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RESEARCH ARTICLE

SOFT POWER STRATEGY OF CHINA IN 21ST CENTURY: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

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Abstract

Generally speaking, hard power refers to the 'coercion' and 'payment' through military and economic means, while soft power refers to 'attraction' through cultural diplomacy. This paper aims to analyze how Chinese state policies are being influenced by soft power strategy of government. Further the paper focuses on four areas such as health, culture, Human Rights and Information and technology to analyze Chinese government's soft power strategy globally. The paper confines the concept of the soft power which has followed four consecutive sections analyzing Chinese soft power strategies in 21st century based on government initiative during the spread of COVID 19, usage and policies regarding television shows and movies, consideration of Human Rights and last of all strategies in controlling of Information and communication technology. The paper concludes discussing some strengths and shortcomings of China's soft power and suggests measures that can be taken to improve China's soft power practice while West has disclosed the idea of sharp power contesting China's authoritarian attitude towards freedom of expression and human rights as well.

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Introduction:-

Although power in terms of definition is much more debated but most accepted idea of power is ability to steer someone's behavior in a desired direction. Many scholars have conceptualized the concept of power. Among them one of the most influential definitions has given by Max Weber as the actor's probability in a social relationship to be in the position for carrying out his own wishes' despite of resistance. He also pointed out power as a zero-sum game and its attributes have sources in qualities, capabilities and resource of one subject. But Max Weber has also criticized because of his focusing on conflicting nature regarding power. On the other hand, Talcott Parsons has provided definition of power not like Weberian method, conflicting nature rather emphasized on system resource. But again, Parsons is not beyond criticism. In studying International Relations broadly accepted defining principle has put forward by realists. The realist assumption explains power on the basis of resources. Which further discloses the role of resource in foreign policy. Realist assumption relies on measurable resource like industrial capability, military, natural resources, population. In addition, realist approach mostly relies on military power which initiated importance of hard power in International Relations.

Over the time, the dependency on hard power has shifted due to the changing context of world. Joseph Nye came up with the soft power approach which shifted reliability from tangible to intangible resources. For instance, ideology,

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culture and institutions were introduced in his literary contribution where he prescribes that power approach can be re-defined in the changing world. He further added that because of massive social mobilization, development of science and technology or in other words the rapid growth of globalization made states not to depend totally on material resources. Raimzhanova mentioned Nye's definition of soft power as "Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others, without the use of force, coercion or violence, but through intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values, institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority".

So, Soft power is such tool which can help state actors to pursue the desired objective. In the paper it is tried to find out what kind of soft power China is actually pursuing. Further it also discusses the strengths and weakness of China in practicing soft power since its value system is entirely different from that of the west especially in terms of openness and democratic practices. To understand China's soft power practice in recent time this paper aimed to focus on its policy during spread of COVID 19, human right practice, policy regarding Television shows, movies and last of all controls over technology and communication.

Methodology of the paper:-

From a methodological standpoint, the research methodology is a qualitative approach. For completing the study secondary data and other resources have been used. Secondary data collected from newspapers, journal articles, books and from authentic websites.

For the purpose of analyzing to what extent China is practicing soft power the paper in next section will discuss the definitional aspect of soft power. Then it analyzes the condition of China in terms of soft power practice consecutively on the basis of COVID 19 world, Television shows and movies, human rights and then Information and communication.

Conceptualizing Soft Power:

The concept of "soft power" was originally introduced by Joseph Nye, author of the book titled *Bound to Lead* in 1990. According to Nye "soft power- getting others to want the outcomes that you want, co-opts people rather than coerces them". In other words, soft power is a valuable tool to make others do what you want without resorting to coercive measures. He argues that the source of soft power comes from intangible tools such as ideology, culture, and institutions.

The concept of soft power indicates that "a country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness want to follow [it]." Soft power can be defined as "ability to shape the preferences of others without the use of force, coercion or violence, but through intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values, institutions and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority". According to Nye, a country's soft power relies on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority). Jonathon McClory elaborated the components of Nye's components of soft power in five parts- "Government (political values of the country), Culture (set of practices that created meaning for the society), Diplomacy (foreign policy), Education, and Business/Innovation". Key problem with the concept of soft power is the ambiguity while identifying the resources of it. Resources of soft power are more complex as it is the power which can attract other countries.

However, the paper aimed to explain soft power's strength and difficulties of China based on Nye's indicators of Soft power; culture, political value and foreign policies which has mentioned above.

Analyzing China's Soft Power

China's soft power ambition grew especially after Beijing Olympic, 2008. As it was a success China started to expense to portrait its image internationally. After the Beijing Olympic success for China soft power became the great strategy to uphold its prestige and acceptance globally.

For China, soft power not only includes public diplomacy and popular culture, but also economic and diplomatic leverage. For example, aiding, engaging in investment and participating in multilateral organizations are such diplomatic and economic levers.

Although Joseph Nye has coined values, culture and policies for conceptualizing soft power but for China its economic cloud has always been a major source of soft power practice of diplomacy. To extent, Joshua Kurlantzick, first provided the idea of China's soft power aspiration in a broader way. In his book, **“Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World”** he provided China's economic aspiration as new dimension in soft power acquiring strategy. John Wong has also supported Joshua's explanation in regard of China's soft power aspiration by economy. John Wong has mentioned about China's economic soft power development in recent times to achieve more from the global context.

However, economy as soft power tool has been introduced by China which cannot be denied. For Americans, definition of soft power based on non-consuming while China has embraced consumption or broadly economy as their soft power strategy. For china, other than military everything is regarded as soft power.

Apart from economy Chinese soft power is concerned with its cultural, human rights promotion. Under Xi Jinping China has spent billions of dollars to promote most important tools of soft power like educational exchange, Chinese language, media expansion and so on. This soft power strategy of China is aimed to achieve economic and diplomatic advantages. For instance, in Philippine China has promoted its soft power initiative which has been founded in Paw Research Center Survey in 2019. Also to deter Western influence China has promoted, “China TV theatre” in Philippine. Such initiatives provide strong ground for discussing China's soft power ambition through Cultural influence by means of promoting TV shows and media exposure overseas.

Here, among the elements of such soft power most dominant four elements which have mentioned above will be discussed in next section.

Chinese soft power practice in Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) and COVID-19

Chinese herbal medicine (CHM) has become popular in African Middle-class people recently for consumption. Also, Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) which is founded in Chinese philosophy has integrated in healthcare (primary). Furthermore, Chinese Exercise program (Tai Chi) and herbal products have earned success both in Asia and in West. In West, CHM became popular complementary medicine as without adding artificial additives it has been extracted from natural products.

Though TCM has been questioned on the ground of scientific evidence for the claimed clinical usage but analyzing reaction record it has been founded that it is safer than Western medicine. Also lack of data regarding the safety has been found in the concern of the researchers. As TCM is getting its popularity measures should be taken for efficiency and its safety net to demise the safety risk. World Health Organization (WHO) has expressed its concern over toxicity of the natural herbs and about the consciousness of the practitioners of CMH products. Chinese Government has paid its concentration into it and advocates of TCM campaigned to integrate it in global healthcare. It saw the face of success as World Health Assembly included compendium (a traditional medicine) in mainstream global healthcare.

Although many are not happy with the mainstreaming of TCM but it shows Chinese strategy to gain both international image and economic purposes. The protesters highlighted the impact of TCM on animals such as rhino, bears, tiger, pangolin as their organs are used in TCM cures, not in all but for some.

Despite the criticism the Government of China has been upholding TCM globally. In 2016, China's “strategic plan” regarding “Development of Traditional Chinese Medicine” is supportive to Belt and road initiative for promotion of TCM. In 2015, Tu Youyou got Noble prize for contributing on malaria treatment artemisinin. Also, for clinical medicine, Laskar award 2011 won by Tu Youyou. Though TCM is not beyond controversy but at the same time it has earned popularity and acceptance both in home and abroad.

Recently due to the spread of COVID-19 China is facing challenges to poverty reduction as poorest people living there are paying more. China has shown its highest concern to face the pandemic, COVID-19. For instance, 17.2 billion yuan was allocated in advance as cost of treating COVID-19 patients. This will not be added in medical insurance budget of 2020.

In comparison to severe acute respiratory syndrome (Sars), COVID-19 is different as it is both fatal and contagious. So, Chinese Government is showing more concern and spending on the research of plasma, different types of

vaccine innovation and other areas to counter the effect of COVID-19. TCM in such context has been suggested by the National Health Commission for treatment purpose. Doctors are serving in Guangdong and Zhejiang are prescribing herbal medicine and usefulness of herbs has been stressed.

In this pandemic almost half of all the patients got herbal treatment and doctors prescribed that mixed method worked on reducing mortality, symptoms and side effects as well.

For long China has been contributed to the Development and to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Especially in Asia it has been a major source of aid, humanitarian assistance which is a significant part of its foreign policy. Since the spread of COVID-19, 2020 it has been facing major challenges as it gave force to the competition between USA and China for proving who can reflect themselves as better citizen.

As part of the power race China had been one of the quick responder in any uncertain incidents. China's global response in times of SARS epidemic, Nepal earthquake in 2015 and the Ebola outbreaks in 2014, 2018 are such example of their global response towards humanitarian crisis. Recently just after the outbreak of COVID-19 despite of its internal massive challenges it provided masks to 120 countries. In fact, it has initiated, "mask diplomacy" since the pandemic started. This has remarked a newer types of soft power diplomacy in International Relations. Further regarding loans, assistance, test kits, prevention measures China made video conferences with the partnerships of the Arab League and ASEAN Secretariats. For example, individually it met with Russia, India, Indonesia about COVID-19 prevention. In addition, Chinese provinces including Xinjiang, Yunnan, Guangxi have provided the medical assistance to 50 countries.

In between April 1 to 12, 2020 China exported USD 2 billion in preventive materials. Chinese philanthropies have been active to the promotion of preventive kits. Jack Ma Foundations, Alibaba, the platform of real time exchange donated medical supplies in almost 100 countries.

Multilaterally. During the pandemic the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), of which China is the largest shareholder, crisis recovery fund of USD 5 billion to support countries and also businesses during the pandemic.

China further conceptualized the health silk road initiative which idea was provided by Xi Jinping before its medical equipment arrival in Italy on March, 2020. He urged to the Chinese takeaway for developing health silk road which according to Asia times, "will run in parallel to the multiple overland Silk Road corridors and the Maritime Silk Road." In demonstration of graphic soft power China has already been progressed a lot by helping more than 89 nations worldwide.

Although it has been predicted that COVID-19 could be disrupting for multilateral cooperation, implementation of SDGs and also in other transborder economic activities but for China it has argued that the situation opened the space for governing globally. China's aspiration for global governance and power influence has already been practiced fully since the starting of pandemic.

Lastly China's soft power approach in COVID-19 spread has been much more visible and also strengthen its vision of being global governing entity. Public diplomacy, mask diplomacy and other soft power initiatives have provided by China since the spread of Pandemic started. These all reflects its soft power practice in last two years.

TV shows and movies in practicing soft power

China's national soft power campaign includes TV shows of China in launching its culture and language. China's aspiration of becoming global power can be reflected through 2008 Beijing Olympic, 2010 Shanghai World Expo, and lastly the establish the Confucius Institutes globally to promote Chinese language and culture.

Nye's coined term, "soft power" has popularly been used by both America and China. In the case of China it started to grow influence a bit later because of its previous conservative statecraft. For China, the soft power practice through TV movies and shows has accelerated very fast. Chinese movies has international appeal and its growth is noticeable. According to Han Li, Associate professor in Chinese, Modern Language and Literatures, Rhodes College, USA the rise of China as an assertive player can be reflected by its nationalistic blockbusters. She further puts example of such movies like Operation Mekong, Wolf Warrior 2, Operation Red Sea which give logic to the spread of Chinese soft power and its emergence as very assertive player.

De Gruyter has analyzed in “Obstacles to Using Chinese Film to Promote China’s Soft Power: Some Evidence from the North American Market” that how China got success in North American film industry. But he mentioned about the challenges Chinese movies are facing abroad especially in North America. According to him, after 2006 Chinese movie could not gain notable success. Further he added A.O. Scott’s findings in the ground-

“As foreign-language movies are pushed to the margins of distribution and exhibition — buried in streaming-service algorithms and exiled even from the art houses where they used to flourish — the accusation of snobbery becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. More than that, the alienation of American audiences from the riches of global cinema affirms some of this country’s worst and most dangerously parochial tendencies. If we can read tweets and text messages, surely we can read subtitles.”

Critiques and researchers although found recently the influence of Chinese movie abroad at the same time they have found Language as an impediment to attract mass audience in a foreign language speaking country.

Besides movies for dramas, China has already attracted global audience. For instance, story of Yanxi Palace has streamed more than 15 billion times in 2018 on China Netflix-like iQiyi. It has been most watched drama on that year and surely it has implication for the promotion of Chinese culture as the drama is about imperial life of China in past. Keep Running, Chinese drama has also helping China to expand its soft power by telecasting its overseas episodes. Approximately 500 million followers can be connected by social media platform. This Also indicates the global reach of the Chinese Drama.

In broadcasting and papers, China spends huge money. Xinhua News Network Corporation for example has turned into global media outlets. In 2020, USA has proclaimed Xinhua along with the Chinese media as state mission. In the moment, Xinhua has 105 overseas bureaus and also regional office which include 551 staff members. Among the overseas region in Africa it got highest overseas bureau. It has 24 bureau there, 11 of them are in French-speaking countries of the region. Also, a number of bureaus are engaged in the charge of news coverage of neighbor states. It has founded that offering customer-oriented news China took a step ahead to the world by means of their journalistic tool. In Senegal China’s socio cultural influence is noticeable. Bruce Lee for example has been a craze for many young boys and through him positive culture is reflected to the youth. Diaspora Africans enjoy popular music of Asia. To be specific, Chinese drama series is one of the favorite TV shows to them.

Criticisms of Sate media article stated that negative impacts are being observed in Chinese society. Power struggle. Conflict. Propagating luxurious lifestyle and so on. The critical analysis observed the promotion of commercial and consumer value despite of promoting communist value Beijing wants to promote. For instance in 2017 and 2018, Angels Wear White and Dying to Survive were consecutively released. Child molestation in Angels Wear White and Illegal import of medicine from India by a cancer patient were the story of those movies. Though both movies were praise in both home and abroad but those version of China Beijing does not want to world to show. So, government censorship is getting tighter for the selected movies which enter into the category of Oscar Foreign Movie. Thus states intention to control over the selection of movies and context discloses challenge for the film industry.

Popular TV faces from China have also influence to the audience worldwide. Li Ziqi got more than 50 million followers in YouTube. She posts daily chores on YouTube and people find her interesting. Maybe she provides joy for the audience and critics sees her popularity helpful to the promotion of China globally. Though this may be counter by many Western scholars but her works gives pleasure to audience but doing so, she is spreading Chinese culture in a more understandable manner to global audience. Last but not the list, combining culture, foreign policy and political value to gain soft power is not that much easy and thus the efforts of popular faces in media other than shows, dramas, movies are much more helpful for bringing the culture to the audience.

Lastly, world’s second largest economy, China is using its massive market size to influence Hollywood’s way of thinking. There are less portrait of bad Chinese characters. Though previously some commented that after 2006 the growth of Chinese movies became less others have pointed out Chinese influx of cash to Hollywood is present and has influence on Hollywood filmmaking. As it is described,

“Over the past decade an influx of cash from Chinese billionaires into Hollywood has shaped filmmaking, and the allure of China as the world’s second largest box office has led US movie studios to portray Chinese characters with more depth and longer screen time. A recent example is The Great Wall, a Sino-US co-production directed by

Oscar nominee Zhang Yimou and starring Hollywood A-lister Matt Damon and Hong Kong star Andy Lau in 2016. The blockbuster costing US\$150 million was backed by Wang's Legendary Entertainment. Chinese buying spree of Hollywood assets and production houses has prompted 16 US congressmen to call for a special government review on Chinese investments concerning media and other soft-power institutions. Chinese media mogul Li Ruigang partnered with Hollywood giant Dreamworks Animation to churn out the blockbuster sequel Kung Fu Panda 3, which earned US\$521 million in global movie ticket sales on a US\$145 million budget."

So, Chinese film industry and TV shows, dramas despite of being much more criticism are seen influential, to some extent in Hollywood

Chinese stands on Human Rights as soft power strategy

Being a socialist antecede Chinese soft power projection has challenged Human Rights value. Martin Davidson, former head of British Council claimed such thing. China shows its strong reasons to control social instability which does not undermine spreading soft power. For example, 'one state, two systems' theory of Beijing is the theory for governing Hong Kong. This idea is just because many companies from overseas and foreigners made the city as the base for their work, business and investment as well. Also, they value differences from the China's mainland. But later there was mass protest against the Chief Executive Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-nor for mishandling the extradition bill at late 2019. The clashes turned into demonstration which was in between police and radical protestors. The Protestors' demand grew high and the demonstration got bigger but till then government failed to prevent violence and vandalization. Hong Kong, one of the peaceful cities in the world left with tear-gas, damaging the legislative council chambers and also vandalization in the Beijing's representative office.

Beijing's reaction to it had been coupled with some unfamiliar events. The Companies which were doing business with the mainland had warned staffs against taking part in illegal protests. Some had sacked staffs and replaced top officers too. Social media was flooded with probable death threats which were posted by the mainland nationalists. Threads exceeded the border as well. The students of Hong Kong studying in University of Queensland, Australia were many times harassed and attacked during the pro-democracy rallies. Besides, in New York a Lennon Wall in Manhattan containing messages of support was vandalized.

So, the conflict became a source of massive negative public review for China though Beijing's handling of the situation had been quite reserved. Response of Beijing to the democracy protests showed that change has already occurred. For example, some policy makers, lawyers in the US wanted to review the United States-Hong Kong Policy Act. This ensures that Washington has concern about treating the city differently than mainland. In the Wall Street Journal Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell wrote, "*Sooner or later, the rest of the world will have to do what the protesters are doing – confront Beijing.*" Not just in the case of Hong Kong, China for long has been pressuring different foreign companies, entities that to deviate from their narrative regarding the issues of Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang.

Regarding the human rights concern of China, the treatment of Uyghurs and other Islamic minorities in Xinjiang also had raised questions. There were leak of official documents in last few years which has provided a clearer picture of ongoing incidents in re-education camps. China's claims of using the camps to fight terrorism are unlikely to be seen as legitimate by many in West. The foreign public is starting to react to the revelations and consumer groups have begun pressuring Western companies using products from Xinjiang. In this regard Arsenal footballer Mesut Ozil's suggestion for Muslims for not speaking out against the camps in Xinjiang, have also made the headlines.

Critiques pointed out that the biggest obstacles, surely one of the, to China's quest for soft power is the country's failure to value basic freedoms and human rights. The ruling Communist Party demands that its members embrace atheism and for the reason many loyal Chinese citizens are deprived of the opportunity to serve the party and improve things. Party theorists emphasizes past conflicts with religious adherents as justification for repressing religions affiliated with West.

For further improvement of China's overseas image, focusing on developing basic human rights including the religious freedom and political reform are mostly required. Besides prioritizing economic schemes, improvisation in the areas of social ethics, eventual unity and moral dignity is also very important. For China, the reason behind economic schemes being more important is its focus on encouraging Taiwan's youth to relocate to the 'mainland'.

Recently, wages in Taiwan have stagnated for failing to keep pace with that of China. These leads thousands of people to move to the Chinese mega-cities for greater opportunities and to search better jobs In February 2020 it has founded in academic write up that, *“the Chinese government unveiled a package of measures to attract Taiwanese young people and businesses to the mainland, with tax breaks, subsidies, research grants and access to government contracts.”* At present, Taiwan's pro-independence government is worrying about a potential 'brain drain' and also it fears Beijing as it views Taiwan as a rebel province. In addition, Beijing is using its vast economic clout in a soft power.

Finally, the human rights condition in China is under the of pressure of the International regimes as the conservative top to down political system has narrow vision about the status of minority there. Still it has room for further development in acquiring and practicing soft power to be the leading global power.

Soft power implications of China on Information and Technology

In China, the restrictions on has been imposed by the Chinese government to further promote soft power. Because of existing structural and cultural problems free use of internet and technology pose difficulty for the government. Existing literatures provides logic for China's soft power enhancement strategy throughout last decades. For the purpose, it is trying to improve media channels, technical mechanisms for the “cultural advance”.

China, moreover, is trying to use media channels including the Western ones. That is why western media consultants are paid highly for their involvement in the regard. Chinese internet companies inside the country has not yet any chance of transborder impact on google, fakebook or even in twitter. In this regard the first problem is addressed by researchers is language barrier. Although in all continents Confucius institutes are trying to train and teach Chinese language but it will probably take a decade. Again it cannot be avoided that outside China more people can read and talk in English than the Chinese language.

The Second barrier after language the government's control over news agencies and media. China Central Television and Xinhua News Agency act as the competitors to two biggest news channels, CNN and BBC. Most of the time sensitive issues are not exposed due to government control so, if the news agencies have abundant information it does not come to lime line.

Another problem addressed for China is concern about cybersecurity which usually arose in the sphere of public relations. National People's Congress in February 2017, adopted the Cybersecurity Act. The law includes the protection on the ground of personal information. And this has become a matter of huge importance which regulates some new criteria on this issue, such as the operation, creation, maintenance and use of networks. Further, the administration and supervision of cybersecurity procedures in the territory. Chinese military experts are very effective in large-scale operations which are both defensive and offensive in nature in cyberspace security.

China has mentioned the importance of gaining dominance in the electromagnetic environment while military conflict was in early stage of development. To china, for gaining victory is considered main to them. Within the structure of the armed forces special cyber-formations have been created who are responsible for conducting operations in the area of cyberspace.

Furthermore, in artificial intelligence and robotics, nanotechnology, information technology, genetics and quantum computing China's rapid mastery of the technological capabilities are observed by many strategic thinkers as changing notion of the worldwide balance of power. Huawei, for example, promotes low-cost 5G equipment throughout the world. There has already been rising investments from Chinese companies in UK and British government taken decision to include controversial high-tech heavyweight Huawei in the 5G rollout of the country. USA, on the other hand tries make criticisms of China as these can be dangerous. Mark ,the US secretary of defense said that – *“Huawei is Beijing's high-tech “poster-child for its nefarious industrial policy, a strategy fueled by theft and coercion and the exploitation of the free market, private companies and universities”*. Despite of US efforts Germany and France are planning to include Huawei in their 5G plans.

Chinese soft power in terms of Information and technology both has praise and critiques from the international political order. One hand it has developed its technology so advanced to tackle criminal offense for instance cyber security which has explained here but on the other hand conservative nature of government to control media and other information technologies reveals space for further development.

Conclusion:-

Throughout the world Soft power has played a crucial role in decision making, especially in 21st century. For instance, in the decision making of the United States of America (USA)'s foreign policy and it has also been adopted by some other countries, including China. Though in Southeast Asia, China has appeared to be more powerful regarding its hard power tactics toward economy, military and technology but in the Chinese view, soft power is a helpful concept to build regional and geopolitical alliances across Southeast Asia and beyond. China's interest in soft power started developing as early as 1993, when China needed to counteract 'China Threat' theory, which had gained traction overseas after China introduced its 1992 Territorial Sea Law formally claiming much of the East and South China seas and many of their islands. Analyses were made that China's aspiration to be considered as a more powerful state regionally as well as globally depends on further attention to the role of soft power in its decision making of foreign relations. Remarkable change has been done by Xi Jinping than former president Hu Jintao in foreign policy formulation by means of soft power. Researchers suggest that china's conservative approach towards democratic norms especially on growth of civil society, freedom of speech, freedom of media still needs to be developed for boosting up its soft power image. As Joseph Nye mentioned- "if China is to boost its soft power, its control over culture, media and public opinion should be relinquished". Further suggestion by scholars have provided for China is to improve the soft power image to deter the projection of sharp power against China by West. Finally, it can be summarized that the development of China in all aspects of hard power is not only sufficient to fulfil its goals, soft power is a must for China in order to foster its influences and dominance across the world and to ensure its regional and international reputation and leverage.

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