Dialogue
S/GWI	Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues
SED	Strategic Economic Dialogue
SOE	State-Owned Enterprises
UAE	United Arab Emirates
USCBC	U.S.-China Business Council
USCC	U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission
USTDA	U.S. Trade and Development Agency
USTR	U.S. Trade Representative
VATs	Value-Added Taxes
WCBA	Women's Chinese Basketball Association
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
Women-LEAD	U.S.-China Women's Leadership Exchange and Dialogue
WTO	World Trade Organization

List of Figures:

Figure 2.1 Confucius Institutes in the U.S. from 2006 through 2007.....49

Figure 2.2 Chinese Exhibition at the Met from 2005 through 2008.....60

Figure 4.1 Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in the United States from 2012 through
2014134

Chapter One: Introduction

Chinese New Year, New Thesis Focus:

Walking into Xin Hui's home, I instantly felt welcome. I had been friends with her and her family since my first stay in Taiwan, but this would be the first time I would be able to celebrate the Chinese New Year with them. Stepping into the dining area, Xin Hui's family all excitedly said hello and 新年快乐 (*xin nian kuai le*: happy new year) and we sat down to eat. After a wonderful meal filled with traditional Chinese dishes, I remained at the table with Xin Hui's brothers-in-law, as they produced numerous bottles of previously unseen alcohol and looked at me with mischievous grins on their faces. "Do you like to drink?" they asked, as their wives looked on with disapproving glances. Not wanting to offend and not being one to pass up a chance for a good time, I told them I did, and we proceeded to open the bottles.

After several of these bottles had been emptied, a family friend (I never learned his name) began to ask me why I was in Taiwan studying Chinese. I told him of my studies in the United States and how I was currently working on my Master's Degree, focusing on Chinese soft power promotion among rivals. Immediately upon mentioning China, the man became animated and explained that he often did business in China. As he poured me another glass of strawberry wine, he told me about his impression of China at that time letting me know that he worked for an American company that had been doing business in China for many years. Taking a hearty sip from his glass, he exclaimed

that the Chinese had become so rude over the past couple of years, not willing to show even the slightest respect to him or his American partners.

Intrigued, I asked him what he meant and he told me about how, in the past, the Chinese had always been deferential to their American guests, always standing when they entered the room and eager to hear any advice they had to give. According to my new friend, however, this behavior changed rapidly following the global financial crisis in 2007, as the Chinese became much colder to the Americans. They became much more assertive, willing to question their American partners' suggestions and even offering their own. By the time we met in 2015, my friend told me that the Chinese did not even stand when the Americans entered the room, some not even willing to put out their cigarettes.

It was then that my new friend told me that he felt this was a much more interesting question for my thesis and that I should begin investigating whether the financial crisis had some sort of impact on China's disposition toward the United States. Here, Xin Hui and her sisters told him that he should leave me alone and that he should not tell me what to write my thesis about. As the conversation turned to other topics, however, I found myself pondering on what the man had said, considering whether there was any truth to it.

In many ways, it seemed sensible. With the relationship between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States becoming more contentious over the years, it seemed likely that the Chinese would take advantage of the issues caused by the crisis and the resulting recession. In fact, it has been well documented by numerous

researchers that China's diplomatic posture toward the United States had shifted from being conciliatory to one of aggression in recent years. According to Thomas J. Christensen (2011), starting in 2009, China had become more bellicose in defending its territorial claims, harassing the *USS Impeccable* in international waters, demanding an apology and compensation from the Japanese in 2010 following an accidental collision between a Chinese fishing boat and a Japanese Coastguard ship in the East China Sea, to again warning the United States against joint naval drills with South Korea in international waters close to its territory. David Shambaugh (2011) even noted that the global financial crisis led to many in China criticizing that the "state monopoly capitalism" of the United States "had finally brought the world economy to the brink of disaster" arguing that perhaps China's economic model should be adopted in response (p. 14).

Pairing this information with China's declaration of an Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) over the East China Sea and its highly publicized construction of artificial islands in the South China Sea and it seems clear that China's recent behavior had been much more aggressive than in the past. Did this mean that my friend was right? Was it true that the financial crisis made the Chinese change their stance toward the United States?

Chinese Soft Power and the Economic Crisis:

In many ways, a change in diplomatic posture seemed counter to China's soft power strategy, which has received much attention in literature focused on Chinese international relations. Shambaugh (2011) in the same piece where he discussed the growing belligerence of the Chinese state even illustrates that the Chinese leadership traditionally believed that the relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China represented the "key of keys" and that "maintaining harmonious ties with Washington should be the top priority in Chinese diplomacy" (p. 14). This line of thinking coincided perfectly with Chinese Hu Jintao's push for a warmer foreign policy where an increase in soft power was equated as being equally important to maintaining the state's military, economic, and technological power (Ma, as cited in Li, 2008, p. 5). Hu himself was influenced by Wang Huning, who is purported to have written the first article on soft power (*ruan shi li* 软实力) in China in 2003, leading to increasing popularity of the concept among China's leadership (Wang, as cited in Li, 2008).

From this point, the Chinese tenaciously embraced soft power, using it as the key symbol that "China desire[d] stability and peace with all countries" (Kurlantzick, 2007, P. 37). With the strategy in place, the Chinese began working to assuage any fears that its neighbors possessed about its growing economic clout and ensured the world that China intended to rise peacefully (Paradise, 2009). For the most part, this "charm offensive" as it is called by Joshua Kurlantzick (2007) was successful, and in Southeast Asia, the initial target of China's soft power initiatives, began to change their views

toward China seeing it as “a constructive actor—and, potentially, as the preeminent regional power” (p. 8). As this strategy was tied to China’s growing economic power, however, the financial crisis seemed bound to impact the Chinese leadership’s consideration of whether to continue a strategy of appeasement; especially toward the United States. As Friedberg (2010) notes, increased economic ties with the US stymied any moves toward a more rivalry-like relationship but that the “current crisis may mark the end of a period in which trade served to stabilise Sino-American relations” (p. 37)

The impact of the financial crisis was felt in both the US and the PRC despite its origination in the collapse of the subprime mortgage industry in the United States in 2007 (Raicu et al., 2012). In fact, both countries had much the same reaction to the crisis as aggregate demand dropped for each, causing them to enact “large-scale stimulus programmes designed to boost demand and restore growth” (Friedberg, 2010, p. 32). However, the difference came in the results, as the US faced a staggering recession with its effects still being felt to this day (Blecker, 2014; Friedberg, 2010; and Lardy, 2012). As Blecker (2014) states:

[A]lthough what was called the Great Recession of 2008-9 officially ended in July 2009, the US economy has never fully recovered from the severe downturn during that recession and remains in a semi-depressed state (p. 696).

Blecker (2014) goes on to argue that by August 2013, the United States’ “total number of jobs had not yet returned to its previous peak level, but instead remained about 2 million lower than it was at the end of 2007,” making it the longest period with employment not improving in the United States since the Great Depression (p. 697). The results of this

crisis can also be seen in US international policy as Americans started to shy away from “foreign adventures,” making them less willing to support expensive endeavors that were not seen as aiding the US economy (Rachman, 2011).

China, on the other hand, while it experienced slow growth in 2009, “the slowdown was quite modest, especially when compared with the absolute shrinkage in global output” (Lardy, 2012, p. 1). Lardy (2012) attributes this result to the large-scale and sophisticated nature of the stimulus package initiated by the Chinese, which did not face the same level of criticism as the stimulus in the United States did. Eventually, China returned to the high levels of growth it enjoyed before the crisis and which was in stark contrast to the dismal performance of the economies of Japan, Europe, and the United States (Lardy, 2012). With such a clear difference in economic output, the stimulus vindicated the actions of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership and led to a sense that, between the American and the Chinese economic systems, the PRC had emerged the “winner” (Friedberg, 2010, p. 32). This perception has been strongly felt in China where Lardy (2012) notes that many lower level officials and the nationalist commentators in the media have “exaggerated China's rise in influence and the declining power of the United States,” creating the perfect situation for China to supplant the United States in the international system (p. 5).

Such a shift in international strategy runs counter to the findings of Randall Schweller and Pu Xiaoyu (2011), who argued that China has sought to “accommodate[] U.S. hegemony, on the one hand, while it contests the legitimacy of U.S. hegemony, on

the other” (p. 52). They assert that China has adopted a strategy of “rightful resistance” towards the United States where there is an acceptance of the existing system but a concerted effort to work within it to challenge the head of the system (O’Brien & Li, as cited in Schweller & Pu, 2011, p. 52). Such a strategy goes well with China’s adoption of soft power, as it does not promise an overthrow of the regime through possible violent methods, but through a growing appreciation for the Chinese and a gradual shift toward acceptance of its way of doing things. But, as Chinese economic power continued to surge while the American economy declined, is it possible that the Chinese have decided that they no longer need to act within the system and that it is time for them to proactively modify it?

There have been some attempts to investigate into this possibility, with David Shambaugh’s “Coping with a Conflicted China” and Thomas J. Christensen’s “The Advantages of an Assertive China Responding to Beijing’s Abrasive Diplomacy” both serving to illustrate the increasing aggressiveness of China following the financial crisis. Shambaugh (2011) focuses his attention on the various schools of thought that make up the Chinese leadership, identifying those which espouse a more nationalist line as having gained greater acceptance over the years and leading to China’s new found assertiveness. Christensen (2011) provides a more in-depth analysis of CCP legitimacy following the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989, forcing the CCP to adopt an increasingly nationalistic tone and utilize “othering” techniques in order to ensure the continued support of the Chinese people. While both of these studies provide fascinating research,

they do not address the seeming contradiction between China's new aggression and its previous policy of accommodation, with neither providing data on whether this policy has been truly abandoned or not. This is important not just due to the fact that one must always conduct extensive research before making claims but because, as Shambaugh (2011) himself states argues "China's foreign policy often exhibits diverse and contradictory emphases," illustrating the necessity for further research (p. 7).

Research Questions:

After investigating the impacts of the financial crisis on China's posture toward the United States, it becomes clear that such economic shocks have a large effect on the international system. With states still relying on the interdependence of the economic system and the growing role of soft power to increase one's power in that system, the question of when states abandon the promotion of soft power among other nations and adopt more aggressive policies which could lead to greater rewards for one's own state becomes more salient than ever. Indeed, scholars such as Shambaugh and Christensen have begun to seemingly assume that this is the case without first applying exhaustive research to confirm their claims. As such further research is required on the impact of economic crises on a states' soft power promotion strategy and on the status of soft power generation as a tactical choice in pursuing a strategy of cooperative relations with states in the international system. With this in mind, this thesis will endeavor to answer two questions: *can economic crises lead state officials to abandon policies of generating*

soft power within countries affected by the resulting economic changes? Does a shift away from soft power promotion policies represent a change in a state's foreign policy strategy? I expect the research to indicate that economic crises can lead to states to shift away from soft power strategies and that states may take advantage of the possible economic re-alignment to rebalance their policy toward the affected state.

Premises:

With its focus on soft power promotion and the recent economic situation seemingly granting it an opportunity to move away from the pragmatic approach of supplanting the United States within the current international system, China offers an appealing case to study the effect of economic crises on soft power. A study such as this rests on three premises: aggressive actions on the part of the state indicate a shift away from soft power policies due to the intricate connection between the state and soft power in China; the PRC began to decrease its efforts to generate soft power within the United States following the 2007 financial crisis; and acceptance by Chinese elites that China emerged from the economic crisis relatively unscathed because of proper action by the state leading to a surge in confidence and a belief that China should supplant the United States in the international system. This reflects the assumption that Chinese foreign policy is fundamentally opportunistic and recalls the question of whether the PRC has shifted away from a positive-sum opportunistic strategy to one that is more zero-sum. However, before the methodology of such a study can be elaborated the concepts of

economic crises and soft power must be operationalized in order to ensure that results will remain consistent throughout the research.

Operationalization of Terms:

Economic Crisis:

When discussing economic crises I intend to follow the trend present within the literature of combining the term with the concept of economic recession. According Geoffrey Moore (1958), whose research served as the basis for the National Bureau of Economic Research's (NBER) methods for measuring recessions, identification of recessions starts with "peak dates" which see "expansion of aggregate economic activity culminated[e] and contraction began[in]" and end with "trough dates" which "specify when contraction culminated and expansion began" (pp. 259-260). From this description, Moore (1958) goes on to highlight recent recessions and states, "[a]t the top of the list of recent contractions, obviously, is the contraction that began in 1929-the longest and deepest" (p. 262). Here it is clear that Moore included the economic shock of the stock market crash in his measurements of the Great Depression, combining the economic crisis with the resulting recession that it led to. This conflation of the two concepts is seen in the work of Raicu et al. (2012) as well as in their investigation of business cycles they argue that periods of growth are naturally followed by economic downturns and once again refer to the Great Depression in its entirety as a sustained economic crisis.

In addition to these studies, researchers focusing on the financial crisis of 2007 also show a tendency to concentrate on the resulting recession that it produced. Friedberg (2010) states quite clearly in his notes that the term “crisis” in his research refers to both to “the wave of bank failures triggered by the bursting of the American real-estate bubble and the sharp and sustained slowdown in global growth that followed” (p. 49, note 1). This allows him to recognize that the greatest effect of the crisis on the United States is more likely to be one of “lingering debilitation than radical destabilization,” increasing his scope to contain events beyond simply the economic shocks felt in the economy in 2007 (Friedberg, 2010, p. 35). Blecker (2014) follows this line of thinking noting that the United States’ economy, despite the recession officially ending in 2009, has “never fully recovered from the severe downturn during that recession and remains in a semi-depressed state” as of his writing in 2014 (p. 696). This combination of crisis and recession is thus important because it illustrates that the crisis itself is partially defined by its effects. This not only includes the damage done to the economy but also investigations into how states reacted to economic distortions and the effectiveness of the actions taken; reflecting that research into economic crises is focused on a chain of events as opposed to just a single incident.

This conceptualization, therefore, is applicable to this research as the crisis itself was felt similarly in both the United States and the PRC, with the only differences coming in how the economies adjusted following action taken by state. Whereas the Chinese economy was able to continue its impressive growth the United States’ economy

only experienced sluggish growth, directly impacting resulting US policy. Specifically, Rachman (2011) notes that the recession left Americans with little desire to continue supporting “foreign adventures” and that the military budget would certainly “come under pressure in this new age of austerity” (p. 4). This is important because the effect of the financial crisis and the recession which government initiatives could not avoid has been to effectively tie the United States’ hands in foreign policy making it more difficult to present aid to other states or to challenges those acting against its interests. Friedberg (2010) even contends that the recession will influence United States policy towards China as it may cause the US to “lack not only the resources to conduct a sustained rivalry with China but the inclination to do so” (p. 36).

This assertion coincides with the perception of the Chinese leadership toward the crisis as they recognize that their efforts to ameliorate its effects were much more effective than those of the United States. Lardy (2012) notes that the Chinese economy was “the first globally significant economy to begin to recover from the global economic recession”, allowing it to project a strong image to the rest of the world especially in relation to the United States (p. 11). It was here that China was presented the opportunity to position itself as a potential leader of the economic world and the appeal of its economic model grew throughout the world. Considering this, it is clear that the Chinese would not view the financial crisis of 2007 as an isolated event and would consider any discussion of it as including an investigation into the resulting Great Recession which pushed it even closer to the forefront in economic affairs.

Soft Power:

Before discussing how soft power will be defined in this study it is important to note that I will be using terms such as soft power “generation,” “creation,” “promotion,” etc. as opposed to words that refer to soft power use. This distinction is minor but important, as it establishes the difference between the act of creating soft power in other states as opposed to using the soft power that has been created in those states. By utilizing the term “use” the researcher infers that the soft power reserves in those countries already exist while also implying that soft power’s usage is in service to the pursuit of a goal outside of simply increasing one’s appeal in that state. In many ways, this idea of “cashing in” one’s soft power in order to get something out of it may be counter to the act of producing soft power, as it illustrates that the crafting of an appealing image had ulterior motives. In contrast, soft power generation does not carry this implication and focuses solely on the creation of soft power in a target state and not on what that soft power will enable one’s country to do upon the building up of sufficient reserves of it. This also reconciles the prospect of, for example, building a Confucius Institute in a target country. This action does not necessarily immediately lead to China gaining sufficient soft power in that country to encourage it to be more cooperative to China therefore making it impossible for China to “use” its newfound soft power for anything. In effect, all this action can do is increase the appeal of China in that state, highlighting its purpose of producing soft power in that state and not its use.

As is implied here, soft power refers to a country's appeal in another state, with the term's creator Joseph Nye (1990) arguing that this attractiveness is what can lead to other countries to want what the country with the soft power wants through means outside of hard power, usually in the form of military action. Nye (1990) first defined this term in reaction to the increasing level of interconnectedness found in the international system claiming that "the direct use of force for economic gain is generally too costly and dangerous for modern great powers" (p. 159). Recognizing that states would still endeavor to "[get] others to want what you want" Nye came up with the concept of soft power as a new avenue open to modern states that still had a coercive element found in traditional hard power without the increased costs (Nye, 1990, p. 31). Tying the concept with the actions of non-governmental organization and other non-state actors, soft power soon became very popular in the realm of international studies, even finding many devotees among leadership of nations throughout the world (Nye, 2004)

However, soon after the concept's inception scholars began arguing over the vague nature of Nye's definition leading to Colin S. Gray (2011) to describe soft power as "heroically imprecise" (p. 28). Among the competing conceptualizations, some go against Nye's argument that soft power cannot be generated by states investigating efforts by a country's leadership to increase its appeal in the world (Ding, 2013; Sun, 2012). Others include economic actions such as investment, loans, and trade agreements as other ways which a state's soft power can be increased; further combining soft power with hard power and the actions of the state (Gill & Huang, 2006; Kurlantzick, 2007; Lum et al.,

2008; Schmidt, 2008). In response to these assertions, Nye remains steadfast that the source of soft power remains in the actions of non-governmental organizations due to the lack of suspicion that they are acting to gain leverage as a state would (Nye & Wang, 2009). Regarding the relationship between hard and soft power, however, Nye (2004) provides a somewhat vague distinction, arguing that there is a relationship between hard and soft power, but that “soft power does not depend on hard power” (p. 9). On the basis of this assertion, Nye (2004) claims that “Hard power and soft power sometimes reinforce and sometimes interfere with each other”, making their exact relationship difficult to define (p. 25).

The distinctions between hard and soft power and whether governmental actions can generate soft power becomes particularly difficult in the case of China. In the Chinese state, almost all domestic and international actions are controlled by the state or at the very least require the authorization of the state. This presents the issue of how China can generate soft power at all as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the country must have the authorization of the government to operate, with many even being organized by the Chinese government itself. This lead to Nye and Wang (2009) arguing that China lacks the capacity to use these organizations to generate soft power. Despite these issues, Chinese scholars present critical interpretations of Nye’s work, with Yan Xuetong arguing that “soft power lies in the political power of political institutions, norms, and credibility, rather than culture” (Yan, as cited in Li, 2008, p. 295). Others goes so far to claim that “soft power and hard power are mutually complementary” where

hard power can be used in some cases such as moving troops away from a border to illustrate a state's benign intentions (Zhu & Yu, as cited in Li, 2008, p. 295). Still, the Chinese also note that the target of soft power promotion must accept those actions, recognizing that soft power has different definitions to different peoples and that one's effort to generate it must be done so in accordance with the target state's sensibilities (Zhu, as cited in Li, 2008).

Considering these arguments by Chinese academics and understanding the varying interpretations of what constitutes soft power, my definition of the concept will be informed by those actions which the Chinese leadership deems as efforts to improve its image internationally. Therefore, economic incentives such as trade agreements will be investigated as attempts to increase China's soft power despite arguments by scholars that such actions are more related to a state's hard power. Here I am following the views of Kurlantzick (2007) who utilized such economic measures during his own investigation into Chinese attempts to generate soft power. According to Kurlantzick (2007) soft power equates to "anything outside the military and security realm" for the Chinese, arguing that economic incentives are simply much more direct ways to ensure an improved image among other countries (p. 6). While this may run counter to the assertions of scholars that such incentives are an aspect of hard power, the quantity of information provided by Kurlantzick regarding the efforts of Chinese leaders to provide payments, loans, or investments to targets of soft power promotion convinces me that the Chinese leadership considers such actions as part of promoting soft power.

However, due to an acceptance by the Chinese leadership of the relative nature of soft power promotion, I also intend to focus on Chinese efforts to promote an appreciation for Chinese culture. In the case of the United States, Chinese economic actions such as buying US debt or the investment in domestic US companies may give China “undue leverage” and an increase in ideas that China presents a “threat—to the well-being of foreign companies, to U.S. security, to peace and stability, and to human rights” (Paradise, 2009, p. 656). As such, promotion of Chinese culture within the United States is often seen as a more effective means to promote soft power to a US audience and therefore forms a more important aspect of soft power creation within the United States than economic activity. To address these culture-based efforts, I plan to investigate efforts to encourage people-to-people exchanges and the advancement of Chinese culture through art exhibitions and musical performances.

Methodology:

The structure of my investigation into Chinese efforts to generate soft power within the United States will follow that of a before and after comparative case study. The initial period will focus on Chinese efforts to generate soft power during the Presidency of Hu Jintao from the years of 2005 through 2007 and the beginning of the economic crisis. Following this I will investigate the rest of Hu Jintao’s presidency from 2008 to 2012 to investigate the effects the crisis and the resulting recession in the United

States had on the Hu administration's calculations regarding whether they should continue to promote soft power within the United States.

The division of Hu's time as president along these lines will clearly illustrate the effects of the crisis on his leadership as he was the originator of China's peaceful rise strategy and was committed to promoting:

a peaceful and stable international environment; a neighbourly and friendly environment in surrounding regions; a cooperative environment based on equality and mutual benefits; and an objective and friendly media environment (Li, 2008, p. 300).

To achieve this vision, Hu wholeheartedly embraced the concept of soft power and often spoke of the term in his speeches to Chinese government, leading to a flurry of interest in soft power all across China (Li, 2008). With such a public commitment to a soft power promotion strategy the effects the financial crisis in the United States presents a fascinating challenge to Hu's pursuit of better relations and can demonstrate whether even soft power's strongest proponent in China was affected by the new opportunity China found itself in after the crisis. Such a division also works to counter any questions whether the difference in policy is simply due to the transition of leadership from Hu to Xi Jinping.

In many ways, one can argue that the ascendancy of Xi Jinping to the Presidency is in itself a rejection of soft power generation in the United States and other countries throughout the world as the current President is often described in terms as being the exact opposite of Hu Jintao (Osno, 2015). Xi is often characterized by his manly

attitude and a predilection for aggressive foreign policy (Osnos, 2015) This is illustrated by his statements regarding American companies acting as “warriors” for the US government within China, China’s announcement of an Air Defense Identification Zone in the East China Sea, and recent actions on the part of the Chinese navy in the South China to construct man-made islands in an attempt to promote China’s territorial claims in the area (Osnos, 2015, para. 51). While these public actions have led many to conclude that Xi has abandoned any efforts to promote a harmonious relationship with the US, there still has been no formal study dedicated to the investigation of whether soft power initiatives targeted at the United States have decreased during his administration.

The duration of this research will go from 2005 to January 1, 2015, presenting ten years of data. The project will stop at January 1, 2015 as opposed to continuing to the present not only to reflect a lack of information regarding the year of 2015 in US-China relations but also in reference to China’s recent economic issues. Starting in 2015, China’s economy experienced several shocks and has seen its growth rates fall well below their previous levels leading to speculation that China has entered a period of economic downturn (Bradsher, 2015; Ali, 2015). While this presents an opportunity to investigate whether the Chinese will increase their efforts to create soft power in the United States after possibly losing their economic edge over it, such speculation is beyond the purview of this study.

The research will focus on China’s economic agreements with the United States, the support of people-to-people exchanges, performances by national Chinese

performance troops, and exhibitions of cultural artifacts. For economic agreements between the two countries I will investigate annual reports from 2005 to 2015 from the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC), the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT), and reports from the annual U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogues (SED) and later the Strategic and Economic Dialogues (S&ED). I will specifically investigate whether new economic agreements have been signed and if any previous agreements have ended or not. Information on people-to-people exchanges will come from data on the building of Confucius Institutes using reports from China's Confucian Institute Headquarters or Hanban and through the annual reports on the U.S.-China High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchange (CPE) starting in 2010. With performances, I will investigate those held at the Kennedy Center in Washington D.C. Not only does the Kennedy Center have an excellent database of events of Chinese origin going back to 2005, but I also believe that it serves as the clearest method for the Chinese leadership to generate soft power throughout the United States by focusing on the premier arts center in the nation's capital. In addition to this I will investigate those Chinese themed exhibitions held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Perhaps the most well-known museum in the United States, exhibitions held there are likely to be viewed by a multitude of visitors providing a large audience for Chinese artifacts meant to promote Chinese culture abroad. While analyzing these performances and exhibitions I will not only be focusing on the

frequency of events but also analyzing their duration, to determine if intensity of the Chinese efforts has experienced any decline after the crisis.

Chapter Outline:

Chapter two will first provide a brief description Hu Jintao and his administration, focusing on his approach to foreign relations and his efforts to promote good neighbor diplomacy. Following this, the results of research from 2005 to 2007 will be presented. Chapter three will start with an exploration into whether the diplomatic posture of Hu's administration toward the United States changed at all during this time, noting any changes in rhetoric or increases in aggressive behavior. This will lead into data for the years from 2008 to the end of Hu's administration in 2012 to see if any changes have occurred in China's soft power generation efforts. Chapter four will move on to Xi Jinping's administration beginning in 2012 to January 1, 2015. At the beginning this chapter, similar to chapter one, I will provide information regarding Xi's stance toward the United States and his vision for Chinese foreign policy during his tenure as president. This will be followed by the final set of data on Xi's efforts to generate soft power in the United States and an investigation into any changes present within in it. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of the results and their impact on the study of soft power, paying special attention to the possible implications of soft power as a tactical tool in a state's diplomatic strategy towards other countries. I will also investigate whether the

data provides any possibilities for future research on the relationship between soft power and economic crises and identify possible areas worthy of study.

Chapter Two: Hu Jintao 2005-2007

Hu Jintao and Soft Power:

During his 2006 visit to the United States, the People's Republic of China (PRC) President Hu Jintao, attended a banquet held in his honor by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Committee of U.S.-China Relations, and the U.S. China Business Council. Shortly after dinner, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, famous for his efforts to normalize relations between China and the United States, stood up to introduce President Hu. Kissinger made clear that in the international system “[t]here is no more important relationship than that between China and the United States” and that the two sides must work together in order to guarantee continued peace and development in the world (C-Span, 2006). And while Kissinger noted that issues existed between the two countries, particularly the question of Taiwan, he expressed confidence that the two countries could reach an understanding with one another (C-Span, 2006). Much of this optimism centered on President Hu himself whom Kissinger claimed had “positive and constructive meetings with [US] leaders, including a personal friendship with President Bush,” helping to ameliorate any tensions between the two countries (C-Span, 2006). Kissinger also praised Hu's goal “of a harmonious society in China” and for a “harmonious world,” stressing that such an outlook would be invaluable in managing the US-China Relationship (C-Span, 2006).

Following this warm introduction, President Hu took the stage and reiterated China's commitment to a peaceful and stable world (C-Span, 2006). Promoting a united

international community, Hu stated the “international community should work together to promote progress and development in international society,” encouraging a stable environment to not only aid the continued growth of China, but also for the world (C-Span, 2006). Hu made plain China’s commitment to peaceful development, arguing that only through “promoting development domestically, and maintaining world peace and promoting common development internationally” could China “meet the goal of developing itself” (C-Span, 2006). Going even further, Hu stated China’s benevolent intentions maintaining that “peaceful development embodies the national trait fostered in China’s culture over several thousand years” and the Chinese people would never do anything to disrupt the international system for the sake of their own development (C-Span, 2006).

From here, Hu turned to China’s relationship with the United States, which he acknowledged as being of great importance to the future of the international system. Since normalization, Hu asserted that “despite twists and turns” the United States and China had preserved their shared obligation of upholding peace in the international system (C-Span, 2006). President Hu expressed optimism over the future of the relationship believing that the two countries shared “increasing common interests and [could] cooperate in more and more areas” (C-Span, 2006). Hu went on to state that “[e]xchanges in cooperation in culture, education, and in science and technology serve as a bridge for enhancing friendship between our two peoples” and that these bridges would

be instrumental in building stable and peaceful relations between the two countries (C-Span, 2006).

To build this sort of relationship, Hu outlined several goals for the US-China relationship. President Hu argued that China and the United States must encourage “high-level exchanges, maintain and expand visitation at all levels, pursue strategic dialogue, foster strategic mutual trust, and promote two-way cooperation” (C-Span, 2006). This cooperation must also extend to the realm of economics, which Hu identified as the “pillar sustaining China-US relations” and that “strong business ties” must continue to be built between the two countries (C-Span, 2006). In addition to strengthening communication and increasing connections between China and the United States on these higher levels, Hu also asserted the importance of encouraging connections between the peoples of the two countries. Hu declared exchanges should persist in academia and that the two states should make special efforts to “strengthen exchanges among our young people and thus provide new momentum to sustain China-US relations” (C-Span, 2006). The President also called for the two sides to recognize the differences between each other and that as long as the two “respect each other” and “treat each other as equals” that they would be successful in building a strong and mutually beneficial relationship (C-Span, 2006).

Throughout the entire speech, Hu was exceptionally deferential toward his host, using respectful language and even opened himself up to questions once the speech was over. President Hu also seemed to make a point to avoid any topics which might

engender tension between himself and his American audience, making an exception only when discussing the issue of Taiwan. Here, Hu repeated China's position that it would never accept an independent Taiwan, but did not go so far as to discuss US arms sales to Taiwan or its commitment to responding to any aggressive actions on the part of the mainland to reclaim Taiwan with force (C-Span, 2006). Further impressing his desire for friendly relations with and respect for the United States, Hu ended his speech by quoting Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who said "the world can be changed by man's endeavor, and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better" (C-Span, 2006). According to Hu, China and the United States had the opportunity to build "something new and better" by working together, leading to a "harmonious world of durable peace and common prosperity" (C-Span, 2006).

The contents of this speech are very much in line with the diplomatic stance of China at this time, beginning its embrace of soft power and improving it through what Joshua Kurlantzick (2007) would later refer to as a "charm offensive." Writing for the Council of Foreign Relations, Esther Pan (2005) noted that China concentrated on promoting a peaceful image of itself in 2005. Quoting from the Xinhua News Service, which has very close ties to the CCP, Pan (2005) wrote that "China is actively pursuing a foreign policy of 'peace and development to bring harmony, security, and prosperity to all'" (in "Diplomacy para. 2). Pan (2005) also observed that both Hu Jintao and his Premier, Wen Jiabao, dedicated themselves to promoting an image of a benevolent China, reaching out to neighboring countries as part of Beijing's "friendly neighborhood

policy” (para. 2). Outside of meetings between heads of state, China actively worked to generate its soft power through support of cultural exchanges and working to encouraging the creation of Chinese language programs throughout the world (Pan, 2006). To facilitate this goal, China not only provided scholarships for foreign nationals to study in China but also increased its contacts with foreign universities in an effort to encourage the development of Mandarin Chinese programs abroad (Pan, 2006). Considering these efforts and the speech given by Hu during his visit to the United States, it is clear that at this time China was dedicated to promoting a peaceful image of itself and was actively using soft power to accomplish this goal.

Economic Relations:

Approaching 2005, the United States and China had substantial economic ties, with trade totaling \$231 billion between the two (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2005). This resulted in China being the United States’ third largest trading partner and the largest outside of the Western Hemisphere (USCC, 2005). In fact, China had already surpassed most of the nations in North and South America in exports to the United States, trailing only Canada with \$197 billion worth of exports in 2004 (USCC, 2005). This staggering figure led to the United States accounting for “33 percent of China’s total exports” that year, illustrating the vast importance of the US market to the Chinese economy (USCC, 2005, p. 26). The United States was also an important source of imports for the PRC, with US exports to China totaling \$35 billion in 2004

(USCC, 2005). By 2007, exports and imports had increased dramatically with US exports to China jumping to \$65.07 billion and imports from China growing to \$321.69 billion (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2008). These figures illustrate that the economic relationship between the US and China continued to grow throughout 2005 to 2007 and that the countries were even more closely linked by the time of the 2007 financial crisis.

Despite these impressive economic ties, the United States and China faced many issues in their economic relationship from 2005 to 2007 which became the main items of discussion at meetings between the two. Considering economic actions as a means to create soft power, the large value of US-China trade is not a strong enough indicator for Chinese soft power promotion in the United States and it must be paired with other economic policies enacted by China directed toward the United States. When analyzing what these policies might be, the annual reports of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Commission (USCC) prove effective at identifying which issues the United States considered most important and Chinese actions to address them can be seen as attempts to improve its image in the eye of its American partners.

In 2005, these issues focused on several facets of what the United States side referred to as being a “responsible nation” in the international system (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2006). For the United States, countries had to abide by certain principles in order to be recognized in the international system, requiring that “[r]esponsible nations abide by the rules—both the letter and the spirit of

agreements into which they enter, whether bilateral or multilateral” (USCC, 2006, p. 22). This willingness to follow international agreements extends to the economic realm, as responsible countries accept international trade agreements while promoting free and fair trade between states (USCC, 2006). These principles illustrate that economic actions taken by China which follow or promote trade agreements and do not limit free and fair trade would be viewed as proper by the United States; leading to an improved opinion of China on the international stage.

While these form general guidelines for countries interacting with the United States, the Commission also pointed to specific areas where they felt Chinese policy was lacking. Chief among these was the trade deficit between the United States and China which was \$201.6 billion in China’s favor in 2005 (USCC, 2006). While the United States did not expect the Chinese to simply export less to the United States, the Commission (2006) did outline numerous areas which contributed to the imbalance with one of them being subsidies provided by the Chinese government to industries in China. While China agreed to eliminate a number of these subsidies in accordance with its agreement to join the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Commission (2006) found that many of the businesses in China were able to receive favorable loans from Chinese banks which were “predominantly state-owned or state-controlled” with the loans usually forgiven by the government (USCC, 2006, p. 26). Considering that it was estimated that there were nearly 127,000 state-owned enterprises (SOE) in China in 2007 and that there could be many more due to the “great lengths” Beijing goes to hide SOEs, such debt

forgiveness represents a huge concession to local Chinese industries (Bai, as cited in U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2007; USCC, 2007, p. 39). China also attempted to encourage foreign businesses to relocate to China with “15 percent and 24 percent income tax rates to foreign-based affiliates operating in China” (USCC, 2006, p. 29). This increased China’s export capacity as 58 percent of China’s exported goods are produced by foreign-funded firms which “directly harms U.S. manufacturers and results in the loss of U.S. manufacturing jobs” (Ministry of Commerce People’s Republic of China, as cited in USCC, 2006; USCC, 2006, p. 31).

In addition to subsidies, Chinese policy toward intellectual property rights (IPR) continued to be a large concern from 2005 to 2007, with estimates that “[a]cross all copyright industries, piracy rates in 2005 remained between 85 and 93 percent” (U.S. Trade Representative, as cited in USCC, 2006, p. 34). These staggering numbers created numerous challenges for US firms, as 55 percent reported they were hurt by IPR violations in 2006 (AmCham-China, as cited in USCC, 2006, p. 26). These infringements resulted in estimates that China accounted for 70 percent of the counterfeit goods market in the 2005 through 2006 period, with the US Chamber of Commerce estimating that 750,000 jobs were lost due to counterfeiting (Fishman, as cited in USCC, 2006; U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, as cited in USCC, 2006).

The Commission (2006) found China to be severely lacking in enforcement of IPR noting that many in the central government did not take the issue seriously, seeing it as the “typical path for developing nations attempting to foster economic development”

(p. 36). Lack of enforcement was particularly prevalent at the local level, where provinces often relied on the economic performance of industries actively involved in violating IPR (USCC, 2006). This led to a growing number of voices in China urging for non-enforcement as crackdowns against copyright infringement could devastate local economies (USCC, 2006). It seems that this line of thinking was accepted by the government as in 2004 more than 99 percent of cases related to copyright and trademark infringements were channeled into “administrative systems,” with an average fine of \$620 per case; of which only 96 of 51,851 cases were “referred for criminal prosecution” (USCC, 2006, p. 38).

Another factor which the USCC identified as contributing to the trade imbalance between the United States and China was Chinese monetary policy. China does not allow the value of the Renminbi (RMB) to be determined by the market, with the government being responsible for setting its exchange rate (USCC, 2006). In 2005, it was estimated that the Renminbi was undervalued by as much as 40 percent, resulting in great difficulties for US industries to compete with Chinese manufacturers due to Chinese goods being much cheaper than American ones (Goodman, as cited in USCC, 2006). The Commission (2006) argued that the practice of “artificially” selecting the value of the Renminbi “[violated] both the letter and the spirit of the rule of the WTO and the International Monetary Fund” (p. 52).

Violations against its agreement to join the WTO formed the last category that the USCC asserted Chinese policy needed to change. In many ways, this area relates back to

the Commission's previous complaints that in China's accession agreement with the WTO China guaranteed it would change policies related to subsidies and other actions which favor Chinese producers over foreign competitors (U.S. Trade Representative, as cited in USCC, 2006). The USCC found that these practices continued after the PRC joined the WTO, with subsidies increasing and limiting access to Chinese markets by foreign manufacturers continuing (U.S. Trade Representative, as cited in USCC, 2006). The USCC (2006) also found that China failed to ratify four of the eight core International Labor Organization Conventions, mostly those related to collective bargaining and organization rights along with the prohibition of forced labor policies (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, as cited in USCC, 2006). These policies, which prevent workers from demanding higher wages and greater protections against injuries, result in the Chinese government "essentially subsidizing those firms that take advantage of this Chinese laxity" (USCC, 2006, pp. 31-32).

The USCC did not always find fault with Chinese policy, commenting that there were several areas which, by 2005, the Chinese enacted the reforms necessary to become a responsible WTO member state. Specifically, the Commission (2006) found that China with only few exceptions "made a good faith effort to comply with its WTO obligations in the banking sector" (p. 46). In addition, the USCC (2006) noted that the Chinese agreed to a December 11, 2006 deadline to open its financial system to "more outside scrutiny and investment" which, if fully implemented, could lead to China financial system experiencing "a liberalization whose scope and speed have seldom been seen

before” (p. 47). In this way, despite the numerous concerns over US-China economic relations, the USCC (2006) remained hopeful that the PRC could still experience a degree of economic liberalization which it asserted would create a better and more responsible China. Considering this, all actions taken by China that address those concerns related towards government subsidies, IPR infringements, the valuation of the Renminbi, and the continued acceptance and implementation of agreements made between China and the World Trade Organization can be seen as soft power generating activities as they will serve to improve the China’s image in the eyes of the United States government.

The Chinese began working in 2005 to change these policies, including those which made it difficult for US firms to enter and compete in the Chinese market. For example, the Chinese agreed to delay regulations which would cut off US firms from the software procurement market, worth a potential \$8bn, and sped up efforts to join WTO Government Procurement Agreement (GPA) (“The U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) Outcomes on Major U.S. Trade Concerns,” 2005). The Chinese also reworked their “Regulations on Management of Direct Selling,” providing US companies the legal basis to sell directly to Chinese consumer while working toward the free distribution of US goods within the Chinese market (“The U.S.-China,” 2005). Barriers to United States service companies’ exports were also addressed as the Chinese leadership agreed to convene another meeting of the US-China Insurance Dialogue before the end of 2005 in order to discuss barriers to US firms in the insurance market and work to ensure US telecommunication firms access to the Chinese economy (“The

U.S.-China,” 2005). In more specific areas, the Chinese also signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the U.S. Department of Agriculture related to food quality and safety and approved corn biotech regulations between it and the United States with the aim to “facilitate cooperation on animal and plant health safety issues and improve efforts to expand U.S. access to China’s markets for agricultural Commodities” (“The U.S.-China,” 2005, in “Addressing Barriers” para. 2). Regarding government subsidies, Chinese efforts were somewhat lackluster as during the 2005 U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) they only agreed to provide a detailed record of subsidies to the WTO by the end of 2005, illustrating understanding of US concerns over the subject but not exactly enacting real policy to combat it.

In combatting intellectual property rights violations the PRC was much more vigorous, agreeing that the issue was worthy of the central government’s attention. In 2005, China “agreed to increase the number of criminal prosecutions for IPR violations relative to the total number of IPR administrative cases” with the Supreme People’s Court, the Supreme People’s Procuratorate, and the Ministry of Public Security issuing guidelines to “ensure the timely referral of IPR violations from administrative bodies to criminal prosecution” (“The U.S.-China,” 2005, in “Improving Enforcement” para. 2). China also agreed to introduce regulations to reduce the export of infringing goods and improve coordination of police in efforts to combat IPR infringement (“The U.S.-China,” 2005). By the end of 2005, the Chinese government guaranteed that “central, provincial and local government offices” would exclusively use licensed software and all pirated

versions would be replaced (“The U.S.-China,” 2005, in “Improving Enforcement” para. 7). Finally, the Chinese State Council planned “to submit to the National People’s Congress the legislative package needed for China to accede to the WIPO Internet Treaties” by June 30, 2006 (“The U.S. – China,” 2005, in “Improving Enforcement” para. 11).

In conjunction with these domestic efforts, the Chinese agreed to establish with the United States a “bilateral IPR law enforcement working group whose members will cooperate on enforcement activities to reduce cross-border infringing activities” (“The U.S.-China,” 2005, in “Improving Enforcement” para. 5). This group includes officials from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) paired with the Chinese Ministry of Public Security and shares “infringement data” and “information on significant seizures” to improve Chinese policing efforts against IPR infringement (“The U.S.-China,” 2005, in “Improving Enforcement” para. 5).

In comparison, Chinese actions related to adjusting the value of the RMB in 2005 were limited, as it maintained the right to determine the value of the currency. Still, before the meeting of the JCCT in 2005 “China engineered a 2.1 percent overnight rise in the value of the renminbi and announced a policy that would allow a ‘managed float’ of the renminbi within a very narrow daily trading band of 0.3 percent” (USCC, p. 30). While this action did very little to address the high percentage that the RMB was undervalued at, it is interesting to note that it was done shortly before China and the

United States would meet together to discuss economic issues. In this sense, the action was clearly meant to illustrate to an American audience that the Chinese were at least attempting to placate the US, which would raise their opinion of China however briefly.

In order to further illustrate that China appreciated the United States' concerns, President Hu Jintao agreed with President Bush to the Strategic Economic Dialogue (SED) which began in 2006 ("Fact Sheet Creation of the U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue," 2006). With meetings occurring semi-annually and headed by the US Secretary of the Treasury and Chinese Vice Premier the mission of the dialogues was to guarantee the benefits of the economic relationship between the two countries were "fairly shared by citizens of both countries" and provide a forum for discussing issues between the two sides ("Fact Sheet," 2006, para. 2). The Chinese also demonstrated that the dialogue was of great importance to them by creating "its largest and the highest ranking inter-ministerial working group" to participate in the dialogue, including the Vice Premier, the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister, the Deputy Secretary General of the State Council, and various other ministers representing the Ministries of Commerce, Agriculture, Health, etc. ("Fact Sheet," 2006). The Chinese showed their seriousness in working with their American partners to "discuss long-term strategic challenges" and ensure that the United States could expect China's cooperation with them at the highest level ("Fact Sheet," 2006, para. 6).

During the Strategic Economic Dialogue, the Chinese introduced even more policies conducive to generating soft power in the US. In dealing with trade imbalances,

the Chinese worked to ensure that specific areas of the Chinese economy would be opened to US industries including resumption of trade in US beef (“The U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) Outcomes on U.S. Requests,” 2006). China also eliminated “duplicative testing and certification requirement” which hindered the export of medical devices to China from the US and agreed to issue licenses to all 3G providers in China (“The U.S.-China, 2006,” in “Increasing U.S. Access” para. 2). Furthermore, the United States and China agreed to establish a U.S.-China High Technology and Strategic Trade Working Group within the JCCT which would “review export control cooperation and facilitate high technology trade” (“The U.S.-China,” 2006, in “Export Controls” para. 1). The two sides also “concluded an agreement facilitating financing to support U.S. exports to China,” building on the previous year’s work to address the United States’ concerns regarding the trade deficit (“The First U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue December 14-15, Beijing Fact Sheet,” 2006, para. 5).

In the fight against IPR violations China took actions against 14 factories manufacturing pirated optical disks and promised to work harder to “combat copyright piracy of films, music, and software” (“The U.S.-China,” 2006, in “Improving Enforcement” para. 2). The Chinese also ensured that individual IPR cases raised by the US government would receive the direct attention of the government of China while it worked to rid public markets of infringing goods. After creating a plan of action to improve enforcement of IPR rights, China also made it a requirement that all computers imported to or produced in China be pre-loaded with legal software and that government

agencies had to purchase these models (“The U.S.-China,” 2006). Yet, unlike actions taken in 2005, many of these promises did not constitute actual agreements.

Furthermore, the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) found that in 2006 piracy rates were still between 85-93% “indicating little or no improvement over 2005.” (Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, as cited in USCC, 2007, p. 32). It seems China did very little in this area that would increase its soft power in the United States, limiting itself to gestures and promises to do better in the future.

Negotiations over the value of the Renminbi also seemed to remain stagnant in 2006 as no actual agreements or policies were enacted which would lead to substantial changes in the situation. During the First U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue, the Chinese side did recognize US concerns of its monetary policy, reaffirming its commitment “to pursuing macroeconomic policies, such as China's exchange rate regime reform” (“The First U.S.-China,” 2006, para. 1). Outside of reiterating this statement, it is unclear whether the Chinese did anything to shift their monetary policy toward an exchange rate determined by the free market. In fact, following its 2005 announcement that it would allow the RMB to “fluctuate within a narrow trading band against a basket of currencies, the renminbi ha[d] appreciated less than 10 percent against the dollar” and it was still undervalued by 20 to 50 percent (U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means, as cited in USCC, 2007; U.S. Trade Representative, as cited in USCC, 2007, p. 21).

This lack of effort in areas related to IPR violations and monetary policy was also seen in China's relationship with the World Trade Organization. The USCC (2006) found during this time that efforts by Chinese Central Government to enforce WTO obligations were sometimes not followed by the local government. The USCC (2007) also noted that the Chinese maintained subsidies to Chinese industries and continued to practice protectionist economic policies. However, the Chinese government did reiterate its commitment to joining Government Procurement Agreement of the WTO and planned to submit its offer of coverage no later than December 2007 ("The U.S.-China," 2006). It is clear the Chinese did not do much to increase their soft power in the United States through economic policy in 2006, as it failed to pursue meaningful action in IPR, exchange rate policy, or WTO agreements.

This seemed to change in 2007, as China worked harder to address issues related to trade imbalances between the United States and China. In specific areas, the Chinese agreed to eliminate the "remaining redundancies in its testing and certification requirements for imported medical devices, and committed to implement a 'one test, one fee' policy" which would remove more barriers to the US medical devices industries from operating in China ("The U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) Fact Sheet," 2007, in "Medical Devices" para. 1). To facilitate this, the Chinese agreed to suspend the implementation of the General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine (AQSIQ) Decree 95, which would have authorized redundant inspection and testing protocols toward imported medical devices

(“The U.S.-China,” 2007). In telecommunications, the Chinese agreed to lower capital requirements for US providers to operate in China (“The U.S.-China,” 2007).

Regarding financial services, China agreed to resume licensing securities companies and to expand the scope of qualified joint-venture securities companies allowing them “to be engaged in securities brokerages, propriety trading and asset management” (“The Second U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue May 22-23, Washington Joint Fact Sheet,” 2007). China also agreed to allow “qualified foreign-invested companies, including banks, to issue RMB denominated stocks; qualified listed companies to issue RMB denominated corporate bonds; and qualified incorporated foreign banks to issue RMB denominated financial bonds” (“The Third U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue December 12-13, 2007, Beijing Joint Fact Sheet,” 2007, para. 10). Finally, the two countries agreed to begin high-level exchanges on investment policies and to intensify discussions regarding the possibility of signing a Bilateral Investment Treaty (“The Third U.S.-China,” 2007). In this sense, China continued in its efforts to promote policies which would increase the ability of US firms to operate and compete in the Chinese market, facilitating greater US exports and creating greater possibilities for a more natural trade deficit.

Finishing the process to join the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) internet treaties and continuing to fight against sales of computers with illegitimate software, China seemed more serious about combating IPR infringements in 2007 (“The Third U.S.-China,” 2007). The PRC committed to exchange with the US information

related to the seizure of counterfeit goods, of which 81 percent seized in the US originated in China, so that they could better track the companies responsible for producing them (“The Third U.S.-China,” 2007). The Chinese justice system also worked directly with the US and in July 2007 a joint investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Chinese authorities resulted in “25 arrests and the seizure of 290,000 CDs containing counterfeit software” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, as cited in USCC, 2007, p. 33). This collaboration was set to increase as China’s General Administration of Customs signed a Memorandum of Cooperation on IPR enforcement with United States Department of Homeland Security’s U.S. Customs and Border Protection Section (“The Second U.S.-China,” 2007). To further illustrate its commitment against IPR infringement, the Chinese signed a letter of intent on “the establishment of a consultative mechanism in standards and trade-related technical measures and [would] host a seminar on the critical elements of technical innovation” guaranteeing that Chinese businesses understood the laws related to copyright infractions (“The Second U.S.-China,” 2007, para. 12).

On monetary policy, the Chinese still lagged behind but made some efforts to ameliorate the situation. For example, in July 2007 the Chinese government announced that it would cease attempting to buy all US dollars in China; allowing the dollars to go to private Chinese citizens who could then invest with them (Xin, as cited in USCC, 2007). This allows for dollars to more naturally flow in and out of Chinese markets, restricting the government’s ability to control the value of its currency, and tying the Renminbi

more to market interactions. The Chinese also revised their “managed float” program of the Renminbi, increasing its daily trading band from 0.3 percent to 0.5 percent in May of 2007 (USCC, 2007). While this illustrates slightly more actions taken than in the previous year, the USCC (2008) continued to express worries that the Chinese had not done enough to address the problem and that while the RMB would appreciate over 18 percent in mid-2008 it would still be undervalued by about 30 percent (Cline & Johnson, as cited in USCC, 2008). Despite this slow pace, it is important to note that the Chinese were at least attempting to appease American interests by allowing their currency to appreciate which definitely could be argued as attempts to at least satiate the US government’s insistence that they do something. In this sense, I argue that the Chinese did make an effort to generate higher soft power reserves in the US through monetary policies in 2007 regardless of how warmly those efforts were received by the United States.

China upheld many of its WTO obligations, particularly those related to “lowering tariffs and made progress in removing such import barriers as its previous restrictions on distribution and sales of foreign goods within China” (U.S. Trade Representative, as cited in USCC, 2007, p. 23). The WTO, reviewing Chinese actions, asserted “a large number of trade-related laws” had been “revised” and expressed satisfaction for most of China’s efforts (U.S. Trade Representative, as cited in USCC, 2007, p. 24). Still, the USCC (2008) found that China had much more work to do and that it continued to operate in ways which protected local industries and gave them an

advantage over foreign competitors. The Commission (2007) also argued that “despite promises to do so, China has not begun talks to join the WTO’s Agreement on Government Procurement that ensures a fair and transparent system for bidding on government contracts” (p. 24).

This reflects a general trend in the annual reports filed by the USCC, which continuously find fault in Chinese efforts or claim that more needs to be done. This may indicate that Chinese efforts to generate soft power have not been effective, but one must remember that the purpose of this research is not to judge the effectiveness of China’s soft power promotion policies but simply their efforts to do so. This is why that agreements made by the Chinese, regardless of how little they may accomplish in bringing about the sort of change desired by the federal government of the United States are still important as they are clear signals to the United States that China understands their concerns and that they are working to address them. In a way, this conforms to the words of President Hu in 2006 as he stressed that the two sides must respect one another and understand that there will be differences in interpretation of how best to act in the international system.

Confucius Institutes:

Perhaps the clearest example of Chinese endeavors to increase soft power in not just the United States but throughout the world is the establishment of Confucius Institutes. In the first of a series of annual reports starting in 2006, the Office of Chinese

Language Council International (Hanban) stated that the purpose of the institutes was the “teaching [of the] Chinese language and spreading Chinese culture” (Chinese Language Council International, 2006, p. 11). The report goes on to stipulate that the Institutes are not only “helpful in better satisfying the demand for learning Chinese abroad” but also in “promoting economic and cultural exchange and cooperation between China and other countries, and contributing [to] China’s role in world peace and development” (Hanban, 2006, pp. 11-12). From these sentiments, it is clear that the Chinese intended to facilitate building a peaceful and cooperative image of China in the world and improve the attractiveness of the PRC within other states by establishing the Confucius Institutes. These efforts are clearly directed at the United States, as the People’s Republic of China established the first Confucius Institute at the University of Maryland in the United States (Li, 2014).

The Confucius Institutes are themselves administered by Hanban and the Confucius Institute Headquarters, both of which being subsections of the Ministry of Education in the PRC. The influence of the state government over the Confucius Institutes is quite clear, as during the first Confucius Institute Conference held in 2006, several state officials participated and gave speeches outlining the priorities and goals of the institutes. This allows researchers to tie the creation of Confucius Institutes to state policy, illustrating that part of that policy is the generation of soft power abroad.

During the opening ceremony of the 2006 conference, State Councilor Chen Zhili outlined the three principles of the Confucius Institutes, with the first focusing on

promoting cooperation between the local community and the Institute (Hanban, 2006). While reiterating that encouraging the study of Chinese language and culture is the main purpose of the institutes, it is interesting to note that Chen makes the first principle developing “exchange, cooperation, and friendship between Chinese people and the rest of the world” (Hanban, 2006, p. 12). This focus on the recipient nation of the Confucius Institute is further highlighted by her second principle, compelling all those involved to “comply with the laws of the country in which each particular institute is located, observing local customs and demonstrating flexibility by running the Institute in accordance with local specification” (Hanban, 2006, p. 12). The third principle is simply a commitment to meet regularly to discuss the work and experiences of the various Institutes. The first two priorities illustrate that the Chinese are very aware that the institutes serve as representations of their own country and they must work to ensure that the local population sees itself as an equal partner in the enterprise, generating a view of the Chinese as interested in exchange and friendship.

This viewpoint was echoed by then Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress Xu Jialu, asserting that “[l]anguage is the best bridge for friendship and exchange between people of different countries” (Hanban, 2006, p. 14). To Xu, the establishment of Confucius Institutes serves to facilitate communication not just through the study of language but also through an understanding of different perceptions among cultures (Hanban, 2006). These cultural differences serve as an important aspect of a future “harmonious” society which will ensure peaceful coexistence

for people all over the world (Hanban, 2006, p. 14). These views are clearly meant to further establish that the Confucius Institutes are a force for peace and a representation of China's own desire for peace in the world, crafting an image of a responsible and friendly China. Xu, however, also mentions that the Confucius Institutes serve the role of adding Chinese culture to a new multicultural world, establishing the institutes as the foundation for the understanding of Chinese culture in the outside world" (Hanban, 2006).

The Chinese Minister of Education, Zhou Ji, reiterated this goal during his address at the closing ceremony of the Confucius Institute Conference stating that the "Confucius Institute should be the central base for international study of Chinese language" (Hanban, 2006, p. 17). This sentiment illustrates a common view of Confucius Institutes as an attempt by China to control the study of Chinese language and culture in the world, preventing any other possible interpretations of either historical or current events in China (Pan, 2006). Indeed, in the Constitution and By-Laws of Confucius Institutes provided in Hanban's 2007 Annual Report, it is stipulated that classes must be taught using "standard" Chinese characters, excluding the traditional characters used in Taiwan (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007, p. 68). In addition to identifying China's simplified characters as the standard form of Chinese writing, this serves as a small demonstration of how the Confucius Institutes can serve as a tool of the Chinese government to promote their conception of China throughout the world as the accepted view. While this adds to a certain degree of mistrust towards the institutes in other countries, it is also noteworthy that the by-laws reiterate China's peaceful intentions and

dedication to adhere “to the principles of mutual respect, friendly negotiations, and mutual benefit” (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007, p. 67). Therefore, while certain aspects of the Confucius Institute program may arouse suspicion, it is clear that the Chinese were trying to promote a better image of the PRC and increase its soft power reserves in countries that might worry of its intentions.

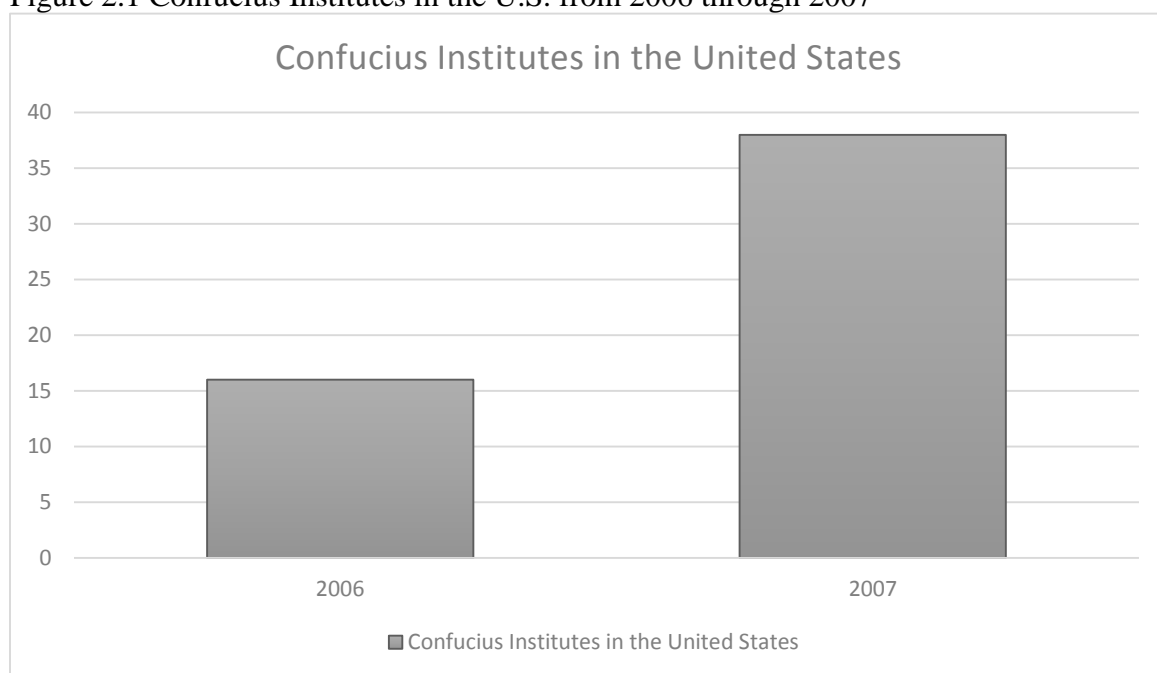
With this in mind, Hanban’s efforts to promote Confucius Institutes in the United States serve as powerful examples of its efforts to generate soft power. Analyzing Hanban’s Annual Reports, which begin in 2006, the Chinese government was quite committed to the Confucius Institute Program as it allocated 350 million RMB in funds to Hanban in 2006 for the establishment of Confucius Institutes all over the world (Hanban, 2006). At this time, the amount of Confucius Institutes in the United States was 16, giving it the most for any single country in 2006 (Hanban, 2006). 2006 also saw numerous agreements signed between Hanban and US institutions and the promotion of international exchanges between the two countries. In April 2006, Hanban signed the 2006 Chinese Language and Culture Initiative with the US College Board and also cooperated with the College Board to organize two AP Chinese Teacher Summer Institutes at Beijing Normal University and Shanghai International Studies University (Hanban, 2006). As of 2006 these programs had 60 attendees from the United States and in June 2006 the Chinese welcomed 400 president of 216 elementary and secondary schools from 45 states to visit China and learn about its education system through the “Chinese Bridge for American Schools Program” (Hanban, 2006). As part of the

Chinese Language and Culture Initiative, Confucius Institutes also provided 100 scholarships to American college students majoring in Chinese teaching (Hanban, 2006). In addition, Hanban signed agreements with the Delaware Department of Education, the Department of Education of the State of Kansas, the University of California, the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS), the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), and worked on a proposal for an agreement with the National Council of State Supervisors for Languages (NCSSFL). This represents an impressive amount of work done by Hanban in 2006 to promote Chinese soft power and build relationships with various institutions in the United States.

These efforts did not stop in 2007, as Hanban's total funds increased to nearly 460 million RMB and the Confucius Institute Headquarters was officially founded (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007). Like Hanban, it is a "non-profit organization" freeing it from any purely economic motivations (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007, p. 69). Despite this, its ties to the Chinese government are quite clear as 10 of the 15 council members who govern the Headquarters are from candidates "recommended by the education agency of the Chinese State Council and approved by the State Council," with the remaining five from Chinese partner institutions (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007, p. 69). Additionally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China "granted the headquarters certain level of foreign affairs authority, including the rights to approve exit permits, apply for visas on behalf of another, issue 'going abroad' certificates and the rights to invite foreigners to China" (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007, p. 8). With

the blessing of the government to act in this manner, it is clear that the Chinese leadership believed strongly in the Confucius Institute program and was willing to increase its support of its leadership organizations in 2007.

Figure 2.1 Confucius Institutes in the U.S. from 2006 through 2007



Source: Hanban Annual Reports 2006-2007

By 2007, the number of Confucius Institutes in the US increased from 16 to 38, with the addition of one Confucius Classroom in Denver (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007). Excluding the Confucius Classroom, this represents an increase of 137.5%, showing that Chinese efforts to promote soft power through Confucius Institutes were able to produce impressive results. Hanban and the Confucius Institute Headquarters also continued to promote cultural exchange by signing cooperation agreements with organizations in the United States such as the American Asia

Association, the Association of Independent Schools, the American Foreign Language Association, the Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary School Teachers, the Maine Department of Education, and others (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007). March 2007 also saw three Chinese Language and Culture Presentation Tours made to 70 elementary, middle, high schools, colleges, universities, and other educational institutions across seven states (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007). In total, 120 activities were held which included cultural lectures and class demonstrations among others (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007). Programs in China also saw an increase in American attendance with 120 American teachers, as opposed to 60 the previous year, participated in the AP Chinese Summer Institute in June 2007 (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007). Finally, the “Chinese Bridge Program for American, Britain, and Korean schools tour” had 800 American school principals invited to Beijing (only 200 each were invited from Britain and Korea) up from the 400 administrators that visited the previous year (Confucius Institute Headquarters, 2007). This shows that between 2006 and 2007 China did increase its efforts to woo the United States through Confucius Institutes and other education projects and improve its soft power in the country.

Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges:

When researching cultural exchanges through art between the United States and China, there are numerous examples throughout the US in many different locations. This

presents a problem in that it would be impossible to identify all of these exchanges and that most of them would be ineffectual in producing any substantial change in China's soft power in the United States due to them occurring at only the state or municipal level. To counter this problem, I have chosen to investigate exchanges in art through performances and exhibitions at the Kennedy Center located in Washington D.C and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Opened to the public in September of 1971, the Kennedy Center was initially to be named the National Cultural Center, which first came into being through the National Cultural Center Act signed by President Eisenhower in 1958 ("Explore the Center: History of the Living Memorial," 2015). The Center would be renamed in honor of President Kennedy following his assassination due to his tireless promotion of the project and his assertion of the arts as "our contribution to the human spirit" ("Explore the Center," 2015, para. 3). In addition to its roots as a national arts center, the Kennedy Center became host to numerous performance groups and functions as the premiere performance center in the nation's capital. In this sense, it serves as an excellent venue for other countries to place a spotlight on their own culture and art before audiences comprising not just ordinary Americans but also those with leadership roles in the country.

China sought to do just this in 2005 as the Ministry of Culture paired with the Kennedy Center to organize the "Festival of China." Held throughout the month of October, the festival was billed as "the largest celebration of Chinese performing arts in American history" and featured 28 events and exhibitions dedicated to the promotion of

Chinese performance arts found in traditional and modern Chinese culture (“The Kennedy Center Festival of China October 2005,” 2016, para.1). During October, the entire center was redecorated in red and photographs of Beijing while also featuring an exhibition of two full terra cotta warriors and a horse along with several other pieces from the terra cotta warrior site (“The Kennedy Center,” 2016). The grounds around the Center also featured numerous contemporary sculptures from China which presented a mix between traditional Chinese aesthetics and modern design.

As for the events, the Festival saw performances by the China National Acrobatic Troupe, the China National Peking Opera Company, the National Ballet of China, and the Beijing Modern Dance Company, among many other groups (“The Kennedy Center,” 2016). All of these groups’ performances had a distinct Chinese character, but, some also incorporated Western-style performances. This was perhaps made most clear by the performances of the National Ballet of China which featured *The Yellow River* by Chinese choreographer Chen Zemei, but also the second act from the classic ballet *Giselle* (“National Ballet of China,” 2016a). This fusion of Chinese and Western styles was also seen in the performance by the Guangzhou Symphony Orchestra on October 2, 2005 which included Chen Qigang’s “Iris dévoilée” (“Guangzhou Symphony Orchestra, with Lang Lang, Piano,” 2016).

There were also several exhibitions and performances which included participants with Chinese American backgrounds. Specifically, the Ying Quartet performed a selection of works that were meant to reflect their Chinese American heritage and designs

by Vera Wang were featured in an exhibition dedicated to new Chinese fashion (“The Kennedy Center,” 2016). While this did not form the bulk performances and exhibits on display, it is interesting to note that the Chinese Ministry of Culture decided to include this element of Chinese culture.

Despite this exceptional beginning to increasing Chinese soft power through art and performances, the only other Chinese-themed performance held at the Center from 2005 through 2007 was a performance by the Beijing Wushu Team (“Beijing Wushu Team 2005 Tour,” 2016). It is true that individuals such as Lang Lang, the Chinese pianist who played with the Guangzhou Symphony Orchestra, did return to the Center, but since these were individuals whose performance was not done with reference to Chinese art or culture it is less likely that the audience would view it as indicative of the attractiveness of Chinese culture as a whole but more so as the exceptional ability of the individual. And while this seems to indicate that the Chinese did not place as much importance on performance art in creating soft power, it should be noted that from 2005 to 2007 no other country or region specific event at the Kennedy Center lasted for an entire month. This illustrates that the “Festival of China” was in many ways a unique event for the Center, featuring groups which had not performed in the United States before and those such as the China National Peking Opera Company which had not performed at the Kennedy Center for 25 years (“The Kennedy Center,” 2016). So, while performances by national performance groups from China did not become a regular occurrence at the Kennedy Center at this time, the “Festival of China,” with its relatively

long duration in comparison to other region specific events, represents an exceptional attempt by China to increase its soft power in the capital of the United States.

The capital of the United States, however, is not the only place where a country would be able to reach a large audience of Americans, as New York City also forms an exceptional venue and, with regards to art and historical artifacts, there is perhaps no greater stage than the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1866 Paris, France a group of Americans led by John Jay began proposing the idea of establishing a “national institution and gallery of art” in the United States (“Main Building,” 2015, para. 1). By 1870 the group accomplished their goal as the Museum opened at the Dodworth Building, later moving to its current site at Fifth Avenue and 82nd street in New York City on March 30, 1880 (“Main Building,” 2015). It did not take long for the Museum to gain an impressive reputation as by the early 20th century it had become “one of the world's great art centers,” and today it is home to the largest collection of Egyptian art outside of Cairo and has “one of the greatest” collections of European art in the world (“Main Building,” 2015, para. 5).

These impressive credentials extend to Asian art as well as the Metropolitan Museum of Art is home to 35,000 objects of Asian art from the third millennium B.C. to the current day with its collections of Chinese painting and calligraphy ranking “among the finest outside China” (“Asian Art,” 2015, para. 3). This interest in Chinese pieces also extends to Buddhist sculptures, jades, bronzes, lacquers, and all sorts of other antiquities with some dating back to the third millennium B.C. (“Asian Art,” 2015). With

such an impressive collection, the Met is one of the most widely visited Museums in the world, with approximately 6.2 million visitors from all over the world in 2014 (“Main Building,” 2015). High attendance and an exceptional reputation, the Metropolitan Museum of Art represents an excellent chance for a country to promote the soft power of their nation by displaying the greatest works produced by their culture for all to see.

In this sense, there is an issue with many of the exhibits presented at the Metropolitan Museum of Art due to the fact that most of the artifacts are either from the Museum’s private collection or they are on loan from private donors. While some of these donors are Chinese citizens, the majority are either American citizens or individuals living in the United States. This makes it difficult to link these exhibitions with actions by China to promote its soft power as the state lacks any control and only perhaps the slightest input regarding how and when these artifacts will be displayed. Still, it is arguable that this form of soft power promotion is more in line with the original conception of the term by Joseph Nye who stipulated that soft power originates from NGOs or a country’s cultural heritage. It is possible that the Chinese government realizes this as there is no clear indication that they protested any exhibits held at the Metropolitan Museum on the grounds that they be in charge of the artifacts in the Museum’s collection. Indeed, on the website of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the department responsible for these artifacts within China, there is no mention of issues between it and the Metropolitan Museum, with the current director of the Museum, Thomas P. Campbell, even visiting with Chinese museums to discuss

cooperation and exchange programs (“Metropolitan Museum of Art Director Thomas Visits Shanxi’s Han Yangling Museum,” 2009).

The only real indication that the Chinese government has any issue with the exhibition of Chinese objects from private collections comes from the work of the Poly Culture and Arts Company. This company oversees the Poly Art Museum in Beijing and is required to “rescue and protect Chinese cultural relics lost abroad” (“Poly Culture: Poly Art Museum,” n.d., para. 1). These efforts have received great “approval and support” from within China as the Poly Group’s retrieval of “three national treasures” in May 2000 that were “robbed out of China by western powers...more than 100 years ago” is credited with inspiring “patriotism among the Chinese people” (“Poly Culture,” n.d., para. 1). Accompanying this has been an increasing number of Chinese buyers at art markets attempting to buy back Chinese artifacts taken abroad (Devlin, 2012). Yet, all of these actions seem to be more directed at European collectors or museums as Devlin (2012) notes that French and British looting during the Second Opium War has been the great impetus for these actions and does not mention any actions by Americans or specifically the Metropolitan Museum as being targeted for critique by the Chinese government. Considering this, it would seem that the government at least tacitly approves the exhibitions held at the Met and perhaps even considers them an exceptional method to increase Chinese soft power in the United States. With this in mind, an analysis of exhibitions of Chinese art and cultural artifacts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art represents an acceptable example of Chinese soft power generation in the United

States as the Museum attracts a great deal of visitors and the exhibitions seem to be accepted by the Chinese.

Beginning in 2005, the Met held a total of four Chinese exhibits with the first concentrating on imperial art of the early fifteenth century. Featuring art from the reign of Emperor Yongle during the Ming Dynasty, the exhibit sought to illustrate the Emperor's interest in promoting the arts and was held from April 1 to July 10, 2005 ("Defining Yongle: Imperial Art in Early Fifteenth-Century China," 2015). When calculating the total number of days the exhibit was on display at the Museum, I will subtract the first Monday in May, Thanksgiving, Christmas Day, and New Year's Day as these are the only official holidays for the Museum. Considering this, the Yongle exhibition ran a total of 100 days due to the Museum being closed the first Monday in May. The next exhibit began on August 28, 2004 but ran till February 20, 2005 and was titled "Chinese Paintings: Masterpieces from the Permanent Collection" ("Chinese Paintings: Masterpieces from the Permanent Collection," 2015). As the title implies, the exhibition focused on great Chinese paintings with those from the last four ruling dynasties of China, a time period of more than thousand years, forming the core of the exhibit ("Chinese Painting," 2015). Considering the timeframe of this research starting at 2005, I will only count the days this exhibit was at the Met beginning on January 2, 2005 (as the Museum is closed on January 1) which leads to a total 50 days where this exhibition was on display. During 2005 the Museum also presented an exhibition beginning on September 10, 2005 which ran until January 8, 2006 titled "Secular and

Sacred: Scholars, Deities, and Immortals in Chinese Art” featuring art from the twelfth to twentieth century (“Secular and Sacred: Scholars, Deities, and Immortals in Chinese Art,” 2015). Due to this exhibit ending after the end of 2005, I will only use the amount of days it was on display during 2005 when calculating the length of Chinese exhibits held in 2005; resulting in the exhibition being on display for 111 days excluding Thanksgiving and Christmas.

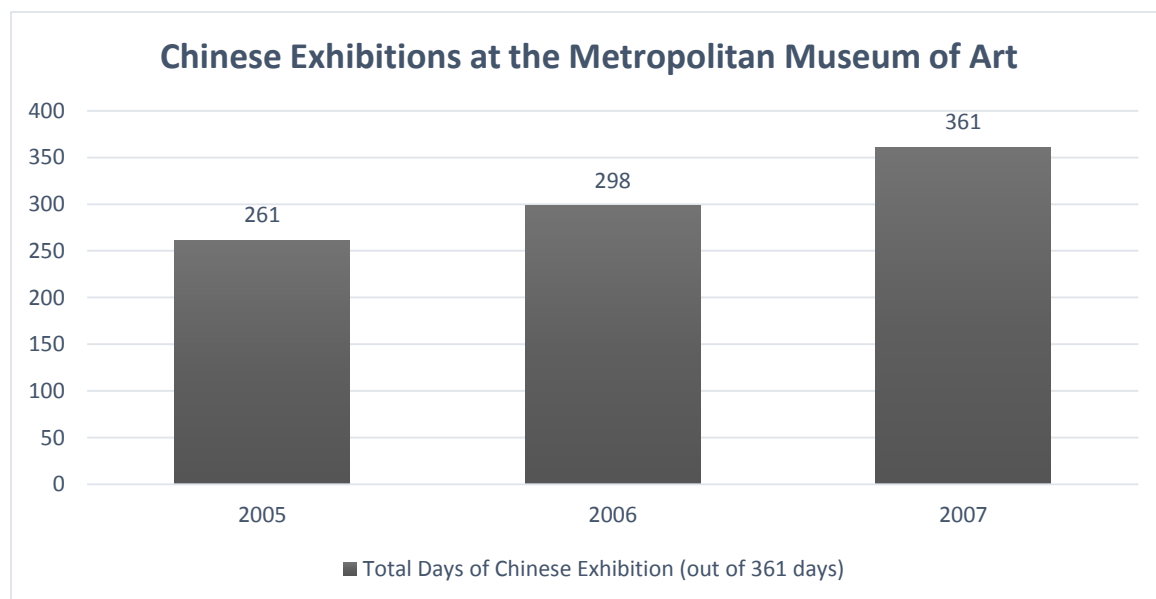
The last Chinese exhibition presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art during 2005 also began in 2004 and while it only ran until January 23, 2005 its title of “China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 A.D.” exemplifies the importance of the exhibit in terms of representing the greatness of Chinese civilization (“China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 A.D.,” 2015). Focusing not just on classic pieces of Chinese art, the exhibit also granted visitors a look into China’s growing reach beyond China as it contained artifacts with Persian, Hellenic, and even Roman features (“China: Dawn,” 2015). This exhibit also has the distinction of being most tied with the Chinese government as of the three hundred objects on display, the majority were “recent archaeological finds” which would require the authorization of the Chinese government to come out of China (“China: Dawn,” 2015, para. 1). And while it was on display for only 22 days in 2005, its total span of 101 days starting on October 12, 2004 (subtracting Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year’s day as official holidays of the Museum) illustrates that it was an important exhibit within the Museum running for more than one fourth of one year. Factoring in those days where exhibits were on display at the same time, the Metropolitan Museum of

Art in 2005 had a total of 261 days (out of a 361 day year of operation for the Museum) where a Chinese exhibit was present, symbolizing that China was very much so an important part of the year for the Met.

In 2006, the first Chinese exhibition, titled “The ‘Hundred Antiques’ in Chinese Textiles” began on February 8, 2006 and ended July 30, 2006, leading to a total of 172 days exempting the Museum holiday of the first Monday in May (“The ‘Hundred Antiques’ in Chinese Textiles,” 2015). It is also crucial to remember that the exhibit “Secular and Sacred: Scholars, Deities, and Immortals in Chinese Art” beginning in 2005 also ran partially through 2006 ending on January 8, 2006. While this only represents 7 days when the exhibit was on display during 2006, it is still part of the total days an exhibit related to Chinese culture was held at the Met and is therefore necessary to include in exhibits held in 2006. The next exhibition was “Brush and Ink: the Chinese Art of Writing” beginning on September 2, 2006 and continuing until January 21, 2007, resulting in a total of 119 days during 2006 (“Brush and Ink: the Chinese Art of Writing,” 2015). As with the previous exhibit, those days of the exhibit that fell in 2007 will be added to the days of Chinese exhibitions during 2007. The final exhibit related to China to be held in 2006 began on December 2, and was titled “Mother-of-Pearl: A Tradition in Asian Lacquer” (“Mother-of-Pearl: A Tradition in Asian Lacquer,” 2015). On display till April 1, 2007 this exhibition featured artworks not just from China but from different Asian countries such as Korea, Japan, India, and Thailand (“Mother-of-Pearl,” 2015). While this results in the exhibit not being completely China focused, it should be noted

that Chinese soft power would still be generated by it, as the presence of Chinese artifacts would reflect positively on China regardless of the objects being seen in conjunction with works of other countries. Furthermore, the art on display, a type of lacquerware which made use of mother-of-pearl was found in China's "earliest cultures" going back to the Shang Dynasty circa 1600-1050 B.C. which far predates those examples found from the other countries in the exhibit which began in the 8th century A.D. ("Mother-of-Pearl," 2015, para. 4). If anything else, this reflects even better on Chinese culture as it shows its influence all throughout Asia. Considering this, the exhibition is included in this research, bringing the total number of days with Chinese exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2006 to 298, representing a 14.2 percent increase from the previous year.

Figure 2.2: Chinese Exhibition at the Met from 2005 through 2008 Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art Past Exhibitions 2005-2007



Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art Past Exhibitions 2005-2007

In 2007, those exhibitions which began in 2006 but ended in 2007 represented a total of 110 days of being on display in 2007. The first exhibit related to China in 2007 beginning on February 10 and ending on August 26 (“Journeys: Mapping the Earth and Mind in Chinese Art,” 2015). This exhibition, titled “Journeys: Mapping the Earth and Mind in Chinese Art,” focused on the importance of travel in Chinese art, featuring works from not just China’s past but also from the modern period. In total, the exhibit was on display for 197 days. The next exhibit in 2007 was “Excellence and Elegance: Decorative Arts of the Eighteenth-Century Qing Court” which ran from August 25 to November 25; a total of 92 days (“Excellence and Elegance: Decorative Arts of the Eighteenth-Century Qing Court,” 2015). Beginning on September 15, 2007 and ending on February 10, 2008 “Bridging East and West: The Chinese Diaspora and Lin Yutang” was the next Chinese exhibit held at the Met, specializing in artworks and correspondence from the collection of Lin Yutang a Chinese immigrant to the United States (“Bridging East and West: The Chinese Diaspora and Lin Yutang,” 2015). Totalling 107 days during 2007, this exhibition presented artwork related to the Chinese diaspora and the blending of Chinese and Western styles of painting, particularly showcasing the work of Xu Beihong, a leading proponent of this type of fusion of styles (“Bridging East and West,” 2015).

The last Chinese exhibit, titled “Asian Lacquer: Masterpieces from the Florence and Herbert Irving Collection,” began on November 3, 2007, ended on May 11, 2008, and once again featured artwork from countries outside of China (“Asian Lacquer:

Masterpieces from the Florence and Herbert Irving Collection,” 2015). However, like the previous example that featured lacquerware, this art form began in China and its spread to countries like Japan and Korea again is symbolic of China’s position in the Asian world as a leader in culture; improving their stature and increasing their soft power. This exhibit, excluding those days which occurred in 2008 had a total of 57 days on display in 2007.

Considering those days which there was overlap between the exhibits, a Chinese exhibition was on display at the Met for the entirety of the 2007 fiscal year. This jump to 371 days represents a 24.5 percent increase from the previous year and corresponds with the upward trend found in Chinese related exhibits presented by the Metropolitan Museum of art from 2005 to 2007. Coinciding with the time frame when we would expect an increase in soft power efforts by the Chinese this seems to add vindication to the hypothesis that the Chinese government from 2005 to 2007 was very interested in creating a positive image of itself in the United States.

Chapter Three: Hu Jintao 2008-2011

Hu Jintao and Inconsistent Signals:

The United States and China reacted in fairly similar ways to the financial crisis of 2008, enacting large stimulus programs in order to inject much needed funds into their economies. For the Chinese, this meant encouraging many of the banks under state control to lend out large amounts of money, totaling nearly \$1.5 trillion in 2009 alone (Prasad as cited in U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2011). Actions such as this resulted in massive increases in investment in China and enabled the Chinese economy to weather much of the economic storm of the crisis (USCC, 2011). The United States' stimulus, however, did not experience the same amount of success, with the US economy only growing 1.0 percent in the second quarter of 2009 as opposed to China's 7.9 percent during the same time period (McGregor, as cited in U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2009; Bureau of Economic Analysis, as cited in USCC, 2009). Clearly, the two countries were on very different economic trajectories during this time, leading to possibilities that there might be certain changes in their relationship with each other.

In spite of this speculation, Hu Jintao maintained that his country was still committed to working with the United States and promoted close relations between the two states. Much like during his 2006 state visit, Hu Jintao again attended a dinner sponsored by the U.S.-China Business Council where he was once more introduced by

Henry Kissinger. In his introduction, Kissinger borrowed from the vocabulary often utilized by his Chinese counterparts in the past calling for a “harmonious world,” asserting that if “our two countries work together most of the problems before us will find a creative solution” (C-Span, 2011). President Hu concurred with this sentiment calling for the people of China and the United States to “step up cooperation and work with people across the world to share opportunities, meet challenges, and build a better future for the entire world” (C-Span, 2011). Showing respect for the previous leaders of his hosts, Hu once again mentioned President Franklin Roosevelt, tying Roosevelt’s calls for enduring progress in the face of the Great Depression to continuing exchanges between the United States and China in the realm of international diplomacy (C-Span, 2011).

Joint statements made between Presidents Obama and Hu during the Chinese leader’s state visits to Washington in 2009 and 2011 seem to add more evidence that Hu was determined China remain a friend to the US. According to the joint statement from 2009, the Chinese side affirmed that it resolutely “follows the path of peaceful development and a win-win strategy of opening-up, and is committed to promoting the building of a harmonious world of enduring peace and common prosperity.” (“U.S.- China Joint Statement, November 2009,” 2009, in “Building and Deepening Bilateral Strategic Trust” para. 2). During the same visit the Chinese stressed that the two countries “should further strengthen coordination and cooperation” and even welcomed the United States as an “Asia-Pacific nation that contributes to peace, stability and

prosperity in the region” (“U.S.-China Joint Statement,” 2009, in “Building and Deepening” para. 2). Such commitments were reiterated in 2011 when China and the United States claimed they were committed to work together to “build a cooperative partnership based on mutual respect and mutual benefit in order to promote the common interests of both countries and to address the 21st century's opportunities and challenges.” (“U.S.-China Joint Statement January 9, 2011,” 2011, para. 3).

In spite of these peaceful assurances, many US observers began to discern a shift in Chinese behavior toward the United States shortly following the crisis. According to Joshua Kurlantzick (2011), Chinese soft power grew throughout the world as the United States felt the effects of the Great Recession, and the Chinese actively promoted their economic model as an alternative to the United States'. In a discussion on the 2008 Olympic Games in China, Elizabeth Economy and Adam Segal also lamented China's further regression from more open policies as it cracked down heavily on dissent during the games and refused US calls for greater transparency in territorial issues related to Xinjiang and Tibet (“China's Olympic Nightmare,” 2008).

The U.S.-China Security and Economic Review Commission (USCC) also became more convinced of Chinese aggression from 2008 through 2011. In 2010, the Commission argued that China had become increasingly assertive in its dealing with other countries, highlighting actions in the South and East China Seas while also claiming that its “friendly neighbor” policies in Southeast Asia had not proven effective in the face of China's willingness to act unilaterally in pursuit of its own interests in these areas

(U.S.-China Security and Economic Review Commission, 2010, p. 139). By 2011, the Commission was even more direct, claiming that the Chinese had begun to view themselves as “ascendant” as the United States still felt the effects of the financial crisis and appeared to China to be “in decline” (USCC, 2011, p. 17). Facing these beliefs, the Commission (2011) openly stated that the United States was “in a global competition with China, and U.S. policies should flow from this premise” in future dealings with the Chinese (p. 19)

Considering these views, it is clear that there was a degree of disagreement regarding China’s posture toward the US from 2008 through 2011. While the Chinese, particularly President Hu, continued to claim that they sought only peaceful relations voices from within the United States began to see China as more of a threat than a possible friend; openly questioning their intentions regarding the US. Indeed, even Hu himself does not seem to be completely immune from these concerns. In the joint statements released during his visits to the US, the Chinese distinctly rebuked US concerns on human rights stating there “should be no interference in any country’s internal affairs” and that the people of different countries “have the right to choose their own...development model” (“U.S.-China Joint Statement,” 2011, para. 7).

And yet, in 2011 the Chinese reasserted in other venues that they were committed to the path of peaceful development. In articles released by the State Council in September 2011, China stated it must “develop itself through upholding world peace and contribute to world peace through its own development” (Information Office of the State

Council, 2011, in “The Path of China's Peaceful Development: What It Is About” para. 4). The document goes on to proclaim that China “loves peace” and that China “never engages in aggression or expansion, never seeks hegemony, and remains a staunch force for upholding regional and world peace and stability” (Information Office of the State Council, 2011, in “The Path” para. 8). Combining these sentiments with those expressed by Hu and contrasting the assertions made by US commentators, it becomes clear that the understanding of the diplomatic posture of China toward the US during this time did not enjoy unanimity. This strengthens the argument that Chinese soft power initiatives during this time frame should be investigated so as to gain a clearer picture regarding Chinese intentions toward the United States during a period of Chinese growth and US weakness.

Economic Relations:

Following the trends established from the start of 2005 to the end of 2007, exports and imports between the two countries continued to grow from 2008 through 2011. In 2008, Chinese exports to the United States reached \$337.8 billion while US exports to China touched \$69.73 billion; both increases from \$321.5 billion and \$65.2 billion in 2007 respectively (USCC, 2009). Due to the effects of the financial crisis, 2009 saw the amount of exports and imports between the two actually decrease; something which did not occur once from 2000 to 2008 (USCC, 2010). During 2009, Chinese exports fell to \$296.4 billion while US exports to China decreased to \$69.5 billion (USCC, 2010). This

decline was fleeting at best, however, as by 2010 exports to the US from China increased to \$364 billion and US exports climbed to \$91 billion (U.S. Census Bureau, as cited in USCC, 2011). This continued during 2011, with Chinese exports increasing 9.4 percent to \$399.3 billion, and US exports up 13.1 percent, reaching \$103.9 billion (Office of the United States Trade Representative, U.S-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2012).

Much like the previous years under investigation, however, the trade relationship does not provide the full story regarding the economic relationship between the United States and China. In its 2009 report to Congress, the USCC echoed several of the same concerns it had from 2005 to 2007, arguing that China needed to follow its commitments to the World Trade Organization (WTO) to open its economy to foreign markets, to push intellectual property rights (IPR) protection, and to allow its currency to be more influenced by the market than by the central government (Kang, as cited in USCC, 2009). In particular, the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) found that in 2009 the commercial value of unlicensed software marketed in China exceeded \$7.5 billion and in January of that year the WTO decided that most of China's IPR enforcement policies "did not comply with WTO obligations" ("2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade Outcomes," 2011, in "Intellectual Property Rights" para. 2; USCC, 2009). The Commission (2009) also found that the central government of China still had control of foreign currency entering the country, buying these currencies and "swapping them for newly printed RMB" to ensure the renminbi (RMB) stayed

within the trading band mandated by the Chinese government (p. 23). Even more problematic was that while the renminbi had appreciated nearly 20 percent from 2005 to 2008, it was stopped at “an effective peg at around 6.83 to the dollar” to guarantee China’s continued advantage in exports (USCC, 2010, p. 22).

Several issues in particular became increasingly important during this time period; specifically concerns about Chinese government procurement activities. The Chinese had still failed to sign the Government Procurement Agreement (GPA) of the World Trade Organization (WTO), with its submission at the end of 2007 being criticized by trading partners for exempting state-owned enterprises from the agreement and arguing for a 15-year grace period where China would not be forced to implement any GPA obligations (Inside U.S.-China Trade, as cited in USCC, 2010 p. 46). Pairing these actions with Chinese backtracking on its currency undermines many of the soft power generation efforts taken by China concerning these areas from 2005 through 2007; making the US side more apprehensive of Chinese actions in these areas after 2007.

While the central issue between China and the United States remained the trade deficit, a recurring complaint made by the Commission focused on China’s “indigenous innovation” program (USCC, 2010, p. 13). The earliest concerns regarding this initiative stemmed from notices issued by China’s Ministry of Finance in 2007 introducing measures to limit “the procurement of imported products” by the government for use in projects, guaranteeing that local companies had an edge in producing items needed by the government (USCC, 2011, pp. 72). According to documents from the Chinese

government, indigenous innovation products are those where the intellectual property is “fully owned by a Chinese company and a trademark initially registered within China” (USCC, 2011, p. 73). By limiting Chinese government agencies to purchasing these materials, the indigenous innovation program effectively requires the government to “shun even those goods manufactured in China by joint ventures with foreign affiliates” and that those products that are bought from foreign firms must be those where the corporations have already “transferred their technology” over to a Chinese company in order to gain a Chinese patent (USCC, 2011, p. 73; USCC, 2011, p. 70).

Opposition to this transfer of technology was strong among American corporations, and in 2010, 19 heads of business associations in the US sent a letter to Obama Administration officials. They warned that American companies would be unable to access the government procurement section of the Chinese market unless they were “prepared to establish Chinese brands and transfer their research and development of new products to China,” opening them to significant risk of intellectual property theft (“Letter to the Obama Administration,” as cited in USCC, 2010, p. 48). Being excluded from a market which the Chinese government estimated surpassed \$100 billion¹ in 2009 represents a significant blow to American business interests and if China were to respond

¹ The USCC argues that this figure is largely underestimated as the Chinese Ministry of Finance’s limited definition of government procurement spending does not include most government infrastructure projects or procurement by state-owned enterprises, which form a substantial portion of government procurement activities in China (USCC, 2010).

for American calls for more openness in this area it would certainly improve their image within in the United States.

In 2008, however, it appeared that the Chinese had not yet attempted to address this issue. During the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade in California in 2008, no mention was made of indigenous innovation and the Strategic Economic Dialogue (SED) only commented that a second innovation conference would be held between the two sides (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet: The Fifth U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue,” 2008). This lack of action, however, may be due to the fact that indigenous innovation had not yet become a serious issue, with the USCC first mentioning it in its 2010 report, making it more prudent to begin analyzing Chinese efforts in this area around the timeframe of late 2009 to 2010.

In other areas, the Chinese appeared to make some progress. During the first meeting of the 2008 SED, the Chinese made numerous efforts to expand US access to Chinese markets, particularly in the fields of agriculture and environmental products (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet Fourth U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue,” 2008). In finance, the Chinese planned to finish an “assessment of foreign participation in China’s securities, futures, and fund management firms” and to begin a pilot project where “non-deposit taking foreign financial institutions to provide consumer finance to local retail customers in China” (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet Fourth,” 2008, in Macroeconomic Cooperation and Financial Services para. 3; “Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet Fourth,” 2008, in “Macroeconomic Cooperation” para. 7).

China also agreed to negotiations on a bilateral investment treaty and approved the framework for the first meeting of the Investment Forum on June 16, 2008 (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet Fourth,” 2008). The two sides also announced the creation of the Investment Promotion Initiative, meant to bring together parties from both countries interested in mutual investment (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet Fourth,” 2008). Despite this seeming flurry of activity, the Chinese did less regarding IPR violations, confirming compliance with WTO obligations, or concerns regarding RMB appreciation. The only possibly substantial action in these areas during this meeting of the SED was the signing of a work plan meant to implement the Memoranda of Agreement on drug and medical device safety which could combat issues related to counterfeit medical supplies in China (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet Fourth,” 2008).

The Fifth U.S.-China SED on December 5, 2008 also focused more on access to Chinese markets by US groups. It was announced that China would grant foreign incorporated banks in China the ability to “trade bonds in the inter-bank market...on the same basis as Chinese-invested banks” (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet: The Fifth,” 2008, in “Macroeconomic Cooperation and Financial Services” para. 2). The two sides also held three rounds of bilateral investment treaty negotiations that they deemed to be “productive” and hoped would lead to beneficial results for both sides (“Joint U.S.-China Fact Sheet: The Fifth,” 2008, in “Trade and Investment” para. 6). These acts formed the main substance of the meeting however, with once again nothing done about IPR, the RMB, or WTO compliance. In fact, most of the results of the meeting were simply

commitments to continue previous agreements or to hold discussions about issues at other times.

Regardless, The USCC did not find much fault with Chinese actions during their bilateral meetings with the US. Unlike past discussion which the USCC dismissed as accomplishing very little, the Commission did not criticize the meetings for a lack of accomplishment in 2008. Still, in the area of intellectual property rights, the Commission noted Waldemeir's assertion that a new amendment to China's Patent Law could make it more difficult to "obtain a Chinese patent for inventions that are already in use overseas" (p. 34). There was also concern that the Chinese government, despite its actions to allow access to its economy to the contrary, was still engaged in protectionist policies meant to make it difficult to operate in China (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2008). Even with these concerns, the Commission commented that the Chinese had done much to meet WTO standards and did not complain of lack of Chinese commitment to address the issues between the US and itself as they had in the past.

2009 once again saw the United States and China meet for the Joint Commission of Commerce and Trade, attended by Chinese Vice Premier Wang Qishan, U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk, and the U.S. Secretary of Commerce and later ambassador to China Gary Locke. During the meeting, China committed to allow US companies more access to Chinese agricultural markets, removed certain requirements on US wind turbines, and promised that medical devices entering the country would not be subjecting to as much testing as they were in the past ("U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce

and Trade,” 2009). While these efforts focused on market access much of the discussions, however, concentrated on China’s accession to the WTO Government Procurement Agreement, where the United States insisted that China submit a new proposal (“U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2009). In response to these requests, the Chinese agreed to submit a revised offer as early as 2010 and to establish with the US a working group which would “regularly conduct discussions on issues involving government procurement and purchases by state-affiliated enterprises and organizations and private parties” (“U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2009). In response to all the discussion regarding its government procurement policies, China reiterated that all products made by foreign invested enterprises would be treated like domestic products in the Chinese economy (“U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2009).

On intellectual property rights, the Chinese announced several initiatives they were willing to take including starting a four month campaign against internet piracy (“U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2009). The Chinese also announced that they would work with the US side to strengthen exchanges regarding trademark filing and assured it would establish broadcast tariff rate to protect IPR “as soon as possible” (“U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2009, in “Intellectual Property Rights” para. 3). Guarantees to hold discussion or to enact policy eventually, however, formed the bulk of the discussion with some commitments to hold dialogues on the issue.

The SED did not continue in 2009, replaced by the Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) established by Presidents Obama and Hu shortly after President

Obama entered office (“Fact Sheet: U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue,” 2009). While essentially the same as the Strategic Economic Dialogue held during the Bush Administration, several key differences included that it would be held once every year as opposed to twice, more senior-level officials would be involved, and that it would be headed by the U.S. Secretary of State and a State Councilor of China (“Fact Sheet: U.S.-China,” 2009). At its first meeting, the S&ED lacked an ambitious agenda; addressing the issues which persisted between the two countries without proposing any new measures to deal with them. Among many other statements, China agreed to “continue to allow foreign-invested banks incorporated in China that meet relevant prudential requirements to enjoy the same rights as domestic banks” while also to support foreign and domestic joint-venture securities companies to “participate in A-share brokerage” (“The First U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue Economic Track Joint Fact Sheet,” 2009, in “Foundations for a Strong Financial System” para. 3). Regarding the WTO and the GPA, China recognized the importance of “non-discriminatory government procurement policies” and assured that it would continue to cooperate with the United States in drafting its new proposal for acceding to the agreement (“The First U.S.-China,” 2009, in “Trade and Investment” para. 6).

Unsurprisingly, the USCC did not find much of the actions taken during either the JCCT or the S&ED to be that encouraging. The Commission repeated its persistent concerns that China would not uphold its promises regarding the issues it identified as key to US interests in the economic relationship between the two countries (Neumann, as

cited in U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2009, p. 31). It also argued that the final communique from the Strategic and Economic Dialogue was “repeated verbatim from the previous Strategic Economic Dialogue statement” (Neumann, as cited in USCC, 2009, p. 31). In addition, the Commission (2009) also noted that the Chinese indicated that the new accession agreement they were drafting could still “exempt state-owned enterprises and subcentral government entities” (Neumann, as cited in USCC, 2009, p. 31).

It seems the Chinese became less willing to take action during these meetings than they were in the past. From 2005 to 2007, there were examples of the Chinese signing new agreements or announcing new programs with specific plans to tackle the issues brought up by the American side during their annual meetings. In 2009, however, much of the effort was spent on making statements that they appreciated US concerns or to agree to new dialogues to discuss the problems at a later date. While these dialogues suggest continued cooperation, there is no evidence that anything has come from them, hinting that the Chinese simply promised to discuss the problem without planning on taking serious action against it. This is similar to some of the action China took in 2008 and if this behavior continues, it is doubtful that Chinese commitments to act will promote soft power as they will understandably be seen as hollow from the US perspective.

Another area of Chinese inaction from 2008 through 2009 was in the valuation of its currency, which only seemed to receive attention in 2010. On July 19 of that year, a

week before the G-20 meeting in Toronto, China's central bank announced that it would allow for more flexibility while ensuring the exchange rate would remain "basically stable" (People's Bank of China, as cited in USCC, 2010, p. 23). This promise, while vague, did allow for some confidence that China might be more proactive this year in adopting economic policy more amenable to the US, and it seemed this was partially the case during the 21st meeting of the JCCT on December 15.

In increasing market access, not many additional actions were taken besides resuming talks on opening the Chinese market to American beef in 2011 and the U.S.-China Legal Exchange held in China earlier in the year serving as a platform for promoting U.S. exports ("21st U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade," 2010). In IPR, the Chinese announced that its judiciary branch would begin utilizing information collected during exchanges from previous JCCT meetings to conduct a study "on drafting relevant [*sic*] Judicial Interpretations" on the issue of intellectual property rights ("21st U.S.-China," 2010, in "Intellectual Property Rights" para. 6). Despite this promising start, most of the rest of the discussions fell into the pattern established in 2009, where the American and Chinese sides simply agreed to continue exchanging information on the issue and that China would take measures to prevent it without stipulating what those measures would be ("21st U.S.-China," 2010).

Regarding indigenous innovation, the JCCT saw further assurances from China that the program did not constitute a threat to US business interests. China clarified that it did not consider the point of origin of intellectual property a "direct or indirect

condition for eligibility for government procurement preferences” and that it would continue to discuss this issue with the United States (“21st U.S.-China,” 2010, in “China’s ‘Indigenous Innovation’ Policies” para. 1). These discussions were paired with further commitments to hold exchanges regarding the issue with China again confirming that its regulations “would not be used as a basis to discriminate against any technology” (“21st U.S.-China,” 2010, in “China’s ‘Indigenous Innovation’” para. 4). Tying this with government procurement, China also agreed to submit a second revised off to the GPA Committee of the World Trade Organization before the end of 2011, as the previous submission had been met with criticism (“21st U.S.-China,” 2010).

The Second U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue turned out to be more of the same. Specifically, China agreed to revise its “Catalogue Guiding Foreign Investment in Industries” and to encourage greater foreign investment in numerous economic sectors (“Second Meeting of the U.S.-China Strategic & Economic Dialogue Joint U.S.-China Economic Track Fact Sheet,” 2010, in “Section II” para. 8). Furthermore, the Export-Import Banks of both countries agreed to “establish cooperation mechanisms on trade finance” and to promote communication in this area in both of their countries (“Second Meeting,” 2010, in “Section II” para. 10). Besides these areas, however, the rest of the meeting produced only vague promises to continue working to solve issues related to the WTO or to continue existing dialogues between other areas of the governments of the two countries on problems related to RMB appreciation, indigenous innovation, etc.

In response to these efforts, the USCC (2010) was even more critical than it had been in the past, stating that dialogues in 2010 were unable to “secure any significant agreements or Chinese policy changes” (p. 3). The Commission (2010) also noted that even those actions the Chinese took were not especially substantial, arguing that the new RMB policy remained in a narrow trade band decided by the Chinese government at +/- 0.5 percent per day; limiting the possibility of transition to a market economy (Smith, as cited in USCC, 2010). China’s new offer to the GPA committee was also found to be lacking by the USCC which argued it still would not cover provincial or local governments or state-owned agencies and that it reserved “the right for the Chinese government to ‘require the incorporation of domestic contents, offset procurement, or transfer of technology,’” essentially continuing to allow the Chinese government to gain access to foreign technologies (WTO, as cited in USCC, 2010, p. 47). The growing frustration of the USCC seems to reflect a new acceptance by the United States side that the Chinese did not intend to work with them to resolve issues. This eliminates dialogues or exchanges as acceptable means to improve the image of the Chinese in the US as they are only seen as delaying tactics to serve the interests of China. Facing these concerns, China’s soft power generation efforts from 2008 to 2010 seemed to be very minimal.

This appears to have changed in 2011 as more demonstrable actions were taken in the realm of economic relations by the Chinese. Importantly, the renminbi experienced its first real appreciation against the dollar in several years where it rose by 11 percent from June 2010 to December 2011 (Economist, as cited in U.S.-China Security and

Economic Review Commission, 2012, p. 35). From July 16, 2010 to October 17, 2011 alone the RMB rose 6 percent, the second fastest rate of appreciation since the Chinese ended the hard peg to the dollar in 2005 (Yung, as cited in USCC, 2011, p. 30). This development led to praise from the U.S. Treasury which “duly noted” the “positive contribution” it would have on relations between the two countries (U.S. Department of the Treasury, as cited in USCC, 2012, p. 35).

The 2011 meeting of the JCCT also provided some significant developments, particularly those concerning indigenous innovation. Specifically, the Chinese announced that the State Council had introduced a measure “requiring governments of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions” to eliminate any rules tying innovation policies to government procurement by December 1, 2011, effectively ending the unfair exclusion of foreign firms from this market (“2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade Outcomes,” 2011, in “Technology and Innovation Policies” para. 6). China further declared that it would use the JCCT Intellectual Property Rights Working Group to “study investment, tax and other regulatory measures outside of government procurement” detailing specific phases in 2012 and 2013 of the discussion and what the two sides hoped to achieve from them (“2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2011, in “Technology and Innovation” para. 6). While this may sound similar to the previous commitments to engage in dialogues, it was much more concrete regarding what would be discussed and the processes which would be adapted, making it more believable that it was a serious action by the Chinese. The Chinese also announced

improvements to the China Compulsory Certification (CCC) mark process used on all imported goods to China and in response to a request by the US to allow “participation of non-Chinese entities in the China Compulsory Certification...scheme,” China agreed to exchanges with the United States (“2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2011 in “Standards and Conformity Assessment” para. 2).

Regarding intellectual property rights the Chinese established a “State Council-level leadership structure, headed by Vice Premier Wang Qishan, to lead and coordinate intellectual property rights (IPR) enforcement across China” (“2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2011, in “Intellectual Property Rights” para. 1). With high-level leadership, it appeared China was becoming more serious in combatting this issue and Wang Qishan himself promised that the provincial legalization program would be complete by the middle of 2012 and that legalization programs at the county and municipal levels would be finished by 2013 (“2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2011). Promising even greater clarity in its actions, the Chinese announced plans to “conduct enterprise software management pilot projects” and provide reports for US firms to analyze (“2011 U.S.-China Joint Commission,” 2011, in “Intellectual Property Rights” para. 5).

During the meeting of the S&ED, the Chinese continued to present a more committed posture toward the issues raised by the United States, declaring it would revise Article 9 of the Draft Regulations Implementing the Government Procurement Law to reflect its decision to explicitly remove the link between indigenous innovation and

government procurement (“Third Meeting of the U.S.-China Strategic & Economic Dialogue Joint U.S.-China Economic Track Fact Sheet,” 2011). The Chinese also stated they would “strengthen the government inspection mechanism” of pirated software using the results of the 2011 campaign to target IPR infringing products (“Third Meeting,” 2011, in “Section III” para. 2). Finally, the Chinese agreed to guarantee equal status of foreign banks in the Chinese market with domestic institutions (“Third Meeting,” 2011, in “Section II” para. 7).

This year’s actions were received much more positively by the USCC (2011) than in previous years, with particular focus on China’s clearer commitment to addressing US concerns about the indigenous innovation program. Still, the Commission (2011) remained worried that these new actions would illustrate the same lack of resolve as did previous Chinese promises. After reading the reports on the JCCT and S&ED for 2011, it appears that the Chinese did indeed increase their soft power through their actions, as their efforts provided more believable reasons to expect China to act on its promises. By being more specific and providing firm guarantees to amend those articles which the United States identified as problematic, it was clear that the Chinese were more devoted to addressing the concerns of the US, creating the image of a more cooperative partner than they had from 2008 through 2010. Still, the trend in Chinese actions to rely on other dialogues or exchanges to address certain issues remained, adding to the confusion regarding Chinese efforts to generate soft power through economic policies in 2011.

While my own interpretation of Chinese actions is certainly more positive than those provided by the USCC, it is important to note that China did engage in certain actions which arguably did much to decrease their soft power from 2008 to 2011. For example, during the first meeting of the S&ED in Washington, Vice Premier Wang Qishan stated that “the U.S. should properly balance and properly handle the impact of the dollar supply on the domestic economy and the world economy as a whole,” directly lecturing the US officials in attendance (USCC, 2009, p. 25). This was not the only instance of rebukes from the Chinese side at the meeting and some argued that it represented a “power shift between the two countries,” where China was more assertive and the US was relatively “muted” (Landler & Sanger; and Barkley & Solomon, as cited in USCC, 2009, p. 31).

Clearer examples of growing confidence on the part of the Chinese came from Premier Wen Jiabao, who made numerous statements during this time that served to rankle US officials. Regarding President Obama’s commitment to double US exports over five years the Premier argued that the US demanding China to appreciate their currency while depreciating their own constituted “a kind of trade protectionism” (Batson et al., as cited in USCC, 2010, p. 22). Premier Wen paired this statements with comments regarding the amount of money the Chinese had loaned the US stating that he was “a little bit worried” and called on the US to “maintain its good credit, to honor its promises, and to guarantee the safety of China’s assets” (Roberts, as cited in USCC, 2010, p. 34). Chinese leaders had not taken to speaking toward the US like this since

before the beginning of Hu's emphasis on a peaceful rise, leading to much speculation that these types of comments reflected a growing certainty among China's elite that they were surpassing the United States as an economic power and did not owe them the sort of deference they had displayed before. The President of the China Investment Corporation, Gao Xiqing, seemed to confirm this view when he stated that the US economy was built on "the gratuitous support...of a lot of countries," claiming he would not encourage the US to come "kowtow, but at least, be nice to the countries that lend you money" (Fallows, as cited in USCC, 2010, p. 34).

When pairing these actions by China's government officials with the lack of action on the Chinese part from 2008 to 2010, it becomes clear that Chinese efforts to promote soft power through economic measures is difficult to determine during this time period; making it questionable whether the Chinese had moved away from soft power promotion or not.

Confucius Institutes and the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People

Exchanges:

From 2004 to 2007 the Confucius Institute program enjoyed substantial growth and began to expand its influence in the realm of Chinese instruction worldwide. With visits to numerous opening ceremonies and other events held by Confucius Institutes, it became clear by 2008 that the program had the support of President Hu Jintao and other government officials as well (Hanban, 2009; Hanban, 2010). In 2008, Liu Yandong, a

State Councilor, became the Chairwoman of the Council of the Confucius Institute Headquarters while Zhou Ji, the Minister of Education, served as its Vice-Chairman (Hanban, 2008). This government presence was supplemented by numerous Council Member of the Institute Headquarters positions being filled by government officials, such as the Deputy Secretary-General of the State Council, Vice Ministers of Culture, and Education, etc. (Hanban, 2008). There were also early appearances by Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang at Confucius Institute events as it became more clear that they would be selected as the next President and Premier of China respectively (Hanban, 2009; Hanban, 2010; Hanban, 2011).

It should also be noted that during this time Hanban and the Confucius Institute Headquarters seem to have been effectively consolidated, with the author of the 2008 annual report on the Confucius Institute being credited as Hanban with the Confucius Institute Headquarters following in parentheses (Hanban, 2008). Furthermore, the Director-General of Hanban, Xu Lin, also served as the Chief-Executive of the Confucius Institute Headquarters, making it more difficult to discern the differences between the two organizations (Hanban, 2008). Even on Hanban's website the two departments are now referred to as the same ("About us: Hanban," 2014). Considering this, Hanban and the Confucius Institute Headquarters will be used interchangeably throughout the rest of this thesis as the distinctions between them seemed to have all but disappeared by this time.

By 2008, Hanban launched several new initiatives to promote Chinese language studies and became a bigger contributor to Chinese language education in the world, including the establishment of the Secretariat of the International Society for Chinese Language Teaching. Starting with 1,500 members, the Secretariat was dedicated to bringing together educators to discuss Chinese language instruction and, by 2011, grew to include 4,075 members from 68 countries and regions” (Hanban, 2008; Hanban, 2011, p. 48). The Chinese also launched the Confucius Institute Online website, giving it global access to Chinese learners and attracting 309,809 members from all over the world by 2011 (Hanban, 2008; Hanban, 2011). 2008 to 2011 also saw the institutes collaborate directly with the governments of other countries to hold the Year of Chinese Language in Russia in 2010 and the Year of Chinese Language in Spain and France in 2011 (Hanban, 2010; Hanban, 2011). Paired with praise from former US President George H.W. Bush and it seemed the Confucius Institutes were primed to increase their presence in the United States from 2008 through 2011 (Hanban, 2008).

According to its annual data, Hanban (2008) had 81 Institutes in American countries with the United States containing the vast majority. In total, the US had 52 Institutes and four Confucius Classrooms, giving the United States the highest amount of Confucius Institutes in the world with the second highest numbers coming from Russia and Thailand (12) (Hanban, 2008). The United States also received more Chinese teachers dispatched from Hanban than any other country (30) and held more examination sites for the Chinese Proficiency Test HSK (21), making it clear that the US was an

important country in Hanban's efforts to promote Chinese language and culture around the world (Hanban, 2008).

Matched with total worldwide expenditures of RMB 819 million (approximately \$120 million in 2008) and the Confucius Institute Headquarters also hosted several events for American students and educators throughout the year (Hanban, 2008). These included a continuation of the "Chinese Bridge" Summer Camps for American students while also continuing to work with the US College Board to establish more Chinese learning activities in the United States (Hanban, 2008). The Institute Headquarters (2008) dispatched 180 Chinese language volunteer teachers to the US and held more than 60 lectures at 36 elementary schools, middle schools, and other educational institutions that were attended by 7,000 American students and education personnel. Hanban (2008) also attended the 1st National Chinese Language Conference and the 42nd American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Meeting and Exhibition. Paired with renewing or signing agreements with the ACTFL, Chinese Language Association of Secondary-Elementary Schools (CLASS), the US Asia Society, and the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) and it appears that Chinese soft power generation efforts in the areas of education continued strongly in 2008.

Even with Hanban (2009) acknowledging that the financial crisis had "spread all over the globe, affecting and impacting world economies" by 2009, they exulted that this development did not decrease global interest in Chinese (p. 4). Demonstrating this, Hanban (2009) announced that the institutes now accounted for 260,000 registered

students, twice the number of students in 2008. Much of this increase can be attributed to the dramatic rise in Confucius Classrooms throughout the world, which effectively functioned as a Chinese class taught by Hanban-trained teachers using Hanban-approved methods outside the official auspices of one Confucius Institute in particular (Hanban, 2009). This expansion of Confucius Classrooms was felt nowhere stronger than the United States, where Classrooms skyrocketed from four to 174 in one year (Hanban, 2009). Confucius Institutes in the US also increased to 69 which combined with the Classrooms in the country gave the United States the greatest number of Hanban-administered Chinese language training centers in the world, with the UK being second with only 37 (Hanban, 2009).

With increased expenditures of RMB 1.2 billion (\$180.6 million), the Headquarters (2009) continued to hold activities for US students and administrators, inviting 800 college and high school students along with 800 principals to visit China for the annual “Chinese Bridge” Summer Camp. These individuals were joined by participants from other countries, with American students making up 20.5% of student attendees and American principals accounting for 57.1% of administrative participants. Hanban (2009) also offered 800 American students scholarships to study in China, constituting the first mention of scholarship granting activities by Hanban in its annual reports. Liu Yandong, the Chairwoman of the Council of Confucius Institute Headquarters, announced these actions, personally inviting US students to come to China to study (Hanban, 2009).

The Institute Headquarters (2009) continued to dispatch representatives to the United States, increasing the number of volunteer teachers to 165 in 2009. There was, however, a decrease in the number of lectures given in US schools, only 22 occurring in 12 elementary and middle schools (Hanban, 2011). Regardless, Hanban (2009) continued its participation in American conferences as it attended the 2nd National Chinese Language Conference and held the 2009 Joint Conference of the Confucius Institutes in North America in Chicago. Liu Yandong was particularly active in exchanges, attending the unveiling ceremony of the Confucius Institute at New York State University, Stony Brook while personally donating teaching materials and met with attendees at the first “Chinese Bridge” for American college students winter camp (Hanban, 2009).

2010 saw much the same in terms of progress, as the number of Confucius Institutes in the United States grew to 72 and Confucius Classrooms increased to 215 (Hanban, 2010). It is interesting to note that growth in Confucius Institutes seemed to decrease drastically from previous years, increasing 32.7% from 2008 to 2009 to only 4% in 2010. Still, the amount of Confucius Institutes in Classrooms in the US continued to be the highest on record with South Korea and Russia second with 17 institutes and the UK behind in classrooms with only 57 (Hanban, 2010). Hanban (2010) continued to work with the College Board and the Asia Society, sending 188 volunteer Chinese instructors to “278 elementary and middle schools in 32 states” (p. 36). They also increased the number of lectures coordinated, dispatching lecturers on Chinese culture

and language to 58 elementary and middle schools and other institutions to give 88 lectures to approximately 18,900 people (Hanban, 2010). These increases were in spite of the fact that, for the first time, total expenditures decreased, reaching only \$137 million.

The “Chinese Bridge Summer Camp for American High School Students” was once again held in China, attracting 800 students to participate (Hanban, 2010). While this number remained the same as it had in the past, it is interesting to note that while this was the Year of Chinese Language in Russia only 500 students from Russia were able to attend a similar camp for Russians studying Chinese (Hanban, 2010). This of course can be argued to merely be the result of fewer institutes being in Russia than the US, but it still illustrates that even when the Chinese were actively working to court other countries, students and administrators from the US remained its biggest target in soft power promotion.

This American focus seems to have led to substantial increases in American interests in China, as during December of 2011, a new Chinese Bridge program started by Confucius Institutes in South Carolina was held (Hu, 2011). Referred to as the “Chinese Bridge for American Schools: A New Start,” 270 delegates, mostly school administrators but also state congressmen, travelled to China where they were treated to tours of the Chinese education system and participated in discussions with Chinese language educators in China (Hu, 2011). The US delegation led by Mark Bounds, Deputy Director of the South Carolina Educational Bureau, thanked their Chinese hosts and guaranteed

the US side was interested in holding “further exchanges with the Chinese educational system and to explore and put into practice many more Chinese language programs...in the USA” (Hu, 2011, para. 5). Such an event also illustrates that Hanban was not only reaching out to American educators, but also state officials, increasing its connections with and appeal in at least state governments of the United States.

Confucius Institutes in the US once again experienced smaller growth in 2011 to only 75, but those countries with the second most continued to only have 17 (Hanban, 2011). Confucius Classrooms, however, continued their impressive growth with 299 in 2011 which far outpaced the UK with only 60 (Hanban, 2011). Hanban (2011) further renewed its cooperative agreements with US organizations signing the Annual Cooperation Agreement 2011-2012 with the College Board, identifying that the two sides would “work together to promote the Chinese Guest Teacher Program, and launch the Guest Trainee Program in 2012” (p. 57). The Institute Headquarters (2011) also continued their participation in conferences and dialogues held in the US, attending the National Chinese Language Conference while also hosting the Joint Conference of Confucius Institutes in North America and the U.S. National Confucius Classroom Conference, attracting 200 delegates and representative from the College Board and the US Asia Society.

In spite of an increase in funds to \$164 million, fewer students from the United States participated in its annual Chinese Bridge Activities, with only 687 teachers and students participating in the Summer Camp for U.S. High School Students (Hanban,

2011). There also seemed to be fewer volunteers dispatched to the United States, with only 186 as opposed to the previous amount listed at 188 (Hanban, 2011). Hanban (2011) appeared to concentrate more on education administrators and officials this year, with 218 principals and education officials invited to China to participate in the New Start Activities during June and an additional 417 arriving in China in November. In addition to these groups, Hanban, cooperating with the Asia Society “invited 20 education officials from the U.S. to participate in the ‘Chinese Bridge for U.S. Education officials’ program” (Hanban, 2011, p. 58). With these actions, it is clear that China was still very much so interested in maintaining connections between it and the United States in the realm of education and it follows a general trend of China increasing its soft power generation activities in this area in the United States from 2008 to 2011.

China’s Confucius Institutes, however, did not form its only soft power initiatives concentrated on exchanges between its people and the United States, as 2010 saw the launch of the High Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchanges (CPE). The idea of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and State Councilor Liu Yandong (Chairwoman of the Council of the Confucius Institute Headquarters) the annual meeting was designed as a forum for high-level individuals from each country to come together to discuss topics such as education, culture, science and technology, sports, and other similar fields (“Secretary Clinton and Chinese State Councilor Liu Celebrate People-to-People Engagement in Beijing,” 2010). Councilor Liu celebrated the mechanism as a “bridge for understanding trust between states and between peoples” and while Secretary Clinton

acknowledged that the two sides “will not always agree,” she was confident that working for greater understanding, finding new ways not only of communicating, but of cooperating, is in the best interest of our nations and our people.” (“Remarks at the U.S.-China Consultation on People-to-People Exchange (CPE),” 2011 in Hillary Clinton (2), para. 9).

With this conviction, the states launched several important initiatives at the first meeting on May 25, 2010 in Beijing. Key among these was the beginning of the 100,000 Strong Initiative, guaranteeing to send 100,000 American students to study in China between 2010 and 2014 (“Secretary Clinton and,” 2010; “Frequently Asked Questions,” n.d., in “What Role does the Chinese Government Play,” para. 1). In conjunction with this effort, the Chinese side promised to provide 10,000 “Bridge Scholarships” to American students studying Chinese language in China (“Secretary Clinton and,” 2010). Additionally, the two sides renewed the Implementing Accord for Cultural Exchange as well as the Agreement for Cooperation in Educational Exchanges (“Secretary Clinton and,” 2010). These actions formed the bulk of those taken at this first session, as much of the rest of the meeting was spent reminding the attendees of the importance of exchanges and the beneficial effects they have on the Sino-US relationship.

At the second meeting in April, 2011 in Washington D.C., the two sides stipulated several areas where they had made progress while guaranteeing more actions in the future. The US Department of Education and the PRC Ministry of Education of the US facilitated the meeting of 130 experts on education in order to discuss educational

techniques and ways to improve educational systems (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on Education,” 2011). This was paired with further support for the 100,000 Strong Initiative, with the US announcing \$3.25 million in donations from private enterprises while the Chinese nearly matched that with \$3 million from its own private sector (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on the 100,000 Strong Initiative,” 2011). China supplemented this with a pledge to provide 10,000 additional Bridge Scholarships to American students in 2011 (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on the 100,000 Strong Initiative,” 2011).

The meeting also produced many results dedicated to women’s issues, with Chinese and American women in government joining in delegations to travel to each country to meet with their counterparts for discussion on the challenges they both faced (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on Women's Issues,” 2011). These commitments were paired with the formation of numerous dialogues such as the U.S.-China Women’s Leadership Exchange and Dialogue (Women-LEAD) which “will be jointly led by the Secretary’s Office of Global Women’s Issues and the All-China Women’s Federation (ACWF)” (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on Women's Issues,” 2011, para. 3). Joining with the ACWF, Yale University planned to organize “management and leadership programs targeted at senior-level women leaders” in order to foster ties between the leaders of these groups in both countries (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on Women's Issues,” 2011, para. 8). Adding plans for US and Chinese organizations to come together to discuss breast cancer awareness in China and significant links were clearly forged

between Chinese and American women during the CPE (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on Women's Issues,” 2011).

In the sciences, the two countries launched the Young Scientist Forum, meant to “connect our brightest young scientists in order to enhance U.S.-China mutual understanding in the field of science and technology” (“U.S.-China CPE Cooperation on Science and Technology,” 2011, para. 3). This, however, formed the bulk of actions taken in this area as the rest stood as commitments to continue working with the other side to discover new mechanisms through which the two sides could share ideals and exchange experiences.

In this way, the Consultation was somewhat similar to the bilateral dialogues held between the two sides regarding economics, with some guarantees to initiate new activities but mostly acknowledgement of important issues which the two sides will continue to work on. Still, the Consultation paired with the efforts of Hanban to promote Confucius Institutes in the US illustrates that China was very committed to creating a cooperative image of China in cultural, educational, and other areas representative of people-to-people exchange from 2008 to 2011.

Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges:

During the 2005 to 2007 time period, the Kennedy Center hosted the “Festival of China” in 2005, a month long event which celebrated both the traditional and modern aspects of Chinese culture. Featuring nearly 900 artists the event was unique among

performances held at the Kennedy Center during this time period as it lasted longer than any other performance focused on a single country and it formed nearly the entire repertoire of activities at the Center during its run (“The Kennedy Center Festival of China October 2005,” 2016). And while the only other Chinese event was a performance by the Beijing Wushu Team shortly after the Festival ended, it is clear that the Chinese sought to take advantage of the Kennedy Center as a platform to promote its soft power through culture, focusing its efforts in to a large-scale event which no other country attempted during this time (“Beijing Wushu Team 2005 Tour,” 2016).

By 2009, it seems that other groups discovered the possibilities presented by the Kennedy Center, with three events occurring from 2009 to 2011 centered on celebrating a particular culture or state. The first of these was entitled “Arabesque: Arts of the Arab World,” featuring performances and artworks from the Middle East with the states of Kuwait, Qatar, and the Embassy of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) collaborating with the Center to host the event and providing most of the funding for it (“Arabesque: Arts of the Arab World,” 2016). Mexico sponsored the next of these country-specific occasions as the National Council for the Arts and Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Mexican Cultural Institute held their “Celebrate Mexico 2010” event from September 11 to October 1 of that year (“Celebrate Mexico 2010,” 2016). The final instance of a country sponsoring a long term exhibition at the Kennedy Center during this time comes from 2011’s “Maximum India” running 20 days with the support of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi and the Indian Embassy (“Maximum India,” 2016).

Clearly, these countries sought to emulate the sort of program established by “The Festival of China” intimating at the success of this event and raising the question of whether the Chinese would attempt a similar event from 2008 to 2011.

During 2008, the Kennedy Center would only host two Chinese-themed events which both came from the same source: The Shen Wei Dance Company. Becoming a “resident” dance company of the Center in 2008, the company was founded by Chinese dancer and choreographer Shen Wei, focusing on the performance of modern dance (“Shen Wei Dance Arts,” 2016a). Founding the company in New York City, Shen Wei was long a resident of the United States by this time, calling to question the validity of using performances by this group at the Kennedy Center as evidence of Chinese soft power generation efforts (Fowler, 2008). It was clear, however, that the Chinese held Shen in high regard as the government invited him to Beijing to help in the choreography for the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Olympics (Fowler, 2008). Specifically, Shen was responsible for the Chinese Scroll section of the performance where dancers acted as brushes on a page and illustrated the beauty of Chinese calligraphy (Fowler, 2008). This performance was similar to the one held at the Kennedy Center earlier in the year from March 21 to March 22, with dancers again performing on top of paper and adding ink strokes to it through the performance (Shen Wei Dance Arts,” 2016a).

By inviting Shen Wei to China to essentially recreate this performance, it is clear that the Chinese government found it to be an exceptional presentation of Chinese culture and supported Shen Wei’s efforts in performance art. Due to this, I include the

performances of the Shen Wei Dance Company at the Kennedy Center during the time frame of this section, adding an additional performance in 2008 and one other appearance in 2010. During the second group of performances in 2008, occurring on October 29th through 30th and thus after the Olympics, Shen presented a new work entitled *Re-*, which detailed his experiences and impressions while traveling through Tibet (“Shen Wei Dance Arts,” 2016b). This illustrates that his time in China had a profound effect on him and that he wished to share his experiences from his country with an American audience. By his last performance during this section’s time frame in 2010, Shen had finished *Re-* as a performance piece, to include segments dedicated to Angkor Watt and the Silk Road (“Shen Wei Dance Arts,” 2016c). While Angkor Watt is not a part of Chinese cultural heritage, the performance on the Silk Road featured a juxtaposition between this indelible part of China’s past with a glimpse into modern day Beijing, blending both traditional and modern Chinese elements and showing China as a state open to change (“Shen Wei Dance Arts,” 2016c).

While Shen Wei’s ties to the Chinese government are somewhat difficult to discern, the performance of the Qingdao Symphony Orchestra alongside the Choral Arts Society of Washington on February 1, 2009 is much clearer. In collaboration with International Management Group (IMG) artists and the Choral Arts Society of Washington, the event was presented by the China Arts and Entertainment Group (CAEG), which is a state-owned enterprise in China under the Ministry of Culture (“Image China: Chinese New Year Concert 2009,” 2016; “CAEG: China Arts and

Entertainment Group,” 2011). While on their official website this is not explicitly stated, it is noted that the China State Council is an investor in the enterprise and the Ministries for Culture and Finance serve as “administrative supervisor and state-assets supervisor respectively” (“CAEG,” 2011, para. 1). The actual performance was a mixed repertoire of American classics from *West Side Story* and concertos written by Chinese composers Ye Xiaogang and Chen Yi, presenting a cooperative image of China and the US coming together in production of each other artistic visions (“Image China,” 2016).

In 2010, another group, the AGIS Center, presented “Image China: Forbidden Fruit Under the Great Wall, a dance-drama,” which ran from December 10th through the 12th (“AGIS Center presents: Image China: Forbidden Fruit Under the Great Wall, a dance-drama,” 2016). Unlike the CAEG, the connections between this organization and China are somewhat less clear, with AGIS (its website provides no information on what this acronym stands for) identified as a non-profit organization based in Washington D.C. dedicated to the promotion of Chinese performance groups in the United States (“About Us,” 2016). Regardless of this, *Forbidden Fruit under the Great Wall* is a distinctly Chinese story, focusing on the love between two people in Shanxi province in historical China (“Forbidden Fruit-Under the Great Wall,” n.d.). Performed by the China Shanxi Performing Arts Academy, the production centers on life in Shanxi province and gives the audience insight into customs from the region and its history (“AGIS Center presents,” 2016).

2011 would see a large uptick in the amount of Chinese inspired performances, AGIS being responsible for the first with a performance by the China Anhui Traditional Orchestra on February 27 (“AGIS Center presents: China Anhui Traditional Orchestra,” 2016). This was followed by the main attraction for 2011, “China: The Art of a Nation,” a collection of performances and exhibits running from September 12 through October 30 presented with the cooperation of the Chinese Ministry of Culture (“China: The Art of a Nation,” 2016). Referencing the “flourishing” arts scene in China, the event promised to allow audiences to “reconnect with the country’s most creative traditional and contemporary offerings” (“China: The Art of a Nation,” 2016, para. 2). These offerings included an exhibition of Chinese sculptures on the grounds of the Center from September 17 through October 30 which meant to “ponder the relationship between art and life in China today” (“CHINA: The Art of a Nation: Outdoor Exhibition: Landscape in Mind,” 2016, para. 1). The exhibition was supplemented by performances from many groups, including the Shenzhen Lily Children’s Choir, National Theatre of China, the Inner Mongolia Chorus, the Northern Kunqu Opera Theatre, and the Beijing People's Art Theatre among others (“China: The Art of a Nation,” 2016).

Of particular note were the performances of the National Ballet of China and the Beijing Dance Theater, which presented two very different images of China. The National Ballet, while performing a repertoire featuring *Swan Lake* and *The Yellow River*, also held a performance of *The Red Detachment of Women* (“National Ballet of China,” 2016b). Based on a film from the same name from 1961, the ballet focuses on the story

of an army detachment of women in the People Liberation Army of China containing many pro-Communist sympathies and extolling the virtues of the CCP (Kourlas, 2015). This performance was unique in that nothing had been so overtly supportive of the Chinese government at previous performances at the Kennedy Center, mostly focusing on classical aspects of Chinese culture favored in the US. This jolt of patriotism, however, was balanced by the Beijing Dance Theater, making its debut at the Kennedy Center with a performance entitled *Haze* (“Beijing Dance Theater,” 2016). Focusing on the worsening environmental situation in China, the performance could not help but to provide a counterargument to the idea of CCP greatness presented by *The Red Detachment of Women* (“Beijing Dance Theater,” 2016). In fact, by encouraging such a performance, it is arguable that the Chinese side was demonstrating that it was open to criticism, a welcome sight for American audiences concerned with the openness of the Chinese regime.

In addition to “China: Art of a Nation,” 2011 featured three more performances with Chinese origins, including Qi Shu Fang Peking Opera Company on October 13, a story of Emperor Qin’s soldiers by the Beijing Dance Company from November 17th through the 19th, and a presentation of the Gansu Dance Theatre’s *Silk Road* on December 9th and 10th (“Qi Shu Fang Peking Opera Company,” 2016; “Beijing Dance Company,” 2016; “CPAA Productions, Ltd. presents: Gansu Dance Theatre's Silk Road,” 2016). While the Peking Opera performance group was formed in New York by a former performer in China and seems to not have many ties to the Chinese government, one of

the other performances is somewhat more ambiguous (“Qi Shu Fang,” 2016). Regarding the performance of the Beijing Dance Company, it was presented by [sic] Chinus Cultural Productions, a group started in Portland, Oregon by a former senior liaison officer for the Ministry of Culture who relocated to the US to get her Master’s Degree in journalism at New York University (“Team,” 2014) While this is not definitive evidence of a connection, the group claims its founder’s connections within the Chinese government as a key contributor to its ability to attract Chinese groups to perform in the US, lending some proof that the government at least tacitly approves its actions (“Team,” 2014). Regarding the Gansu Dance Theatre production, the Kennedy Center held this event in collaboration with the Chinese Performing Arts Agency (CPAA), a subsidiary of the CAEG which has already been established as tied to the Chinese government (“China Arts and Entertainment Group (CAEG),” 2014).

Initially, it appears that the Kennedy Center featured more events dedicated to China from 2008 to 2011 (11) than it did from 2005 to 2007 (2). This discounts individual presentations, however, where “The Festival of China” accounted for 28 exhibitions and events on its own, which was far greater than the 19 total productions and exhibitions presented from 2008 to 2011. This seemingly contradicts the fact in the 2008 to 2011 timeframe, performances based on Chinese culture or history occurred every year (as opposed to one in the previous timeframe) and many of them appeared to have ties to the Chinese government itself, demonstrating that the Chinese government had a stronger interests in increasing its soft power through the arts than it did before. Therefore, much

like the economic indicators, there is a somewhat mixed message regarding Chinese commitments to generating soft power from 2008 to 2011 in the area of performances at the Kennedy Center.

The apparent greater involvement by the Chinese in presenting performances at the Kennedy Center seemed to carry over to exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Paired with exhibitions of Asian Lacquer and the works of Lin Yutang which started in 2007 but ended in 2008, the Metropolitan Museum in 2008 presented “Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632–1717),” which ran from September 9, 2008 to January 4, 2009 or a total of 115 days during 2008 (“Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632–1717),” 2016). A Chinese painter from the late 17th century, Wang is credited with reinvigorating interest in landscape paintings during the Qing Dynasty (“Landscapes Clear and Radiant,” 2016). Featuring not just work from Wang but also those from the Song (960-1279), Yuan (1279-1368), and the Ming (1368-1644) Dynasties which served as his inspiration, the exhibit was noteworthy because it features works loaned to the Museum from the Beijing Palace Museum; indicating clear Chinese involvement in the exhibition (“Landscapes Clear and Radiant,” 2016).

During the previous timeframe of 2005 to 2008, it was never explicitly stated that Chinese Museums or organizations had contributed to any of the exhibits, making this the first instance where the Chinese actually took part in an exhibition at the Met in the time periods investigated in this research. This indicates a seeming greater interest on the part of the Chinese to generate soft power through loaning artifacts to American museums and

their choice of the Metropolitan Museum reflects a growing desire to promote Chinese culture and history at the United States' most famous museum. The last exhibition for 2008 concentrated on Chinese paintings and calligraphies and it was entitled "Anatomy of a Masterpiece: How to Read Chinese Paintings" ("Anatomy of a Masterpiece: How to Read Chinese Paintings," 2016). Unlike the exhibit dedicated to Wang Hui, this one only made use of works in the Museum's permanent collection, running for 162 days from March 1st to August 10, 2008 ("Anatomy of a Masterpiece," 2016). Examining all of the exhibitions for 2008 together and, much like in 2007, the Metropolitan Museum featured a display related to China everyday of operation during 2008, with one exhibit specifically receiving support from a Chinese state institution.

The first exhibition of 2009, "Arts of the Ming Dynasty: China's Age of Brilliance," began on January 23rd, running 233 days through September 13, 2009 ("Arts of the Ming Dynasty: China's Age of Brilliance," 2016). Featuring works drawn from the Museum's collection from throughout the Ming Dynasty, art during this period was noted to place particular emphasis on traditional Han Chinese culture, as the Ming Dynasty came into power after the fall of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty in China ("Arts of the Ming Dynasty," 2016). While this presents a somewhat nationalistic image of the art on display, an interesting aspect of this exhibit is that it began 19 days after the end of the "Landscapes Clear and Radiant" exhibition which ended on January 4, 2009. This means that 2009 was the first time in two years there would not be a Chinese exhibit in operation throughout the entirety of the year at the Metropolitan Museum.

The Met held three more Chinese events in 2009, with the next titled “Cinnabar: The Chinese Art of Carved Lacquer.” Starting on August 6th and continuing through February 21, 2010, the event once again featured many of the works it had displayed previously at other Asian Lacquer exhibits, with the exception of tying lacquerware more firmly to China (“Cinnabar: The Chinese Art of Carved Lacquer,” 2009). The Next exhibition, “Silk and Bamboo: Music and Art of China” (Sept. 5, 2008-Feb. 7, 2010) focused mostly on Chinese musical history dating from the 5th century B.C.E. to the present (“Silk and Bamboo: Music and Art of China,” 2010). While the artifacts on display for this exhibit came mostly from the Museum’s collection, the next event featured works “drawn primarily from leading museums in China and features a number of National Treasures that have never been shown in the West” (“Eccentric Visions: The Worlds of Luo Ping (1733–1799),” 2016). Dedicated to the works of Luo Ping, the youngest member of a group of artists referred to as the “Eccentrics of Yangzhou,” “Eccentric Visions: The Worlds of Luo Ping (1733–1799)” was the second exhibition in as many years at the Met to feature direct collaboration with Chinese Museums, indicating a trend of increased cooperation between the Chinese and the Museum to present American audiences with the finest artworks produced in Chinese history. On display from October 6, 2009 to January 10, 2010 the exhibit does much to indicate Chinese interest in promoting soft power at the Metropolitan Museum despite a decrease in the number of days with a Chinese exhibit from 361 (out of a 361 day year) the previous year to 342 in 2009.

Direct Chinese collaboration with the Metropolitan Museum, however, did not continue in 2010, with all of the Chinese exhibits being drawn from the Museum's permanent collection. The first exhibit to begin in 2010 was "Mastering the Art of Chinese Painting: Xie Zhiliu (1910-1997)." Beginning on February 6th and ending August 1st, the display focused on the works of Xie Zhiliu a modern day painter that continued the practice of traditional Chinese painting styles in the modern era ("Mastering the Art of Chinese Painting: Xie Zhiliu (1910-1997)," 2016). This appreciation of tradition continued into the second exhibition "Celebration: The Birthday in Chinese Art," which was on display from February 27th to November 28th ("Celebration: The Birthday in Chinese Art," 2016). Featuring works dating back to the Song Dynasty, the exhibit featured to importance of ageing in Chinese culture and the joy the process invoked through birthday celebrations ("Celebration," 2016).

The next two exhibitions were done as complementary exhibits to one another and each focused on the Yuan Dynasty in China. "The Yuan Revolution: Art and Dynastic Change" from August 21, 2010 to January 9, 2011 illustrated the profound effect foreign rule had on Chinese art which continued to be felt even during the very pro-Han Chinese Ming Dynasty ("The Yuan Revolution: Art and Dynastic Change," 2016). This was paired with "The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty" from September 28, 2010 to January 2, 2011 which referenced not just foreign influences on Chinese art as artists from all over the Mongol empire came to China, but also on the impact it had on the Italian Renaissance as travelers like Marco Polo came in contact with

the Yuan Imperial Court (“The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty,” 2016).

This influence on the outside wide was reiterated in the last exhibit unveiled during the year “Extravagant Display: Chinese Art in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries” which began on December 5, 2010 and contained art work from the Qing Dynasty which “informed Western perceptions of Chinese taste and imagery for centuries” (“Extravagant Display: Chinese Art in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 2016, para. 1). With this last exhibit, the year 2010 still did not see any exhibitions which were the result of clear collaboration between the Museum and Chinese sources but there was a return to the pattern of a Chinese exhibition occurring every day throughout the year at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Chinese once again returned to collaborate with the Museum in 2011, loaning artifacts related to the Qianlong Emperor of the Qing Dynasty. One of the most famous emperors in Chinese history, the Qianlong Emperor was known for his great appreciation for the arts and commissioned or purchased thousands of works during his lifetime. With two exhibitions, “The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City” and “Commemorating His Majesty,” the Met displayed artifacts on loan from the Palace Museum which oversees the Forbidden City in Beijing (“The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City,” 2016; “Commemorating His Majesty,” 2016). These events were followed by “The Art of Dissent in 17th-Century China: Masterpieces of Ming Loyalist Art from the Chih Lo Lou Collection” which featured art from

supporters of the former Ming Dynasty after it had been conquered by the Qing (“The Art of Dissent in 17th-Century China: Masterpieces of Ming Loyalist Art from the Chih Lo Lou Collection,” 2016). Interestingly enough, this exhibit also seemed tied to Chinese sources as it was organized by the Hong Kong Museum of Art of the Leisure and Cultural Services Department of HKSAR Government which, while emanating from Hong Kong, is certainly influenced by the central government of China in Beijing (“The Art of Dissent,” 2016). Paired with another event on Chinese lacquerware and the year of 2011 was similar to 2009, where the Chinese actively participated in holding exhibits at the Met but the Museum itself did not hold a Chinese exhibit every day, only accounting for 232 days during the year.

In this way, the data related to Chinese soft power promotion through museum exhibitions seem to follow a similar pattern as the one established with performances held at the Kennedy Center where the Chinese seem to involve themselves more in the promotion of their soft power, yet the amount of performances or the length of exhibitions decreased, presenting a mixed image regarding soft power promotion. This mixed image further conforms to the economic data as the Chinese seemed to actively move away from these area from 2008 through 2010 but returned to it vigorously in the final year under investigation. In Confucius Institutes and people-to-people exchanges, however, the Chinese continued if not increased their efforts, presenting a question of just how committed the Chinese were to soft power generation during this time period.

Chapter Four: Xi Jinping 2012-2014

Introduction: A New Leader

While Hu Jintao's final year as President of the People's Republic of China (PRC) would not be until 2012, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) elders had already chosen his likely successor as early as 2007 (Osnos, 2015). Beginning in the mid-2000s, CCP elders began to believe that the country was moving too far from the traditional ideals espoused by the Party and began searching for someone who would not only actively promote these ideas, but would be easily controlled by the elders behind the scenes (Osnos, 2015). With these requirements, the elders selected the relatively unknown politician Xi Jinping in October of 2007 (Osnos, 2015). Xi's status as a princeling (the child of one of the original CCP members) indicated that he would be more reliable in maintaining the purity of the party and his anonymity assured he would not have the power to challenge the elders (Osnos, 2015). Over the next five years, Xi would be groomed to assume his position as head of the CCP and leader of China and in November, 2012, he was introduced to the Chinese people as the new General Secretary of the CCP while the former frontrunner for the position, Li Keqiang, named as his Premier (Osnos, 2015).

Xi's father, Xi Zhongxun, was considered by many to be an advocate of reform within the Chinese Communist Party (Osnos, 2015). Purged during the Cultural Revolution, the CCP forcibly retired Xi Zhongxun from their ranks entirely in the wake of a 1987 meeting of the Politburo for siding with the liberal politician Hu Yaobang

(Osnos, 2015). Due to the actions of his father, Xi himself was also sent to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution resulting in Xi's relationship with the Party appearing to be strained (Osnos, 2015). These dimensions of Xi's history led some foreign experts to optimistically claim that he could be a leader that would push for economic and political reform in China.

However, warning signs began to emerge quickly that Xi would not be this type of leader as evidenced by his earliest public speeches. After being introduced as China's new leader in 2012, Xi spoke during a news conference where he referred to China as a "great nation" and the Chinese people as a "great people" that had made "an indelible contribution to the civilisation and advancement of mankind" ("Xi Jinping's Speech After Appointment to Leadership," 2012, para. 11, para. 16, para. 12). While such statements could be considered standard nationalist sentiments appropriate to any leader when addressing their people, Xi made a habit of using such comments in his speeches. Consistent promoting Chinese people and history, Xi abetted a rise of nationalism within China which had been more subdued in previous eras. These greater feelings of national pride were expressed in his earliest remarks with US leadership as well during a meeting with Vice-President Joseph R. Biden in 2012 shortly before Xi was announced as the General Secretary. Xi agreed with Biden that the US and China should cooperate but that they would "continue to compete" in other areas ("Remarks by Vice President Biden and Chinese Vice President Xi, February 2012," 2012, para. 6). While these remarks were made by Biden in a joint statement, he attributes the statements to Xi which presents a

departure from previous assertions from the Chinese side which had always insisted on using the term “disagreements” in the past. This, it should be noted, does not contain the same connotations as the word, “compete.” Competition also implies a level of equality which previously the Chinese did not openly suggest existed between the United States and China. This coincides with Xi’s later insistence that the United States and China adopt a “new type of great-power relationship” in future dealings, a term which the US declines to use and would undoubtedly serve as recognition of China’s more equal status with the United States (Osno, 2015, para. 53).

These subtle implications, however, are nothing like Xi’s more provocative political activities. Shortly after becoming the General Secretary of the CCP, Xi strengthened previous anti-corruption campaigns leading to the arrest and trial of thousands of CCP officials (Osno, 2015). Targets included important members such as Zhou Yongkang, whom had previously been seen as untouchable by the Chinese justice system (Osno, 2015). While these actions initially seemed laudable, they coincided with Xi consolidating more power around himself, promoting those loyal to him to the newly vacant positions or simply taking over the positions himself. The former US ambassador to China, Gary Locke, stated these actions placed Xi “at the center of everything” in Chinese politics (Osno, 2015, para. 8). This shift toward more centralized control has also led to greater suspicion by the Chinese government of Western influence, in particular the United States, with western culture and values being promoted in China seen as a way to undermine the power of the CCP (Osno, 2015). These suspicions were

made clear in a Communist Party Communiqué released in 2013 which outlined how “Western anti-China forces” had united with dissidents within China to challenge the CCP (“Chinese Communist Party: Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere,” 2013, para. 24). The authors of the Communiqué asserted that “Western embassies, consulates, media operations, and NGOs operating inside China” all were part of an intricate plot to bring down the CCP” warning against their influence (“Chinese Communist Party,” 2013, para. 24). These sentiments, when paired with overt actions such as the creation of an Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) over the East China Sea and continued aggression in the South China Sea indicate that Xi is a leader that is willing to challenge the United States more openly and more likely to abandon attempts to court the US through soft power.

Economic Relations:

Despite Xi’s more confrontational approach towards foreign policy, the trade relationship between the US and China continued to grow from 2012 through 2014. In 2012, the United States Census Bureau reported that the US was exporting \$110.5 billion worth of goods to China with imports up to \$425.6 billion in value (“Trade in Goods with China,” 2016). Both these numbers increased the next year with US exports climbing to \$121.7 billion and imports from China reaching \$440.4 billion (“Trade in Goods with China,” 2016). And while Chinese exports to the US continued to grow at an impressive pace in 2014, ending the year at \$466.8 billion, US exports to China did not experience

nearly as much growth only increasing to \$123.7 billion (“Trade in Goods with China,” 2016).

This slow increase in exports from the US may be linked to the Chinese economy entering a period of slower development than they had experienced during the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s when growth rates averaged 10% per year (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2013). In fact, during the same year when exports from the US experienced noticeably lower growth, the Chinese were forced to enact a “mini-stimulus” to guarantee that they would reach their target growth rate of 7.5%, leading to government spending levels increasing 15.8% in May of 2014 as opposed to levels in May 2013 (Wei, as cited in U.S.-China Security and Economic Review Commission, 2014, p. 44).

This increase in spending coincided with greater amounts of state control in the Chinese economy, with the USCC in 2012 arguing that China was “backsliding [away] from market reforms” (p. 25). The increased presence of the state led to continued critiques of China’s economic policies from the USCC, which persisted in evaluating China’s policy according to subsidies to domestic companies, occurrences of intellectual property rights (IPR) violations, the valuation of the RMB, and China’s adherence to World Trade Organization (WTO) regulations. Yet, as in the previous period from 2008 through 2012, new issues began to emerge that garnered special attention from US investigators, including China’s anti-monopoly law, value-added taxes (VATs), and excess capacity.

The anti-monopoly law was originally enacted in China in 2008 and did not initially draw much attention from the United States (USCC, 2013). The law itself requires that the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), and the State Administration for Industry and Commerce (SAIC) collaborate to determine the level of competitiveness present in Chinese markets (USCC, 2013). Unfortunately, the law maintains very broad and sometimes vague definitions of competitiveness and what actions constitute violations of Chinese law, which has led to multiple instances of firms prosecuted without understanding what they have done wrong (USCC, 2013). By 2014, the law became infamous among foreign companies in particular, as it appeared that some firms were targeted for prosecution at higher levels than domestic Chinese firms, leading to speculation that the anti-monopoly law had become another mechanism of the Chinese government to create barriers to foreign companies in China to protect and promote domestic firms (USCC, 2014).

China's use of VATs is related to its commitments in the WTO to decrease subsidies to its industries, particularly in food and agriculture. In an effort to maneuver around these commitments, China appears to be using VATs to impose taxes on foreign firms which domestic businesses are able to avoid through a "complex rebate system," which the USDA found to be the effective imposition of a 13 or 17 percent tax on food and agriculture imports to China (USCC, 2013, p. 175). This has led to primary goods such as soybeans being cheaper to produce in China which then benefits soy bean processors in China that utilize Chinese soybean in their products, creating a large

advantage for Chinese producers in these areas (USCC, 2013). With this increased strength of China's food processing sector and its ability to procure cheaper foodstuffs, foreign firms are unable to compete and much of the food processing industry has shifted to China over the past decade (USCC, 2013).

Much like the previous two issues which both limit the access and competitiveness of foreign firms in the Chinese market, excess capacity has been a long utilized tactic in China to keep the prices of Chinese products cheap. To counteract increases in prices, Chinese firms would intentionally engage in over-production, flooding the market with goods which would increase supply and therefore lower prices (USCC, 2013). Chinese firms are able to do this without incurring great economic costs due to the active support of the Chinese government, with subsidies and easy access to loans ensuring that they will be able to remain in business. While complaints over these actions in the United States predate this time period, the issue became more prevalent from 2012 through 2014 as the Chinese government itself began to identify the practice as harmful to Chinese interests, acknowledging that "excess capacity was untenable" at the National People's Congress' annual meetings in 2013 (Xinhua, as cited in USCC, 2013, p. 64). This presented a unique opportunity for the Chinese government to act on an issue which was problematic for them but also for the United States, leading to greater possible appreciation from the US and perhaps improved relations between the two. China's willingness to challenge those powerful state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that

practiced overcapacity will be examined along with actions regarding the anti-monopoly law and VATs in this section.

In 2012, the Chinese made several attempts to address or at the very least recognize US concerns regarding its economic policy. The Chinese recognized during the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) that the process to obtain the China Compulsory Certification (CCC) mark² for goods entering China presented issues for foreign firms (“Fact Sheet: 23rd U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade,” 2012). To combat this problem, both countries launched an exchange program in April 2012 that focused on how to improve the CCC mark mechanism and planned to invite US and Chinese businesses to engage in these exchanges which would continue in 2013 (“Fact Sheet: 23rd,” 2012). The Chinese also accepted a proposal by the United States to schedule further negotiations regarding a Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) between them during the Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED), presenting some progress in this area (“Joint U.S.-China Economic Track Fact Sheet- Fourth Meeting of the U.S. China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED),” 2012).

Perhaps the most significant activities during this period were related to China’s monetary policies as the *renminbi* (RMB) continued to appreciate against the dollar.

² The China Compulsory Certification mark is required for goods such as industrial machinery, telecommunications equipment, and automotive parts which requires that foreign companies provide certain specifications and samples of their products for evaluation by Chinese inspectors, leading to accusations of IPR violations (China Quality Certification Centre, as cited in U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2006, p. 35)

During 2012, the Chinese widened the RMB's daily exchange rate from +/- 0.5 percent to +/- 1.0 percent leading the RMB reaching a record high against the dollar in February 2012 of 6.2284 RMB per dollar (U.S. Department of the Treasury, as cited in U.S.-China Security and Economic Review Commission, 2012). Such progress on this issue was "duly noted" by the U.S. Treasury, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) even shifted from identifying China's currency as "substantially undervalued" to only being "moderately" undervalued (International Monetary Fund, as cited in USCC, 2012, p. 35). The USCC (2012), was quick to argue that the undervaluation of the RMB remained a significant problem and even slightly disputed the evaluation of the IMF regarding the amount of its undervaluation. Despite these objections, it seems clear that Chinese currency did achieve a level of appreciation which led to greater parity between it and the dollar resulting in at least partial approval from the United States.

While this critique from the USCC can be ultimately disregarded, other criticisms cannot be so easily dismissed, as the USCC notes that both the S&ED and the JCCT followed a pattern established during the previous time periods where the Chinese made many commitments to take action but provided only vague descriptions of what those actions would be. The USCC (2012) dismissed the S&ED as ineffective, arguing that many of the outcomes were "largely restated commitments made in the previous years" and that no mention was made of what mechanisms the Chinese would utilize to accomplish these commitments (U.S. Department of the Treasury, as cited in USCC, 2012, p. 39). Regarding the JCCT, despite acceptance by the Chinese to engage in

bilateral dialogues with the US regarding further issues with government procurement activities in China, the USCC (2012) largely dismissed efforts made by the Chinese in this area and noted that China's SOEs continued to maintain an advantage in the government procurement market. When paired with no real action related to IPR, adherence to WTO guidelines, the anti-monopoly law, value-added taxes, and excess capacity, it appears that China did very little in 2012 to generate soft power in the realm of economic policy in 2012.

This lack of activity in 2012 seemed to change in 2013, as in addition to the usual commitments to enact market reforms and an exchange rate determined by the market, there were several other more substantial actions. These included the signing of several memorandums of understanding (MOU) such as a MOU between the U.S. Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) and China's Ministry of Commerce in Support of Intellectual Property Rights Training and a MOU between the USTDA and China's National Energy Administration (NEA) in Support of U.S.-China Energy Cooperation Program (ECP) ("Fact Sheet: 24th U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) Signings," 2013). Beijing also announced the establishment of a policy review mechanism which would allow the U.S. Trade Representative and the Department of Commerce to communicate at any time with the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) about any regulations within China which they believe to be "inconsistent with China's multilateral or bilateral commitments" ("Joint U.S.-China Economic Track Fact Sheet of the Fifth Meeting of the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue," 2013, in Section

II. para. 7). The Chinese also planned to submit a revised offer to join the Government Procurement Agreement (GPA) of the WTO in 2013 in response to US concerns with their previous offers (“Joint U.S.-China Economic Track Fact Sheet of the Fifth,” 2013).

China’s most significant efforts to generate soft power in the US through economic policies centered on their continued negotiations to sign a Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) and the founding of the Shanghai Free Trade Zone (FTZ). By the S&ED meeting in 2013, the United States and the PRC had already engaged in nine rounds of technical discussions regarding the BIT and China indicated that it was now ready to initiate “substantive” negotiations with the United States at the Strategic and Economic Dialogue meetings (“Joint U.S.-China Economic Track Fact Sheet of the Fifth,” 2013, in Section II. para. 2). Progress on the BIT was greeted with praise from both Jacob J. Lew, the Treasury Secretary, and the US business community, indicating that Chinese actions in this area presented desirable opportunities for the United States (USCC, 2013). The Shanghai Free Trade Zone also met many of the characteristics that the US had requested China adopt in moving its economy toward more liberal standards, as it promised to open industries such as shipping, commerce, and travel to foreign investment and would allow market based setting of exchange and interest rates within a predetermined zone within the city of Shanghai (Davis & Silk, as cited in USCC, 2013). While this was hardly on the national level desired by the United States, the FTZ represented a willingness by the Chinese government to increase its experimentation with market-based economics and

the Chinese assured the US that if the system proved to be successful, the model could be implemented across China (USCC, 2013).

Regarding issues such as the anti-monopoly law, VATs, and excess capacity, the Chinese only took action against the last two, and it is difficult to consider them soft power generating activities. Specifically, both seemed to focus more on domestic issues than on addressing the concerns of the US or the international community. This is particularly the case with value-added taxes where the Chinese began its nationwide reforms of the service industry tax system by introducing a VAT system (“Joint U.S.-China Economic Track Fact Sheet of the Fifth,” 2013). Missing from the VAT reform was anything regarding the concerns raised by US businesses that claimed they were unfairly targeted by VATs in China which presents a new issue where they may now be subjected to this form of discrimination not just in manufacturing but in services as well (“Tax Reform: A Better Service Game,” 2013). On excess capacity, the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology released reports identifying 1,400 companies across 19 industries that needed to reduce production which was resulting in significant costs to the Chinese economy (Xinhua, as cited in U.S.-China Security and Economic Review Commission, 2015). While Chinese action to curtail this excess capacity would allow prices to be determined more by the market, no indication is given that this is China’s intention by acting against excess capacity and US concerns do not seem to be motivating their actions against the issue. For these reasons, it is arguable that neither of these actions can be considered as soft power generating activities for China as they

largely reflect domestic concerns and do not consider the issues brought forth by the United States.

Despite these problems, the progress of the BIT and the establishment of the Shanghai Free Trade Zone were generally regarded as positive steps by the USCC, while it continued to note several areas where it asserted the Chinese needed to improve. This included many of the areas identified as concerns from the previous time periods where the Chinese took no substantial steps to counter issues raised by the United State. These included continuing IPR violations, the RMB appreciating less than 2% in the first half of 2013, China's monetary reforms remaining ineffective, and that the revised GPA offer still did not meet the qualifications deemed necessary by the US (USCC, 2014).

Regarding the anti-monopoly law, the USCC also discovered evidence that it unfairly targeted foreign firms as information from an anti-monopoly law training session revealed the NDRC officials pressured 30 foreign firms to confess antitrust violations and advised them against hiring outside counsel to defend them in investigations" (CNBC, as cited in USCC, 2013, p. 74).

Considering these critiques, 2013 produced mixed results regarding economic activities as promoters of soft power. While the progress made on the BIT, the founding of the FTZ, and greater efforts to expand communication such as the policy review mechanism were greeted with praise, the majority of the results from the S&ED and the JCCT in 2013 followed the pattern established during previous years of China making vague commitments without providing plans for how these commitments would be

reached. Pairing this with the fact that China did not engage in any soft power promotion activities related to those issues identified during this time period as being of particular importance, the anti-monopoly law, VATs, and excess capacity, and it appears that whatever progress was made over the minimal efforts in 2012 was largely overshadowed by limited action on the part of China to address US concerns and improve its image within the United States.

2014 seemingly promised to change this as both President Xi and Premier Li attended the initial meetings in Beijing for the Strategic and Economic Dialogue for the first time (“Sixth Meeting of the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue U.S. Fact Sheet – Economic Track,” 2014). Establishing a sense of importance to this year’s dialogues, the Chinese moved forward with the US in negotiations of the BIT, guaranteeing to reach an agreement on the core text of the treaty by the end of 2014 and to begin discussions regarding their respective “negative lists” to determine what areas fell outside the agreement (U.S. Department of the Treasury, as cited in USCC, 2014, p. 63). The Chinese also announced intentions to engage in plurilateral negotiations with the United States on expanding the Information Technology Agreement (ITA) which would eliminate tariffs for most technological products and increase US access to Chinese markets (“Sixth Meeting of the U.S.-China,” 2014).

Chinese representatives at the 25th meeting of the JCCT also showed a renewed willingness to address issues related to IPR with MOFCOM announcing that Beijing would continue to work with US agencies to combat IPR infringement, scheduling

workshops and meetings between the two sides to discuss the issue (“U.S.-China Joint Fact Sheet on 25th Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade,” 2014). Efforts to join the GPA continued as well, with the Chinese submitting another offer which the USCC (2015) identified as making “incremental improvement in the scope of coverage” (p. 55). Chinese Officials at the S&ED also promising to release more information regarding the Chinese budget dedicated to SOEs while also accelerating reforms that would enact market-based prices for petroleum, electricity, and natural gas (“Sixth Meeting of the U.S.-China,” 2014). Finally, the Chinese decreased the number of industries that faced restrictions against foreign investment in the FTZ from 190 to 139, presenting greater opportunities for market access (Silk, as cited in USCC, 2014)

Issues related to anti-monopoly law, VATs, and excess capacity were also more strenuously addressed in 2014. China assured the United States that its anti-monopoly law was not designed to unfairly target foreign firms and that its enforcement of the law would not limit competition within the Chinese market (“Sixth Meeting of the U.S.-China,” 2014; “U.S.-China Joint Fact Sheet on 25th,” 2014). Regarding value-added taxes, the Chinese committed to continue their VAT reforms to “eliminate double taxation” which they argued would improve the financial situation of many of China’s poorest citizens (“Sixth Meeting of the U.S.-China,” 2014, in Promoting Rebalancing and Consumption-led Growth, para. 4). On excess capacity, the Chinese announced the introduction of a new mechanism to limit the expansion of crude steel production which

will be in conjunction with its other efforts to address excess production (“Sixth Meeting of the U.S.-China,” 2014).

While these efforts present noticeably more attention to these issues than they were given in the past, it is debatable whether they can be considered as soft power generating efforts. Using commitments to guarantee that China’s anti-monopoly law does not interfere with foreign business interests is similar to past commitments made by the Chinese on issues such as government subsidies and IPR, which weaken their overall effectiveness when they do not coincide with concrete proposals to address the issue. Regarding Chinese actions related to VATs and excess capacity there is also no indication that any of these activities are related to American concerns and they still appear to be targeted at addressing domestic issues as opposed to improving China’s image abroad.

These critiques are paired with those made by the USCC which noted that China continues to only marginally address the issues raised by the United States. This is exemplified by China’s latest offer to join the GPA, which the USCC (2015) contends still does not meet the conditions outlined by the United States and the international community particularly regarding the fact that China still refuses to include most SOEs in the deal, which has always been the United States’ chief concern. The USCC (2015) also argued that the Shanghai Free Trade Zone only achieved “minimal progress” in 2014 with experts finding little evidence that operating in the trade zone presented any increased benefits as opposed to operating anywhere else in China (Rabinovitch, as cited

in USCC, 2014, p. 50). In conjunction with this, the United States submitted reports to the WTO of over 100 subsidies in China in October 2014 despite China's insistence that it was reforming its policy towards SOEs (USCC, 2015). In response to these accusations, the Chinese refused to discuss the matter with the United States or to notify any of the subsidies to the WTO (Office of the U.S. Trade Representative and United States Department of Commerce, as cited in USCC, 2015).

Perhaps the bigger issue facing Chinese economic soft power efforts in 2014 was related to the fact that China took noticeable steps to undermine its previous commitments, specifically those related to the anti-monopoly law and its monetary policy. In 2014, despite assurances from the Chinese at the S&ED, enforcement of its anti-monopoly law against foreign firms increased drastically, with businesses located in those sectors designated as "strategic and emerging" by the Chinese government under particularly heavy scrutiny (Martina, as cited in USCC, 2014, p. 60). These actions led to 86 percent of member companies in the U.S.-China Business Council (USCBC) indicating that they were "somewhat or very concerned" with the increased enforcement and 56 percent listing the enforcement as a "primary concern regarding China's competition policy" (U.S.-China Business Council, as cited in USCC, 2015, p. 89). MOFCOM itself reported that it reviewed 245 cases under the anti-monopoly law in 2014, the highest number of reviews since implementation of the law in 2008, and that of the 1,062 transactions it reviewed, all of the 26 that were rejected or only conditionally approved involved foreign firms (Wang, as cited in USCC, 2015, p. 90). This clearly

illustrated that China was still engaging in discriminatory policies despite its assertions to the contrary. By March 2014, the People's Bank of China (PBOC) announced that the trading band for the RMB to dollars would be doubled to +/- 2% per day (U.S. Department of the Treasury, as cited in USCC, 2014). Ordinarily, this would be viewed as a positive development by the US as a move toward a market-oriented economy, but Chinese actions indicated that they considered the trading band open to manipulation if the situation called for it. Specifically, a month prior to the band widening the PBOC intervened heavily to substantially weaken the RMB after it had reached high levels of appreciation under the previous band (*Financial Times*, as cited in USCC, 2014). This occurred right as the Chinese worried that they would not be able to reach their target goal for growth of 7.5%, illustrating that the Chinese would be willing to go against their economic commitments or policies dedicated to reform if they saw it necessary (USCC, 2014).

These actions form an apt metaphor for Chinese economic policy from 2005 to 2014 as the Chinese would often commit to engage in behavior that would be preferred by the United States or the international community but either ignore these commitments domestically or simply go against them if they believed the situation called for it. This makes it very difficult for the United States to trust Chinese economic actions and heavily undermines the amount of soft power they may generate regardless of positive actions such as the continuing of negotiations for the BIT or the founding of the FTZ. Ultimately, this has led experts to dismiss those actions discussed at dialogues such as the

S&ED and the JCCT. Dr. Dereck Scissors argued that the S&ED's meetings had become "glorified talk shops" featuring groups and discussions where the Chinese often promise to engage in discussion regarding issues but take little action (Scissors, as cited in USCC, 2014). The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) took this criticism one step further, finding that of 298 trade and investment commitments made by China in JCCT and S&ED dialogues, they were unable to determine the extent to which any had been fulfilled (U.S. Government Accountability Office, as cited in USCC, 2014). While this is attributed to poor tracking by US agencies, the fact that these commitments were not noticeably implemented by China or that the US continued to demand the Chinese act on the same issues year after year indicates that the Chinese most likely did not seriously consider implementing policy favorable to the US during these dialogues, substantially weakening the amount of soft power generating by economic policy by the Chinese through these exchange mechanisms. Therefore, while 2014 may have seen some positive steps such as 2013, the amount of distrust among the US side toward the Chinese due to their continuing failure to act on US concerns effectively undermines their small successes, presenting a period where very little soft power was created by the Chinese in the US from 2012 to 2014.

Confucius Institutes and the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People

Exchanges:

In 2012, the Confucius Institutes Headquarters continued the expansion of the Confucius Institute program. This expansion included an increase of 41.8% in the number of foreign Chinese language teachers trained to work at Confucius Institutes to 6,229 (Hanban, 2012). 287 Confucius Institutes and Classrooms also became certified to conduct Chinese language tests such as the Chinese Proficiency Test (HSK), an increase of 55% over the previous year (Hanban, 2012). The annual budget for the Confucius Institutes also increased to \$396 million, and France and Germany held the “Year of Chinese Language” and the “Chinese Culture Year” respectively, attracting 500,000 participants to 200 cultural activities (Hanban, 2012). All of this represents substantial growth for Hanban during 2012 and, considering the United States held the most Confucius Institutes and Classrooms each year from 2006 to 2011, it is likely that Confucius Institute activities would expand there as well.

This seems to have been the case in 2012, as the United States continued to house the most Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in the world. The United States saw a 20 percent increase in Confucius Institutes over the previous year to a total of 90, with Confucius Classrooms increasing 5.4% to reach 315 in 2012. In conjunction with these increases, Confucius Institutes in the United States also attracted visits from Chinese dignitaries including individuals such as Chen Zhili, Vice Chairwoman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China and Chairperson of All China

Women's Federation, and Xu Jialu, Vice-Chairman of the 9th & 10th Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the PRC and President of the International Society for Chinese Language Teaching (ISCLT) (Hanban, 2012). Of great significance were the two separate visits made by Xi Jinping to the Confucius Classroom at the International Studies Learning Center in Los Angeles during February and December of 2012, indicating Xi's commitment to the program and presenting him an opportunity to speak with students of Chinese language in the US (Hanban, 2012). In conjunction with these visits by Chinese officials, Hanban continued its "Chinese Bridge" activities for American students and administrators, hosting 617 American high school students in July and 416 education officials and principals in November (Hanban, 2012). Hanban also maintained its cooperation with US organizations such as the Asia Society and the U.S. College board, hosting the 5th National Chinese Language Conference in April, attracting 1,200 government officials, school presidents, and principals, and renewing the Annual Cooperation Agreement with the College Board for 2012 through 2013). Paired with the North American Confucius Institute Directors' Conference Held in Washington D.C. in April 2012 and it appears that Confucius Institute activities continued to grow in the United States during 2012.

However, there is one interesting event that occurred in 2012 that could be considered as an indication of problems between the United States and the Confucius Institutes. On May 17, 2012, the U.S. State Department issued a directive which argued that Confucius Institutes in the United States must receive American accreditation and

that certain Chinese teachers and volunteers had overstayed the terms of their visas, requiring that they leave the country by the end of June (Hanban, 2012). This resulted in strident opposition from Hanban and by May 25, the State Department reissued the directive to “rectify its former statement” according to Hanban’s 2012 annual report (Hanban, 2012). While this issue appears to have been solved, it is notable for the fact that no negative events like this had ever been reported in Hanban’s annual reports before this point. In general, the reports tend to focus on those positive developments related to Confucius Institutes and the fact that this occurrence was included in the report details the seriousness of the issue. Despite this incident, it still appears that Hanban was committed to expanding Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in the United States in 2012 and would continue to do so in 2013.

During 2013, the number of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms again grew in the United States with Confucius Institutes reaching 100 and Confucius Classrooms rising to 356 (Hanban, 2013). This, as with the previous years, was paired with visits from Chinese officials such as Xu Lin, Chief Executive of Confucius Institute Headquarters and Director General of Hanban, and Liu Yandong, Vice Premier of the State Council of China and Chairperson of the Council of the Confucius Institute Headquarters, to the official opening of Confucius Institutes in the United States (Hanban, 2013). The Chinese also arranged for international singers to participate in the “I Sing Beijing-Hanyu Academy of Vocal Arts” concert at the Lincoln Center in New York City and then a subsequent tour of the United States (Hanban, 2013). The

performers in this event were drawn from Confucius Institutes from across the world that participated in the “I Sing Beijing” competition in China with the best selected to travel to the US to showcase their skills (Hanban, 2013).

This leads to an interesting new trend in the annual reports where international events that do not focus on one region in particular, such as the United States, garnered far more attention than they did in the past. In addition to touting the success of the “I Sing Beijing” competition, Hanban (2013) made a point to discuss heavily events such as the “Chinese Bridge Chinese Proficiency Competition for Foreign College Students” and the “Chinese Bridge Chinese Proficiency Competition for Foreign Students in China” among others without indicating the levels of participation for any specific country or region. There was also much more emphasis on programs such as the Major in Teaching Chinese Language being established in Chinese universities, the establishment of an online Confucius Institute Digital Library, and 293 other Chinese language promotion programs in 59 countries during 2013 (Hanban, 2013).

While it is undeniable that some of these programs garnered participation from American citizens, the report departs from previous editions which made a point to boast about American participation in these events, which now seems to be understated in the face of international participation. This coincides with the fact that “Chinese Bridge” events specifically for American students and administrators experienced lower attendance, with only 502 high school students participating in the Summer Camp for American High School Students as opposed to the 612 in 2012 and only 381 principals

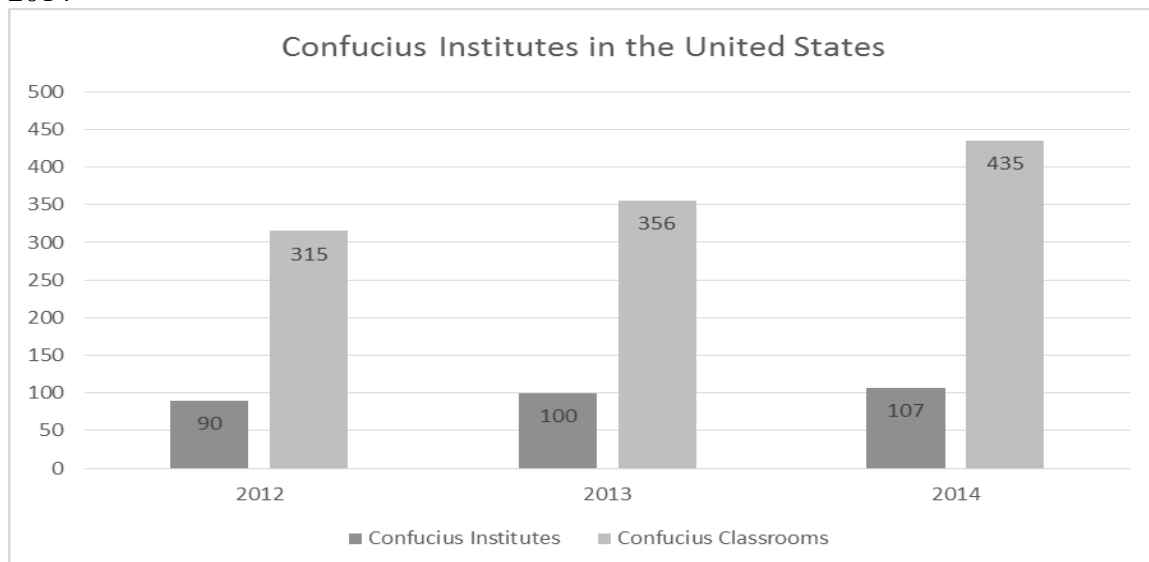
and education officials participating in the “Chinese Bridge” for American Schools event in 2013 as opposed to 416 in 2013 (Hanban, 2013). These lower numbers were paired with no mention of the renewal or signing of new agreements with American institutions or organizations which had been always noted in previous reports (Hanban, 2013). Finally, Xi Jinping made a total of four visits to Confucius Institutes in 2013 while Premier Li Keqiang also visited three institutes and was present in Germany for the Chinese-German Language Year celebrations but neither of them attended any signings or events in the US (Hanban, 2013).

Despite these possible indications of decreasing interest in promoting soft power through Confucius Institutes in the United States in 2013, it should be noted that other events did occur which indicated a continuing interest in the United States. Specifically, the Sixth National Chinese Language Conference was held which had 1,300 participants attend the conference, including government officials as well as representatives from numerous educational organizations (Hanban, 2013). Even more government officials from the Oregon State Senate were invited to visit the Confucius Institute Headquarters in September, with the same month also seeing the First Joint Meeting of the United States Confucius Institutes which was attended by 260 representatives from Confucius Institutes and Classrooms across the US (Hanban, 2013). Pairing this with discussions to establish a Confucius Regional Center in the United States alongside one in Latin America to manage the affairs of Confucius Institutes in these regions and it appears that,

despite less attention paid to the United States in some areas, the United States remained a key country in the plans of the Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban, 2013).

2014 saw the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Confucius Institutes and, to celebrate its success, Hanban organized multiple activities under a global Confucius Institute Day, which would draw participants from 1,200 Confucius Institutes across 126 countries (Hanban, 2014). In recognition of their achievements, both President Xi and Premier Li sent congratulatory letters to the Confucius Institute Headquarters which held an Open Day that included cultural seminars, academic lecture, and artistic performances which attracted 3,000 foreigner and local residents in Beijing (Hanban, 2014). This focus on the global reach of the Confucius Institutes, however, continued to overshadow individual efforts within the United States as no mention was made of activities within the United States during the year. Instead more emphasis was placed on the expansion of “Chinese Bridge” activities to Scotland, France, and Mexico than on new activities occurring in the US (Hanban, 2014). Xi and Li also did not visit any Confucius Institutes in the United States in 2014 and the number of educational administrators from the US participating in the “Chinese Bridge” for American Schools program continued to decrease to 265. All of this was paired, again, with no mention of cooperation agreements signed between Hanban and US organizations despite the fact that the US continued to have the most Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms in the entire world (Hanban, 2014).

Figure 4.1: Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in the United States from 2012 through 2014



Source: Hanban Annual Reports 2012-2014

Regarding the exact number of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms, the United States had 107 Confucius Institutes and 435 Confucius Classrooms by the end of 2014, both increases from the previous year (Hanban, 2014). There was also an increase in the amount of American students participating in the “Chinese Bridge” activities, jumping from 502 during the previous year to 623 in 2014 (Hanban, 2014). Despite these successes, however, Hanban’s 2014 annual report seems to follow the pattern established in 2013 where a greater priority was placed on multinational events as opposed to those which were confined to one country. While this does not necessarily indicate that less effort was being focused in promoting soft power in the United States it does represent a fundamental shift in the priorities of Hanban regarding their annual reports. Previously, these reports always concentrated on touting their successes in promoting Confucius

Institutes in the United States. Considering this, it is arguable that soft power promotion through Confucius Institutes from 2012 through 2014 experienced somewhat mixed results. On the surface, the Confucius Institute Program continued to expand in the United States but there was evidence that the US was no longer at the same level of importance that it had been in previous Hanban reports.

Building off of its meetings in 2011, the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchanges (CPE) announced numerous new efforts to increase exchanges between Chinese and American citizens in the realms of science and education, the arts, sports, and in women's issues. In the sciences, the two sides formalized the Young Scientist Forum, which began in 2011 and served as an opportunity for students interested in the sciences from China and the United States to come together to discuss research and even work together on specific research projects ("Third U.S.-China Consultation on People-to-People Exchange," 2012). The two sides also agreed to send a delegation of young Chinese scientists to the United States to visit universities and organizations in order to encourage careers in the sciences within the United States ("Third U.S.-China Consultation," 2012). In addition to this, the Department of Education and the Ministry of Education held meetings under the Education Development Forum between science and vocational education experts from the two countries to discuss teaching methods in these areas and the promotion of studying these topics in the US and the PRC ("Third U.S.-China Consultation," 2012).

China and the United States announced numerous activities between American and Chinese athletic organizations, particularly exchanges centered on basketball. In June 2012 the WNBA and the Women's Chinese Basketball Association (WCBA) planned to cooperate with the State Department's SportsUnited Office to send three basketball envoys to China to discuss the sport and meet with Chinese professional teams ("Third U.S.-China Consultation," 2012). The Chinese women's Basketball Team also toured the United States during 2012, skirmishing with professional WNBA teams to promote Chinese basketball in the United States ("Third U.S.-China Consultation," 2012). Men's basketball in China also cooperated with US organizations as the Chinese Basketball Association (CBA) joined with the NBA to participate in coach exchange programs between the two countries to strengthen perceptions of sports philosophies in the two countries ("Third U.S.-China Consultation," 2012). Outside of basketball, the Chinese and the US also sponsored exchanges between girls high school volleyball teams from China, athletes with disabilities, the NFL and the Chinese Rugby Association, Chinese Wushu and Qigong instructors with Americans interested in the martial arts, and they even sponsored an exhibition match between the women's national soccer teams from the two countries in Pennsylvania ("Third U.S.-China Consultation," 2012).

These exchanges continued in the arts as the US and China signed multiple agreements to expand cooperation between museums in both China and the United States. This included an extension of the MOU between the Institute of Museum and Library Services and the Ministry of Culture to enhance information, library, and archival

services between the US and the PRC (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012). Chinese museum management professionals also agreed to meet with their American counterparts to discuss and share their expertise on museum management (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012). In addition to this, the CPE (2012) pointed to increased cooperation between private organizations within the United States and China such as the Philadelphia Orchestra agreeing to a one year pilot program with the National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA) and the Meridian International Center’s work to promote a public-private American-Chinese Cultural Initiative (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012).

Regarding women’s issues, China and the United States continued to demonstrate an impressive ability to come together on issues facing women in their two countries with agreements to engage in at least two annual exchanges between women’s groups from China and the US going forward (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012). Exchanges in 2012 included an agreement to host a private event at the UN Commission on the Status of Women on “Women and Sustainable Development, the All-China Women’s Federation (ACWF) Vice-President Men Xiaosi leading a delegation to Washington D.C. to participate in the fifth Women-LEAD Dialogue, and a ACWF delegation and public health experts from China brought to the US by the Goldman Sachs Group and the Susan G. Komen for the Cure Foundation to increase exchanges regarding breast cancer between the United States and China (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012). Finally, the ACWF and the State Department facilitated the creation of a program to be held in

2013 at Mount Holyoke College centered on women and philanthropy professionals in the field of development (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012). This program would allow women in Chinese NGOs and philanthropic organizations to participate in activities to improve management and leadership skills in designing developing programs to help women and girls in China (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012). This was scheduled to coincide with Beijing Normal University’s China Philanthropic Research Institute hosting delegations from the US in 2013 to expand women’s ability to participate in philanthropic pursuits in China (“Third U.S.-China Consultation,” 2012). Pairing these initiatives with those under the previous sections illustrates that much was accomplished by the CPE during 2012, resulting in an improved image of China within the United States.

Following its efforts in 2012, the CPE continued to promote exchanges between China and the United States in 2013, but, with slightly less results. In science and education, the two sides continued to hold the Young Scientist Forum which met twice in 2013 in both the United States and China (“U.S.-China Consultation on People-to-People Exchange (CPE),” 2013). While this represented the extent of CPE actions regarding the sciences, education also saw a slight increase in attention with the U.S. Department of Education and the Chinese Ministry of Education renewing their Memorandum of Cooperation on Education while agreeing to continue to promote cooperation between states and provinces in the realm of educational exchange (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013) Besides this, however, most of the actions described at the CPE are vague, with

assertions that cooperation continues to expand but no indication as to how that cooperation is expanding.

This issue becomes more pronounced in the case of exchanges related to the arts and culture in which the CPE makes assertions that the Ministry of Culture continues to work with American organizations and agencies to promote exchanges (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013). This includes collaborations between the Palace Museum of China and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, the National Theatre Company of China and the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and the Suzhou Kun Opera Theatre and the Lincoln Center Festival but nowhere is it explained what these exchanges were or whether there are plans to continue these activities in the future (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013). Outside of this, the only specific project discussed was the possibility that the Ministry of Culture and the National Endowment for the Humanities of the United States would hold the Fourth U.S.-China Cultural Forum (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013).

Actions related to sports did not have the same level of ambiguity, but there was a noticeable decline in activities, particularly with regards to women’s athletics. Despite this, several exchanges did occur including the NBA being scheduled to play pre-season games in Beijing and Shanghai in October (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013). The CPE also facilitated an agreement between the China Disabled Persons’ Federation (CDPF) and its counterparts in the US to organize future exchanges between the Chinese Paralympic Committee, the U.S. Paralympic Committee, the USA Deaf Sports

Federation, and between Special Olympic China and Special Olympics USA (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013). Finally the CPE hosted discussion on the establishment of the U.S.-China Sports Seminar (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013. This annual forum would gather the General Administration of Sport (GASC), the U.S. Government, and “partners from academia and industry to promote information-sharing on various sports-related issues” (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013, in sports para. 5).

While efforts in the previous three areas seemed to lag behind those in 2012, activities under the auspices of women’s issues continued to receive ample attention, with several examples of exchanges between China and the United States. These included the ACWF hosting the Sixth U.S.-China Women’s Leadership Exchange and Dialogue (Women LEAD) meeting in Beijing which was attended by Ambassador Cathy Russell and a delegation from the US and discussed topics related to violence against women (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013). The China Women’s University from 2013 to 2015 with the support of the Ford Foundation also agreed to cooperate with the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Women in Public Service Project in China to hold two workshops to teach leadership skills for young women leaders throughout China (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013). The 100,000 Strong Foundation also expanded its efforts outside of the broad category of education to cooperation with the Wanxiang America Corporation, the ACWF, and the Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues (S/GWI) to bring female science and technology students from both the US and China together at a “Girls’ Tech Camp” in China (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013). In one final agreement

the S/GWI, ACWF, and Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves came together in a more specific activity to promote the use of clean and efficient cook stoves with “a view to improving health and livelihoods of women and their families and combating climate change” (“U.S.-China Consultation,” 2013, in Women’s Issues para. 5). Combining these more strenuous effort with those more ambiguous actions taken regarding sports, art, and science and it seems that the CPE had somewhat mixed results in 2013 but did continue at least some efforts to generate soft power in the US through people-to-people exchange.

At the 2014 meeting of the CPE, the creation of a new pillar for discussions and exchanges between the two countries was announced related to health (“U.S.-China High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchange (CPE),” 2014). The addition of this new pillar promised to expand the level of exchanges to occur between China and the United States and illustrated that the two sides believed that the CPE offered an effective platform to promote people-to-people exchange. China and the United States also continued to hold the semiannual Young Scientist Forum with the meeting in Beijing focusing on careers in the sciences and the Washington meeting on science’s role in disaster management (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014). In addition, the U.S. State Department and the Chinese Ministry of Education renewed the Agreement for Cooperation in Educational Exchanges and the two sides discussed plans to expand the U.S.-China Fulbright program (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014). There was also an announcement that the 100,000 Strong Foundation and the China Education Association

for International Exchange (CEAIE) had jointly established a counterpart organization to the 100,000 Strong Initiative in Beijing in order to support the goals of the initiative from within China (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014). Besides these more tangible efforts, the two sides renewed their commitments to promote cooperation between state and provincial level K-12 education and hoped to expand that cooperation to the university level in the future (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014).

In the realm of culture and the arts, the CPE mainly announced the continuation of previous activities while also highlighting the United States’ success in attracting more private sector participants such as Carnegie Hall, the National Geographic Society, and the National China Garden Foundation (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014). Besides this, however, the only substantial initiatives conducted by the two sides dealt with the renewal of the Implementing Accord for Cultural Exchange for 2014-2018 between the Ministry of Culture and the State Department and the second official visit of delegations between the two countries to promote learning about each other’s cultural administrative system and strengthen future exchanges (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014). An interesting phenomenon also is that, at least in the realms of culture and the arts, the United States was responsible for most of the initiatives, sending multiple arts groups to China for performances or lectures while the Chinese did not appear to be sending any counterpart groups to the United States.

This lack of activity on the part of China may also explain the ambiguous nature of the accomplishments discussed under the sports pillar, where the CPE seemed to only

mention the success of past exchanges without detailing any specific future activities. Regarding those programs which occurred in 2014, the CPE Joint Fact Sheet simply stated that more than a dozen sports leagues and federations from China and the United States came together for competitions and athlete exchanges or that cooperation between organizations such as the NBA and CBA “continued to thrive” without providing examples of what exchanges occurred (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014, in Sports para. 2, para. 4). While this may seem overly critical, it is worth mentioning that the factsheet in both 2012 and 2013 did not use such ambiguous language, indicating that perhaps there were less actual evidence of exchange in this pillar than in previous years.

Women’s issues, however, continued to provide clear evidence of exchange and cooperation as the S/GWI and the ACWF once again met for Women LEAD and collaborated on multiple projects between the two countries (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014). These included a program where 10 students from University of Chicago were invited to Beijing by the China Women’s University (CWU) in Sept. 2014 and the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Women in Public Service Project and CWU planned to continue a partnership to engage women across five Chinese universities in leadership training programs (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014). There was also greater collaboration regarding the use of cooking stoves as the Alliance for Clean Cookstoves worked with the ACWF on an MOU to improve access to clean and effective cooking stoves to women in China (“U.S.-China High-Level,” 2014).

Despite these activities, the seeming decline in the amount of programs discussed at the 2014 CPE seems to follow a trend starting in 2013 where evidence of accomplishments at the meetings became less clear and there was less indication of actual programs initiated under the umbrella of the CPE. Considering this and the degree of decline in American-centric events mentioned in Hanban's annual reports and 2012 through 2014 witnessed mixed results in the realm of people-to-people exchanges perhaps indicating lower Chinese commitment to generate soft power in the United States through these methods.

Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges

During the previous two time periods examined in this thesis, the Kennedy Center was host to two extended China-themed events, with "The Festival of China" held in 2005 and "China: Art of a Nation" in 2011. While these two events were not the only artistic performances and exhibitions related to China held at the Kennedy Center during these two time frames, their presence represented a clear interest on the part of China to utilize the Kennedy Center as a stage through which to promote Chinese art and culture to an American audience and increase the appeal of China within the United States. From 2012 through 2014, however, the Kennedy Center did not host an extended China-themed event.

This did not indicate, however, that the Kennedy Center was no longer interested in such exhibitions as from February 19, 2013 to March 16, 2013 the Center hosted

“Nordic Cool 2013,” which focused on exhibitions related to Nordic culture and featured cooperation with Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (Merry, 2013). It should be noted that a Chinese performance group did participate in the other multinational extended event held at the Kennedy during this time period at the “World Stages: International Theater Festival 2014” from March 10, 2014 to March 30, 2014 (“March 2014,” 2016). However, this group only engaged in three performances, placing them well below countries such as England and the United States but also far below fellow BRICS countries Brazil and South Africa who each had at least seven times as many performances then the Chinese group (“March 2014,” 2016).

In 2012, however, China was a part of several smaller performances at the Kennedy Center including a performance at “Dance Asia 2012: Asia in Maskerade” a part of the Ninth Annual Dance DC Festival on August 25, 2012 (“Dance Asia 2012: Asia in Maskerade,” 2016). This event encompassed many different dance forms from multiple countries in Asia where Chinese dance only formed a portion of the overall performance (“Dance Asia 2012: Asia in Maskerade,” 2016). The next event to feature Chinese performances was a presentation from the Chinese Alumni Associations of Greater Washington of dancers, artists, and even martial artists from Guizhou, China on September 28 (“Chinese Alumni Associations of Greater Washington presents: A Splendid Night of Guizhou, China,” 2016). Unlike the previous performance, this event was solely about Chinese performance art and, while the sponsoring organizations has no clear ties to the Chinese government, it is clear the event was able to engage a truly

Chinese performance that would reflect positively on Chinese culture (“Chinese Alumni Associations of Greater Washington,” 2016).

The final two events featuring Chinese artists in 2012 were both dedicated to traditional folk music, with the first, “Hanggai,” illustrating a synthesis between modern and classical styles with an emphasis on Mongolian folk music (“Hanggai,” 2016). The last event, occurring on October 23, was sponsored by the America & China International Foundation, a groups that started in the US and focuses on promoting exchange between the US and China, and focused on the use of traditional jade instruments in Chinese folk songs (“A&C International Foundation presents: Chinese Traditional Jade Musical Instruments Recital & Folk Song Concert,” 2016). Combining this performance with the others in 2012, and the Kennedy Center hosted four different events which featured Chinese performers, all of which were only a one-day engagement.

During 2013, there appeared to be an increase in Chinese themed events, with six distinct performances held during the year. The first production held in 2013 with Chinese themes was a performance from the Hong Kong Dance Company of “Qingming Riverside,” which was performed at the 2008 Beijing Olympics and has been named a National Treasure class performance in China (“CPAA Productions Ltd presents: Hong Kong Dance Company: Qingming Riverside,” 2016). This performance clearly is a favorite of the Chinese and it was also presented by the Chinese Performing Arts Agency (CPAA), a subsidiary of the Ministry of Culture which clearly links the performance to Chinese soft power promotion efforts (“China Performing Arts Agency,” 2016). The

Shen Wei Dance Arts Company also presented another performance at the Kennedy Center during 2013, continuing its commitment to the Center which began in 2008. With a performance which was presented as “[b]lending a traditional Chinese aesthetic with Western dance” Shen Wei’s *Undivided Divided* featured dancers interacting with a multimedia display (“Shen Wei Dance Arts,” 2016d). On August 29, the Organization of Chinese American Women presented a performance by the Macao Youth Symphony Orchestra of select work by Mozart (“Organization of Chinese American Women presents: Macao Youth Symphony Orchestra: A Nite of Mozart,” 2016). While this performance again featured a performance from a Chinese group, it is interesting to note that the organization which sponsored was not connected to China itself, which leads into the issues with other Chinese themed performances held during 2013.

Specifically, 2013 saw two performances from Shen Yun, considered one of the premier Chinese performance groups in the world (“Shen Yun 2013: Reviving 5,000 Years of Civilization: presented by Falun Dafa Association of Washington, D.C.,” 2016; “Shen Yun Symphony Orchestra presented by Falun Dafa Association of D.C.,” 2016a). While this would usually be considered a great source of soft power for China, performances of Shen Yun’s work cannot be seen in China and the group was established in New York City due to a desire to “freely express themselves and revive their ancient Chinese culture” (“Frequently Asked Questions,” 2016, para. 1). Shen Yun, in fact, goes so far as to accuse the Chinese Communist Party as treating traditional Chinese values as a “threat to its existence” and that the Cultural Revolution nearly destroyed traditional

Chinese culture entirely (“Our Story,” 2016, para. 6). Shen Yun is also linked to the Falun Dafa movement in China which opposes the continued dominance of the CCP and has been made illegal within the PRC (Fish, 2015).

Those sentiments from Shen Yun’s own website and its members’ association with an illegal movement in China indicate an antagonistic relationship between them and the Chinese government which presents a problem where their performances are a soft power resource for Chinese culture but not for the Chinese state. Considering this, these performances cannot be used as soft power generation activities by China as they go against the current government of China’s conceptions of China. This is also true of another performance which occurred in 2013 which was sponsored by the Taiwanese American Charity & Education Association which, while it does not directly state its opposition to the Chinese regime, promotes the idea of Taiwanese being distinct from Chinese, which is something which the Chinese government could not accept (“Taiwanese American Charity & Education Association: 2013 Annual Concert,” 2016).

In conjunction with these performances by groups with possibly problematic relationships with China, there was another Chinese-themed performance scheduled for July 21, 2013 that was cancelled which was to feature the Beijing Youth Performing Arts Group (“CANCELLED: Agis Center for Arts and Humanities presents: Beijing Youth Performing Arts Group,” 2016). While no explanation was given for the cancellation, this does mark the first time a Chinese event was cancelled at the Kennedy Center from 2005 through 2013.

This possibility continued into 2014 as, in addition to those few performances part of the “World Stages: International Theater Festival 2014” event, there were only three other Chinese-themed performances. This included the *Wedding of Ordos* presented by CPAA on January 24 and 25 which featured the Inner Mongolia Ordos National Song and Dance Theater and illustrated the art and culture of the ancient Mongolian city (“CPAA Productions Ltd. presents: Wedding of Ordos,” 2016). This was followed by two performances that formed a portion of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival which featured the support of the China International Culture Association (CICA) and the China Arts and Entertainment Group (CAEG) both of which fall under the Ministry of culture (“China International Culture Association,” 2004). The first performance was on June 25, 2014 and focused on Zhejiang Wu Opera, a traditional opera style practiced in China’s Zhejiang province (“Zhejiang Wu Opera,” 2016). The next performance was from the Quanzhou Puppet Troupe and occurred on July 2, 2014 (“Quanzhou Puppet Troupe,” 2014). These three performances, in addition to those that formed a portion of the “World Stages” event, all enjoyed the support of organizations directly connected to the Chinese government, indicating that while no extended Chinese event occurred during 2014, the Chinese government still seemed to invest more interest in performance at the Kennedy Center during the year.

However, 2014 also witnessed two more performances of Shen Yun at the Kennedy Center with both of them being presented by the Falun Dafa Association of Washington D.C., again presenting a challenge to China’s soft power promotion efforts at

the Center with a group considered dangerous in China continuing to have a voice at the Center (“Shen Yun 2014: Reviving 5,000 Years of Civilization: presented by Falun Dafa Association of Washington, D.C.,” 2016; “Shen Yun Symphony Orchestra presented by Falun Dafa Association of D.C.,” 2016b). Considering this and the lack of an extended Chinese-themed event which enjoyed the support of the Chinese government and it appears that performances at the Kennedy Center presented a disjointed image of China’s willingness to use the Center as a venue for promoting Chinese soft power; perhaps even moving away from the Center due to its association with groups with openly confrontational attitudes towards Beijing and the regime.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art had several exhibitions carry over from 2011 to 2012 including “The Art of Dissent in 17th-Century China: Masterpieces of Ming Loyalist Art from the Chih Lo Lou Collection” which ran for only 1 day in 2012 and “Red and Black: Chinese Lacquer, 13th–16th Century” which ran for a much longer 160 days (“The Art of Dissent in 17th-Century China: Masterpieces of Ming Loyalist Art from the Chih Lo Lou Collection,” 2016; “Red and Black: Chinese Lacquer, 13th–16th Century,” 2016). The first exhibition to begin in 2012 detailed the artwork of Fu Baoshi, described as one of the “most original figure painter and landscapist of China’s modern period” (“Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904–1965),” 2016, para. 1). Living through the warlord period, the Japanese invasion and the Communist Revolution, Fu witnessed great changes within Chinese society as he attempted to blend traditional art styles with modern techniques, creating a definitive and nationalistic style all his own

(“Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution,” 2016). While he never fully embraced Soviet-style Social Realism which became popular in China during his later life, his work was embraced by the CCP as he was commissioned to paint pictures of Mao Zedong, the Long March, and even a landscape panorama in the Great Hall of the People (“Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution,” 2016). With China’s Nanjing Museum providing the artwork on display it is clear that Chinese supported this exhibition which was on display for a total of 86 days in 2012 (“Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution,” 2016).

The next exhibition held at the Met was entitled “The Printed Image in China, 8th–21st Century” and was on display for 85 days from May 5 to July 29 (“The Printed Image in China, 8th–21st Century,” 2016). Printing on paper was invented in China in about 700 A.D. and the art form has remained important from the dynastic period to even the post-Communist Revolution (“The Printed Image in China,” 2016). It should be noted, however, that unlike the previous exhibition the work on display here was drawn from the British Museum, leaving no Chinese organization or institution responsible for the event (“The Printed Image in China,” 2016). Besides this, there was only one Chinese-themed exhibition which was related to Chinese gardens in paintings and ran from August 18, 2012 through January 6, 2013 resulting in a total of 134 days in 2012 and only 5 in 2013 (“Chinese Gardens: Pavilions, Studios, Retreats,” 2016). Much like the previous event, this exhibition is not listed as being tied to any Chinese institutions with the works seemingly drawn from the Museum’s private collection (“Chinese Gardens,” 2016). Combining these events with those previously discussed, and the

Metropolitan Museum only featured three Chinese-themed exhibitions during 2012 which ran for at least 30 days, but, Chinese-themed exhibitions were on display 342 days out of 361 days where the Museum was opened.

While this may seem like a small number of exhibits, 2013 saw even fewer as only one of the exhibitions which began in 2013 was on display for more than 30 days. This exhibit was entitled “Small Delights: Chinese Snuff Bottles,” which began on July 19, 2013 and continued until June 15, 2014 (“Small Delights: Chinese Snuff Bottles,” 2016). Although this exhibit highlighted greater amounts of contact between the West and China during this period, as snuff was introduced to China by the West during the Qing Dynasty, no indication is given that the artifacts on display for the exhibition came from any Chinese institutions, again illustrating a lack of effort on the part of the Chinese to promote Chinese culture through the Met during this time (“Small Delights,” 2016).

Two other exhibitions began at the end of 2013, each being on display for 20 days. However, while the amount of days they were on display in 2014 both results in them being counted as 30-day events for that year, they will be described as part of 2013 as they form at least a portion of the total number of Chinese exhibition days during that year. The first exhibition was entitled “Ink Art: Past as Present in Contemporary China,” which began on December 11, 2013 and ended April 6, 2014 giving it a total of 20 days in 2013 and 95 days in 2014 (“Ink Art: Past as Present in Contemporary China,” 2016). This exhibit is particularly noteworthy in that it is touted as the “first major exhibition of Chinese contemporary art ever mounted by the Metropolitan” and focused on attempts by

Chinese artists to reimagine Chinese traditions through modern art styles (“Ink Art,” 2016, in Exhibition Overview, para. 1). While this presents an intriguing illustration of the ability to blend Chinese and Western styles, this exhibition is not tied to any Chinese institution or organization, with the main collaborators listed as The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Richard and Geneva Hofheimer Memorial Fund, and Marie-Hélène Weill (“Ink Art,” 2016).

The final exhibition beginning in 2013 also stands as the longest running Chinese exhibit held at the Met from 2005 through 2014 beginning on December 11, 2013 and ending on March 8, 2015 (“Colors of the Universe: Chinese Hardstone Carvings,” 2016). Entitled “Colors of the Universe: Chinese Hardstone Carvings,” the exhibit focused mainly on headstone carvings from the Qing Dynasty, despite the art form existing in China for many centuries before that (“Colors of the Universe,” 2016). While the exhibition’s length indicates a greater ability to generate soft power for China, the artifacts on display once again are not drawn from any Chinese institution and it appears no Chinese organization aided in the presentation of this event (“Colors of the Universe,” 2016). Combining all of the events together and 2013 only featured one exhibition which was on display for at least 30 days and only included 189 days where a Chinese exhibition was on display at the Met, the lowest number for both of these categories from 2005 through 2014.

Fortunately, Chinese themed events would appear in greater numbers during 2014, aided by the fact that all three of the exhibitions which began in 2013 ran for more

than 30 days in 2014. In addition to this, five exhibits began in 2014 which were displayed for more than 30 days with the first concentrating on Chinese calligraphy from the collection of Akiko Yamazaki and Jerry Yang (“Out of Character: Decoding Chinese Calligraphy—Selections from the Collection of Akiko Yamazaki and Jerry Yang,” 2016). Featuring works from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasty, the exhibits ran for 110 days in 2014 and contained an impressive display of Chinese calligraphy despite the fact that the exhibition is itself not linked to Chinese organizations (“Out of Character,” 2016). The next exhibition was titled “The Art of the Chinese Album,” which ran from September 6, 2014 to March 29, 2015, giving a total of 115 days in 2014 (“The Art of the Chinese Album,” 2016). This exhibition also did not have ties to Chinese institutions but the next exhibit, “Innovation and Spectacle: Chinese Ritual Bronzes” running from October 18, 2014 through March 22, 2015 did (“Innovation and Spectacle: Chinese Ritual Bronzes,” 2016). On display for a total of 73 days in 2014, this exhibition featured bronze works dating back to the 5th century B.C. on loan from the Shanghai Museum that have never been displayed together outside of China (“Innovation and Spectacle,” 2016).

Following this were two more exhibitions which both ran for 66 days in 2014 with the first focused on Asian lacquerware and the other on Chinese embroidery and tapestries (“Sumptuous: East Asian Lacquer, 14th–20th Century,” 2016; “Painting with Threads: Chinese Tapestry and Embroidery, 12th–19th Century,” 2016). Unlike “Innovation and Spectacle,” these exhibitions did not have any links to Chinese organizations, leading to “Innovation and Spectacle” and “Chinese Art in an Age of

Revolution” as the only two events from 2012 through 2014 which had connections to Chinese sources (“Sumptuous: East Asian Lacquer,” 2016; “Painting with Threads,” 2016). Still, unlike the previous year, the Metropolitan Museum once again had a full year where a Chinese exhibit was on display

Combining all of the exhibitions which were presented for more than 30 days during 2014 results in the highest number of Chinese exhibits at the Met from 2005 through 2014 at eight. This, however, does not obscure the fact that 2013 produced the least amount of Chinese events while 2012 produced four, leading to an average of 4.3 Chinese exhibits from 2012 to 2014. This is a slight decrease from 2008 through 2011, which averaged 4.8 events but, still higher than 2005 through 2007 which only averaged 3.3 events. However, it should be noted that this relatively higher average is mainly achieved due to the large amount of events from 2014, which went against a pattern of fewer events in 2012 and 2013. Furthermore, 2012 through 2014 was almost the first time period which did not feature at least one year of Chinese exhibits at the Met, with only the longest Chinese exhibition examined during the time frame of this thesis, “Colors of the Universe: Chinese Hardstone Carvings,” preventing this from occurring. Considering this, along with the fact that events with direct ties to Chinese institutions and organization decreased from five in 2008 through 2011 to only two from 2012 through 2014 and the data from this time presents a disjointed image of China’s attempts to produce soft power in the United State through the exchange of art.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

Research Questions:

At the beginning of this thesis, I outlined two questions to serve as the guiding principles for my research. The first asked whether economic crises could result in state officials moving away from policies dedicated to promoting soft power in countries affected by the economic impact of a crisis. The second concentrated on whether shifts away from soft power promotion signified changes in a state's foreign policy strategies. To answer these questions, I selected China as an exemplary case study. China illustrated a great deal of enthusiasm toward the concept of soft power while also focusing on a country experiencing a rise (or return) to power. Initial research suggested that the 2007 Financial Crisis could serve as an important point in time for China to re-evaluate its earlier commitments to soft power strategies and attempt to gain international influence at the expense of the US. I hypothesized that data would confirm that the Chinese indeed moved away from a trying to woo the United States in the wake of the crisis and that this shift from soft power would indicate a new direction for Chinese foreign policy.

The results generated by my research presented a mixed image regarding Chinese soft power promotion efforts and whether these actions truly conformed to state policy. After examining Chinese soft power generation activities from 2005 through 2014 in the areas of economics, people-to-people exchanges, and the arts, it became clear that the data did not indicate a complete shift away from Chinese soft power promotion efforts, nor did any shifts in foreign policy coincide with attempts to cease increasing China's

soft power in the United States. In general, Chinese soft power promotion strategies illustrated periods of growth and decline across the timeframe of my research. These mixed results did not present any clear patterns making it difficult to conclude that these efforts presented evident decisions by Chinese leaders to move away from soft power promotion in these areas.

Review of the Data:

Economic Relations:

Beginning in 2005, there still appeared to be a great amount of optimism surrounding the economic relationship between the United States and China. Hu Jintao, for example, referred to it as the “pillar sustaining China-US relations” (C-Span, 2006). Trade between the two countries continued to grow and many in the business community looked to China as a land of great opportunities. This positivity allowed for the Chinese to establish a pattern when dealing with the United States’ concerns regarding the large state presence within the Chinese economy. Both sides would often agree to discuss the problem, such as those related to intellectual property rights (IPR) infringement and state subsidies, with the Chinese even announcing their intentions to join in agreements within the World Trade Organization, but, present very little evidence that they were actually committed to acting on their promises. While this pattern did not escape the notice of the U.S.-China and Economic and Security Commission (USCC), as it duly noted that the lack of tangible results produced by bilateral dialogues such as the U.S.-China Joint

Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) and the Security Economic Dialogue (SED), the Commission did not openly criticize the Chinese for this, allowing for sufficient good will to be generated by Chinese from 2005 through 2007.

This begins to change in the next time period of 2008 through 2011, when the People's Republic of China's officials often presented less tangible initiatives. This was particularly noticed from 2008 through 2010 when the Chinese only seemed to recognize that the US had concerns regarding the continued failure of the Chinese to join in the WTO government procurement agreement (GPA) and new laws related to indigenous innovation within China while also failing to present any real efforts to solve the problems which the United States identified as areas of concern. In the end, the Chinese only managed to enact token policy measures during this time which were soon discovered to be as flawed as earlier Chinese efforts. While these results by themselves may indicate that Chinese leaders became less willing to generate soft power with economic levers they did much more to address US concerns in 2011. For example, the RMB increased in value, laws related to indigenous innovation were rewritten to prevent local governments from using the law to exclude foreign firms from domestic markets, and the establishment of a new IPR enforcement mechanism led by Vice Premier Wang Qishan. These soft power promotion efforts garnered the appreciation of the US leaders, which resulted in the 2008 through 2011 time period presenting a mixed image of whether the Chinese were truly determined to move away from soft power promotion strategies or not. These results follow my proposed path that Hu Jintao, being dedicated

to the concept, would not so easily abandon soft power promotion and represent the intricacies of how policy decisions are reached.

During the last time period under investigation, 2012 through 2014, it was expected that the People's Republic of China (PRC) under Xi Jinping would be more willing to move away from soft power generation activities and conform to the more aggressive stance Xi appeared to take in his speeches and foreign policy. Initially, this appeared to be the case, as 2012 produced no substantial soft power promotion efforts. By 2013, however, the Chinese began to announce certain initiatives which gained the praise of the United States, particularly its greater efforts to join the United States in signing a Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) and the announcement of the creation of the Shanghai Free Trade Zone (FTZ). 2014 followed this trend and it appears that in economic issues, the Chinese actually increased the amount of effort they placed into generating soft power within the United States during this time despite it occurring after the Financial Crisis and under the more aggressive leadership of Xi. It should be noted, however, that of the new issues which the USCC concentrated on from 2012 through 2014, anti-monopoly laws, value-added taxes (VATs) and excess capacity, the Chinese tended to address them in ways that were more self-serving than actually confronting the pieces of the issues which the US identified as concerns. This seemed to reinforce many of the USCC's critiques of the Chinese policies in economics, where the Chinese would take little action against those problems which benefitted them.

Confucius Institutes and the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchanges

Throughout the timeframe of this thesis, the amount of Confucius Institutes and later Confucius Classrooms in the United States continued to grow, beginning with 16 institutes in 2006 and 107 institutes and 435 Confucius Classrooms by 2014. These numbers have led to the United States having the most institutes and classrooms in the world, with the Chinese doing much to promote Confucius Institutes in the United States from 2006 through 2007. Besides simply constructing institutes, Hanban worked to sign agreements with many educational groups at both the national and local level within the United States. Furthermore, American students and administrators featured prominently in “Chinese Bridge” activities organized by Hanban with hundreds travelling to China to participate in summer camps or the organization of cultural lecture tours in the United States itself which attracted even more attendees. In this way, it is very clear that the United States was an important target for Confucius Institutes to the Chinese and represented a large investment in promoting Chinese soft power.

This continued from 2008 through 2011 as the United States continued to experience large amounts of growth in the number of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms and cooperation between Hanban and educational organizations such as the U.S. College Board and the Asia Society. China also expanded the amount of lecturers dispatched to the United States to present talks on Chinese culture and language, leading to 18,900 participating in these activities in 2010. 2010 also saw “Chinese Bridge for American Schools: A New Start,” an event organized in part by Hanban’s American

partners illustrating the increased commitments by the two sides to work together to promote stronger relations between the United States and the PRC. All of this is paired with the continued attendance by Hanban at conferences such as the National Chinese Language Conference while also hosting the Joint Conference of Confucius Institutes in North America and the U.S. National Confucius Classroom Conference, continuing trends established from 2005 through 2007.

In this way, Beijing appears not to have moved away from their efforts to generate soft power in people-to-people exchanges following the 2007 Financial Crisis, but instead to show even greater resolve to use Confucius Institutes as a way to increase their soft power in the United States. When paired with the launching of the new High-Level Consultation of People-to-People Exchanges (CPE) in 2010 and the Chinese illustrated even greater commitment to generating soft power. While its first meeting did not result in many accomplishments, it led to the beginning of the 100,000 Strong Initiative to send 100,000 American students to study in China, which the Chinese agreed to facilitate and announced the creation of scholarship opportunities for Americans studying in China. By 2011, the CPE expanded to include areas such as science and women's issues and demonstrated greater efforts to promote soft power and an apparent commitment to continue these efforts in the future.

This initially appears to be the case as the number of Confucius Institutes and Classrooms in the United States continued to grow throughout 2012 to 2014. Upon closer inspection, however, several trends began to emerge including the fact that fewer

American students and administrators participated in “Chinese Bridge” activities than they had in the past and less mention was made of those events dedicated to American students than had been made in past Hanban reports. From 2012 through 2014, Hanban’s annual reports shifted their focus more toward the multinational nature of their organization, emphasizing greater progress made around the world as opposed to a concentration on the US demonstrated by previous reports. This was not only seen in the lack of attention placed on activities designed for American students, but also on the amount of agreements signed with American organizations with only the College Board appearing as a continuing partner with Hanban. Perhaps the most interesting indication in a shift away from the United States hinted at during this time period was the mention of a complaint made by the U.S. State Department about Confucius Institute Chinese teachers violating the terms of their visas. While this did not lead to the expulsion of any teachers, it was the first time a negative event was listed in Hanban’s timeline of important events, illustrating a possible resentment toward US actions and perhaps an explanation why the US featured less prominently in its efforts from 2012 through 2014.

Taken alone, this seems to indicate a slight shift away from the US during this time period but not for a continued expansion of the CPE. From 2012 through 2014, the CPE announced numerous achievements in bringing Chinese and American citizens together in areas dedicated to science, sports, women’s issues, and in 2014 health. Exchanges in sports and women’s issues were particularly numerous during this time and presented the clearest evidence of Chinese efforts to generate soft power in the US

through the CPE. These successes serve to bolster Chinese activities in people-to-people exchanges during this time, but, a trend does begin to emerge which could represent lower commitments. Specifically, the CPE overtime mentions fewer exchanges occurring between the US and the PRC, with the sciences mostly focusing on the Young Scientists Forum and sports experiencing a noticeable decline by the end of 2014. Furthermore, many of the exchanges presented are simply the continuation of past efforts, a pattern which exhibited itself in the JCCT and S&ED, causing possible suspicion that the Chinese were not truly committed to promoting soft power in the US through the CPE. Combined with the evidence from the state of Confucius Institutes in the US from 2012 through 2014, the results present a mixed picture for 2012 through 2014, lending possible credence to the idea that China was beginning to move away from soft power promotion in the US in this area under Xi Jinping.

Cultural Performances and Museum Exchanges:

In 2005, the Ministry of Culture collaborated with the Kennedy Center to present the “Festival of China,” a month long event which featured 28 performances and exhibitions dedicated to Chinese culture. The longest country-specific event during 2005, the festival presented China as a dynamic country whose future promised to be just as vibrant as its past, presenting performances which blended both traditional Chinese values with modern influences. While there would only be one other performance with Chinese themes at the Kennedy Center during 2005, the large scale of the event and its attempts to not only promote Chinese culture but present China as a nation open to

change served as clear indications of China's desire to improve its image in the United States.

This direct Chinese involvement, however, was not seen with exhibitions held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as only one exhibition from 2005 through 2007 featured any ties to the Chinese government or Museums within China. While this may indicate a lack of interest among the Chinese in using the Met as a venue to generate soft power within the United States, the museum continued to host numerous other exhibitions which either featured Chinese themes or were dedicated to Chinese art forms. This led to an average of 3.3 events which lasted at least 30 days per year during the three year period and a steady increase in the number of days a Chinese event was present at the museum, culminating in 2007 with an entire year with a Chinese-themed exhibit at the Met. Considering Nye's belief that culture is able to generate soft power regardless of whether a government intends to use it to increase its soft power, those exhibitions which did not feature ties to Chinese institutions still form evidence of soft power promotion activities, leading to the conclusion that, when paired with China's clear efforts to promote its culture through the Kennedy Center, the Chinese did indeed pursue opportunities to generate soft power in the United States from 2005 through 2007.

Chinese interest in promoting soft power through art appeared to grow from 2008 through 2011 as the Chinese sponsored four events at the Kennedy Center including "China: Art of a Nation," another month long event similar to 2005's "Festival of China." This was buoyed by several more performances without direct ties to China held at the

Center from 2008 through 2011 which brought the total number of events to 11 and ensured that a Chinese event occurred every year during the time period. All of this appears to indicate that the 2007 Financial Crisis did not lead to any cessation of Chinese efforts to promote soft power through performances at the Kennedy Center and instead was followed by an increase in Chinese commitment to using the Center as a stage to promote Chinese soft power in America. However, upon close examination it becomes clear that the “Festival of China” by itself featured more individual performances than all of the productions which occurred at the Center from 2008 through 2011, presented a disjointed image of Chinese intentions regarding the promotion of its soft power during this period.

Increased Chinese efforts to generate soft power in the United States through art, however, appear to be supported by Chinese-themed exhibitions held at the Met from 2008 through 2011. During this time, there was not only an increase in the average number of 30-day events held at the Met to 4.8, but also an increase to five exhibitions with ties to Chinese institutions and the Chinese government. Despite this general rise in the number of Chinese-themed exhibitions held at the Met during 2008 through 2011, it is interesting to note that during the last year under investigation, the number of days with a Chinese exhibit at the Met decreased dramatically, dropping from a full year during 2010 to only 232 days (out of 361) in 2011. This conforms to the results from the Kennedy Center where increased Chinese ties to efforts dedicated to promoting Chinese

soft power did not necessarily increase the amount of activities to generate soft power, presenting a disjointed image regarding Chinese intentions from 2008 through 2011.

This image became more confused at the Kennedy Center from 2012 through 2014, as there continued to be a number of performances supported by groups with ties to the Chinese government, but there would also be those presented by organizations that were openly hostile toward the government. Specifically, the performance group Shen Yun appeared at the Kennedy Center multiple times from 2013 through 2014 and is known for denouncing the actions of the Chinese government during the Cultural Revolution, a topic which remains taboo in China. In addition to this, 2012 through 2014 was the first time period under investigation that did not feature a month long event dedicated to China, with the Chinese instead participating in the “World Stages: International Theater Festival 2014” event where they participated in only three performances. Therefore, despite a continued Chinese presence at the Kennedy Center, the lack of a large-scale event and the appearance of groups with anti-Chinese government sympathies creates an image of the Chinese continuing to operate at the Center, but not possessing as strong of a presence as they did in previous years.

This trend appears in the exhibitions held at the Met as well, as Chinese institutions and the government were only connected to two exhibits at the museum from 2012 through 2014. In addition to this, 2012 through 2014 was very nearly the first time period under examination to not have a single year where a Chinese-themed exhibit was on display for the entirety of the year, with only the presence of the longest Chinese-

themed exhibit during the timeframe being studied, “Colors of the Universe: Chinese Hardstone Carvings,” preventing this from occurring. Furthermore, while the average number of 30-day events over the three years was 4.7 therefore demonstrating only a slight decrease in the average number of events when compared with 2008 through 2011, this average is inflated by 2014 witnessing eight Chinese-themed exhibitions, which was much higher than the four and two exhibits which occurred during 2012 and 2013 respectively. Considering this, it is again difficult to determine whether Chinese efforts to promote soft power increased or decreased during this time, conforming to the patterns established by performances held at the Kennedy Center.

Interpretation of Results and Discussion of Soft Power:

Following analysis of the data it becomes apparent that, despite evidence of decline of soft power promotion activities in the realms of economics, Chinese efforts through people-to-people exchanges and in the arts present an image that is more difficult to define. Immediately following the Financial Crisis, it is clear that Chinese efforts to generate soft power through Confucius Institutes and the activities announced at the CPE continued to expand, illustrating little evidence that the Chinese were interesting in moving away from a soft power generation strategy. Regarding performances at the Kennedy Center, it is evident that several aspects of China’s overall strategy in promoting soft power through these activities presented a less clear pattern, with the Center seeing more Chinese-supported events but less individual performances from 2008 through

2011. This is compounded by the fact that Chinese-themed exhibitions at the Met increased during this time and the number of exhibits with direct ties to China increased as well, despite 2011 having very few days with a Chinese exhibition present.

The presence of such a disjointed image can possibly be explained as representative of Hu Jintao, the Chinese leader most dedicated to a soft power promotion strategy, remaining in power from 2008 through 2011 and encountering greater speculation regarding the continued utility of the strategy. By this time, many in China were beginning to believe that the crisis provided China an opportunity to move beyond placating the United States and practicing a more assertive foreign policy, with figures such as Premier Wen Jiabao even publicly chastising the US. Such beliefs and actions could lead to speculation that debates were occurring within the Chinese government about soft power. If a re-evaluation of soft power did occur it might explain why there seemed to be a commitment to the strategy in some areas, but, upon closer inspection, there seemed to be indicators of a shift in policy as well.

Considering this possibility, 2012 through 2014 becomes critical in determining whether the Crisis would eventually lead to a change in soft power promotion strategies as Xi Jinping, with his strong nationalist tendencies, would be more willing to abandon wooing the US and openly challenging them. Initially, this does seem to be the case as economic activities that might have been considered as soft power generating continued to be ignored in 2012. However, by 2013 there appeared to be a greater willingness on the part of the Chinese to enact policy that the US deemed favorable, with the

announcement of the FTZ and continuation of BIT negotiations. While this continued into 2014, these actions appeared to be dedicated more toward domestic concerns within China and were not entirely accepted by the USCC due to China's previous inability or apathy toward following through on their promises.

2012 through 2014, however, is also the first period when Hanban indicates a lack of interest in activities designed for American students in the United States or China and American attendance at these events decreases. Pairing this with the mention of complaints by the State Department, it initially appears that the Chinese were slowly moving away from soft power promotion efforts. This is complicated, however, by the continuation of the CPE which, while it did seem to experience a decline in areas such as sciences and sports, continued to exhibit promising areas of exchanges in women's issues.

Concerning performances at the Kennedy Center and exhibitions at the Met, it seemed clearer that the Chinese were moving away from soft power promotion, as from 2012 through 2013 there was a clear decline in the amount of events at the Kennedy Center and exhibits at the Met which enjoyed Chinese support. For both venues, however, this changes in 2014 as the Chinese sponsored more performances at the Kennedy Center despite the presence of a group with hostile feelings toward the Chinese government in Shen Yun and the Met held the largest number of Chinese-themed exhibits from 2005 through 2014 including the longest running exhibition to occur during the timeframe of this research. Ultimately, these results, when combined with data from

economics and people-to-people exchanges, make it difficult to discern whether the Chinese truly moved away from soft power strategies following the 2007 Financial Crisis or whether such a move would indicate a shift in China's foreign policy toward the United States.

Regarding the general decline in economic efforts to generate soft power, it also becomes clear that economic policies are not an effective indicator of Chinese efforts to generate soft power within the United States. This refers to Nye's original assertion that government actions related to hard power in the form of military power or economic activities could not form a source of soft power due to their ties to the government and the greater possibility that these actions would come with conditions attached to them. Nye himself argued that the overbearing presence of China's government made it difficult for its civil society to present a truly attractive image of the country which could compete with the negative image derived from the many human rights abuses perpetrated by the state ("Interview: Joseph Nye," 2013).

Barthélémy Courmont (2013) argues despite a greater willingness to accept certain economic activities as a form of soft power that economics are still mostly connected to hard power, making it more difficult for them to be accepted as soft power generating. In fact, Courmont (2013) also contends that while the Chinese may consider economic activities as part of their soft power strategies, these activities may only be truly applicable toward specific countries, such as developing nations. Arguing that these states are more likely to accept investment due the increased need for resources, such

economic actions would be an acceptable way to improve a country's image within another state, much like China was able to do in the early 2000s in Southeast Asia (Courmont, 2013; Kurlantzick, 2007; Lum et al., 2008). In more developed countries like the United States, however, Chinese economic activities are less likely to generate goodwill as China is seen more as a competitor, leading to increased Chinese actions within a developed country resulting to increased suspicion (Courmont, 2013). This coincides well with the suspicions raised by the USCC throughout the timeframe of this research as China's every action was met with scrutiny and subject to criticism during bilateral dialogues. As became clear during the course of the research, actions that might have been considered soft power generating efforts in the past were later greeted with skepticism if not open derision as they were seen as more of the same and were never meant to truly address American concerns.

This skepticism generated by economics being more attached to a state's hard power and governmental concerns also extends to Chinese attempts to use Confucius Institutes as a method to increase its soft power abroad. Within the United States, many academics have argued against the establishment of Confucius Institutes on college campuses due to the possibility of censorship against speech related to sensitive topics within China (Guttenplan, 2012; Levine et al., 2014). These topics include such matters as Tibet, Xinjiang, Taiwan, and China's domestic policies related to human rights abuses, leading many in academia to worry about the possible implications of allowing essentially a mouthpiece of the Chinese government to operate on campuses within the

United States (Guttenplan, 2012). The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) goes on to even compare Confucius Institutes to the British Council, the *Goethe Institut*, and *L'Alliance Française*, which they identify as “connected to imperial pasts...[and] ongoing geopolitical agendas” which should prevent Confucius Institutes from operating on university or college campuses (Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure, 2014). While others have argued that Confucius Institutes pose no threat of censorship in academic discourse, these suspicions reflect the problematic nature of governments being so clearly connected to their soft power generation efforts and illustrate how such efforts could even be counterproductive (Levin et al., 2014). American pushback against Confucius Institutes may also explain lower American attendance at “Chinese Bridge” events held for American students and administrators and the lack of attention toward Hanban’s presence in the United States in its reports from 2012 through 2014. Ultimately, this may not reflect a lack of interest to establish Confucius Institutes in the US, which remains the country with the most institutes and classrooms in the world, but a rejection on the part of the US against an organization with possibly dubious ties to a foreign government.

Considering these issues, the difficulty of determining a pattern of behavior in soft power generation activities before and after the 2007 Financial Crisis becomes even greater and leads to an over-reliance on exchanges in the arts as the CPE was launched midway through the timeframe under investigation. This results in the problem that Chinese ties to exhibitions at the Met increased following the Financial Crisis despite

fewer days that witnessed a Chinese-themed exhibit in 2011. Furthermore, regardless of the decrease in Chinese participation in exhibitions from 2012 through 2014 and the near complete absence of a full year Chinese-themed exhibit in 2014, Chinese participation was still higher than it was from 2005 through 2007 which only had one exhibit with possible ties to China while 2012 through 2014 contained two and possessed a higher average number of 30-day events. All of this leads to the problematic image constructed by the data, revealing that despite greater aggression on the part of the Chinese leadership and the appearance of some downward trends in soft power generation measures, no definite pattern emerged from the information making it impossible to prove or disprove that the Chinese moved away from soft power generation efforts after the Financial Crisis or that this shift would represent a change in Chinese foreign policy.

Possibilities for Future Research:

Despite this, several new possibilities for future study did appear through the course of the research, many related to potential areas where the United States and China could exhibit a greater ability to cooperate and represented plausible areas where Chinese leaders could succeed in promoting an appreciation for China within the United States. The appearance of cooperative exchanges related to climate change clearly represented this as the United States and China consistently showed a willingness to work together. Throughout the timeframe under study, the Chinese and the Americans showed a regular commitment to working together on these issues with the signing of numerous

memorandums of understanding (MOUs) related to climate change at the 2012 S&ED and the JCCT in 2014 leading to collaboration between the two states regarding the construction of green cities to cite a few examples (“U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue 2010 Outcomes of the Strategic Track,” 2010; “U.S.-China Joint Fact Sheet on 25th Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade,” 2014).

Another area which showed increased potential to improve China’s image was through the collaboration on women’s issues. While the CPE only began in 2010, the vast majority of cooperation and exchanges generated by it concentrated on women’s issues. This was demonstrated by the two countries frequently hosting conferences, promoting exchanges regarding women’s health, and dispatching delegations to travel to either the US or the PRC to meet with like-minded organizations. This leads to an area where the United States and China appear to be committed to cooperation and presents an ample opportunity for the two countries to improve their soft power within the other state. This also leads to the possibility that these women’s issues may form an area of common ground between the United States and China, resulting in greater opportunities to discuss the future of the relationship between the two countries while also opening the activities of Chinese women up to study by American researchers.

One final area that could present an interesting opportunity for future research is in realm of sports diplomacy. With Ping Pong Diplomacy serving as the beginning of official diplomatic relations between the United States and the PRC, sport exchanges form a fascinating avenue through which the United States and China would be able to

come together in efforts to improve their soft power among the other nation. And while exchanges in sports did appear in the CPE, I initially planned on conducting a more in-depth investigation of Chinese attempts to promote their soft power in the United States through sports. Unfortunately, my access to the necessary data was limited and I was unable to incorporate sports diplomacy more into this thesis. Despite this, I believe that exchanges in sports represents a unique opportunity for China to continue to improve its image in the United States and research into Chinese efforts in this area will prove very useful in discerning Chinese soft power strategies and goals within the United States.

Conclusions:

Following the 2007 Financial Crisis, it appeared as though the world had approached a new era in history, as the United States entered a prolonged recession and its chief economic rival, China, continued to experience high growth rates. Seemingly sensing an opportunity, scholars noted that the Chinese leadership became much bolder in their dealings with the United States, determined to express themselves more assertively. As the Chinese openly criticized the United States' economic missteps and promoted the Chinese economic model as a viable alternative speculation that China had abandoned its policy of a peaceful rise and was ready to claim its place as an equal to the United States began. In the face of these claims, it seemed natural that China would also move away from promoting its soft power in the United States as it could now rely on its advantages in economic hard power to get what it wanted out of the US. However, upon

examination of China's soft power generation efforts from 2005 through 2014, it is inconclusive as to whether they have truly abandoned soft power promotion in the USA as no definitive trends have emerged to indicate that such a departure has been made.

Despite this lack of evidence, recent events have led to new possibilities regarding the study of China's soft power promotion efforts in the US. On June 12, 2015, the Chinese stock market began to fall after an investment bubble burst which led to the Shanghai Index losing close to a third of its value before rebounding (Riley & Yan, 2015). In spite of an initial rebound and massive intervention on the part of the Chinese government to combat its effect on the economy, the stock market continued to experience rapid declines, leading to a period of increased economic uncertainty in China (Riley & Yan, 2015). While the markets would eventually recover, they would again experience a steep drop off in January 2016 which, paired with slower growth as China shifts from an export economy to one more concentrated on services, has led many to speculate the continued stability of the Chinese economy (Bradsher & Tsang, 2016; "Why China's Economy Will Be So Hard to Fix," 2016). On the other hand, the American economy has maintained its slow recovery from the 2007 Financial Crisis as it has continued to add jobs and has remained mostly isolated from the negative effects generated by the volatility of the Chinese stock market ("At Last, a Proper Recovery," 2015). Considering this seeming role reversal with regards to what occurred during the 2007 Financial Crisis, it will be interesting to see whether in the coming years China retreats from its more bellicose foreign policy as its economy experiences greater

uncertainty. Perhaps there will even be greater efforts on the part of the Chinese leadership to placate the United States and concentrate more clearly on trying to improve China's image within the United States. Regardless of the outcome, the relationship between China and the United States represents one of the most fascinating areas of study for political science and how these two powers choose to approach each other in the future, whether it be through trying to generate soft power or through relying on hard power, will have profound implications for the rest of the world.

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