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To Cross the Ocean in Full View of the Sun: The Chinese Government's Grand Strategy to Influence Academic Freedom and American University Culture

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To Cross the Ocean in Full View of the Sun:
The Chinese Government's Grand Strategy to Influence Academic Freedom and American
University Culture

by

Chris Crandall

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Education in Program Development
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Department of Teaching and Learning
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ABSTRACT

The following dissertation will explore the Chinese government's attempt to influence the American higher education system through a host of soft power methods. The importance of why academic freedom is a keystone within the American academic system, as well as why, how and what can be done to arrest the Chinese government's influence will be researched in the following pages.

PREFACE

It is with great earnest, that I lay before the reader a work which has occupied a significant portion of my time and thoughts over the past several years. The following pages are not only a reflection of my ability to fulfill the *de rigueur* of academic discourse and writing requisite within my doctoral field of studies, but are also representative of an intellectual odyssey which in due course and through much effort, has led me far from the *tedium vitae* and monotony of everyday life from which I had become so accustomed.

Indeed, the idea of leaving my small rural town shielded behind the Redwood Curtain of Northern California, in order to pursue the ‘life of the mind’ so esteemed within the vaunted halls of academia, held a particular appeal to me, as the opportunity to explore in great detail, the histories, cultures and civilizations of both past and present, seemed a fascinating endeavor, a pathway to provide depth and color to the experiences and perceptions from which I viewed the world.

The very thought that the events and deeds carried out within fading lights of both Eastern and Western antiquity by peoples and cultures whose times have long sensed passed, could bear direct relevance and relation to the nations, educational systems and politics of the postmodernist world, presented an irresistible intellectual draw which I could not deny, and form the basis of the following dissertation.

My appreciation for the arts and humanities was instilled within me by my late Grandmother Arlette Crandall, a survivor of the occupation of Paris, a former Director of International Relations at the School of Arts at the University of Southern California Los Angeles, and a twice Knighted Chevalier of the Order of Arts and Letters by the government of France.

It was through her and my grandfather's guiding hands, that I experienced the classical works of the Getty museum, the spellbinding architecture of Paris, and the great medieval castles of Central France. I also heard tales of the saturnine clouds of war that had benighted the nations of Europe during the German occupation, an impression that in my youth left an indelible connection between the old world and the new.

The stories my grandmother passed down to me, also engendered a realization that what often seems so distant in the history books and black and white news reels of old, was a very real occurrence to the individuals who lived those experiences.

It is an interesting phenomenon that much like the separation from the past in the minds of those of the present, that there is often a perceptual dissonance, a distance if you will, between the events afoot within the global arena of great power competition, in relation to the domestic occurrences in the lives of everyday Americans.

The idea that a tectonic shift within the global commons and the post Cold War world order, could alter the center of gravity within the American led unipolar geopolitical structure to which so many had become accustomed, was perceived as an impossibility by many, however with the rise of China what was once thought impossible has become a reality.

The following pages will explore China's rise, and the impacts of this rise upon the American university system. However one of the most interesting extrapolations drawn from this research, was not only the importance of recognizing that the cultural value systems and governmental models of nations such as China are based upon a different hermeneutical interpretation of the world, but that in attempting to impose Western democratic forms of government upon foreign nations whose systems differ from those of the West, that counter intuitively, the very internal structures of the West could thus be compromised and undermined as a result.

It is posited by this writer, that it is not the *model* of government that should bear relevance to geopolitical analysis, but rather the *actions* of the government in question.

The classical Greek philosopher Heraclitus once stated that, "culture is the father of all things" (Marozzi, 2008, p. 224). By making this claim, Heraclitus recognized that culture imposes a tyranny of thought over the individual, as it colors every interpretation and analysis from the cultural perspective from which that individual perceives the world (Marozzi, 2008).

Indeed, completely understanding another culture is an impossibility much akin to a historian's attempt to fully understand a time and a place gone by. For no matter how deeply one studies past epochs, peoples and places, a historical consciousness will never be fully comprehended, as the perceptual viewpoint of that time was unique, and is perceived through the lens of the present observer.

Such deductions were not intended to come to fruition at the outset of this research dissertation, and I have had to follow my own lights in reaching such conclusions, however I

must not give away the end before the beginning, for there is a story to tell. It is a story that is just as much about the past as the present, where perception is important as reality, where the digital has elided with the physical, and where two civilizational powers have clashed upon the great geopolitical chessboard of the global commons.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Historical and Constitutional Origins of Academic Freedom

It was a fortuitous summer, one where the humidity and heat had well set in on Philadelphia, as a reserved auburn haired young man from Virginia sat down to write a document that would forever enshrine the ideals of the American nation for posterity. The task was perceived at the time as inconsequential in itself, and was one amongst many undertaken during the summer of 1776, yet the document was the Declaration of Independence, and the man was Thomas Jefferson (Ellis, 2013).

Contained within the parchment, was set forth a series of philosophies derived from both classical antiquity and the Western enlightenment ideals of natural and individual rights:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. (Jefferson, 1776, para. 2)

While this phrase, so oft repeated within the lecture halls of academia and school houses throughout the nation are taken for granted as well set foundational principles, such ideals were radical at the time, and by no means etched in stone. The future of America was anything but secure, and the Republic as it now stands, was by no means a nation when Jefferson composed

the Declaration, but merely a set of colonies whose fate hung in the balance against the most powerful empire in the world, and whose members were equally divided upon a course of action against their mother country of England (Ellis, 2013).

President Lincoln's Gettysburg address references the Declaration of Independence, and illuminates the notion that a battle is ever present to preserve what is right and just for the American people:

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal... that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. (Lincoln, 1863, para. 1)

While Lincoln spoke towards the unity of a nation, it is an often neglected realization, that the United States was not founded by the words of the Declaration of Independence as Lincoln so eloquently intimated within his speech, but rather within the Constitution as signed and ratified by the Founding Fathers, and the subsequent Bill of Rights as authored by James Madison (Ellis, 2013).

Thus it is within the Constitution, the Supreme Law of the Land, that the Founders set forth the moral and legal principles of a governable framework for the United States, a document that contained the spirit of the hallowed Declaration to create a more perfect union. Yet do Jefferson's words of self-governance and democracy, whose spirit remains enshrined within the enduring document of the Constitution, hold truth for individuals and nations around the world –

who seek out the principles as declared under the Enlightenment ideals for the universal rights of man?

This question is broad indeed, and this writer believes in such values for the American nation, however the thrust of this dissertation is not that the universal aspirations of freedom of representation and democracy are sacrosanct and a necessity for a just and fair society within the global commons, but rather that within the borders of the United States, such rights must be protected with the utmost vigor and tenacity of purpose. For one of the most cherished principles of a free and democratic society is the ability to express oneself openly, to invoke new ideas, and to explore unorthodox thoughts, and in no such place is this freedom more important than in the halls of academia (*Griswold v. Connecticut*, 1965).

While the freedom of speech as well as academic freedom have evolved and shifted over the centuries from the initial recognition of institutional autonomy at the University of Oxford during medieval ages, to the modern universities in a globalized world (Haskins, 1957), the salient point remains constant in modern American jurisprudence that academic freedom is a key element to a thriving and intellectually productive university system.

In the precedent setting case *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957), the Supreme Court made this point quite clear, in protecting the academic freedom of a communist affiliated university professor to speak freely within the classroom regardless of his political ideology. The Supreme Court held that:

A university ceases to be true to its own nature if it becomes the tool of Church or State or any sectional interest. A university is characterized by the spirit of free inquiry, its ideal being the ideal of Socrates 'to follow the argument where it leads.' This implies the

right to examine, question, modify or reject traditional ideas and beliefs. Dogma's and hypotheses are incompatible, and the concept of an immutable doctrine is repugnant to the spirit of a university. (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957, p. 354)

The right of academic freedom is promulgated as law within the United States in the First Amendment, and is further clarified within Supreme Court rulings such as the precedent setting *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) case. Supreme Court Justice Douglas expounds the principle of academic freedom in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), holding that:

The association of people is not mentioned in the Constitution nor in the Bill of Rights...the First Amendment has been construed to include a certainty of those rights...the State may not, consistently with the spirit of the First Amendment, 'contract the spectrum of available knowledge.' The right of freedom of speech and press includes not only the right to utter or to print...but right of freedom and inquiry, freedom of thought, and freedom to teach...indeed the freedom of the entire university community. Without those peripheral rights the specific rights would be less secure. (*Griswold v. Connecticut*, 1965, p. 381)

In the *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957) case as well as the *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) case, the Supreme Court set a clear case precedent that academic freedom was legally protected by the First Amendment clause of the United States Constitution, and highlighted the importance of the freedom of expression to the American university system.

Authoritarian Threats to Constitutional Freedoms

Yet the constitutional protections of liberty and freedom that the Framers created, and that so many Americans have fought and died for on the battlefields of Lexington, Gettysburg,

and Normandy – are under threat, for a new authoritarianism has risen, and a new challenge has appeared upon the horizon. Yet it rises not from the West, but from the East, in a counter elliptical arc, sublimely symbolic in relation to the meeting of two distinct civilizational cultures and systems with long histories and storied traditions. However this new challenger’s powers and methods of suppression are modern in form, and its rise poses a very real danger to the Constitutional ideals of America, and the security and stability of the international system of common standards and norms which form the foundation of our current globalized world (Diamond, 2019).

This rising power is the Communist Government of China, and its ideological based repressions and subversions which are commonplace within its sovereign borders, have now branched outwards, infiltrating the bastions of academic liberty, and casting an undue influence upon the Constitutionally protected ivory towers of the American university system.

President Xi Jinping, who now holds absolute control over China’s Communist Party (CCP) (Maques, 2019), has stated that, “government, military, society and schools, North, South, East and West, the Communist Party controls them all” (Yuan, 2018, para. 5). It has been under the steady hand of President Xi with his firm grip upon the nation of China, that the Communist Party has been operating a systematic long term subversive propaganda offensive on the democratic institutions and university systems of the United States (MSD, 2019).

In the United States Defense Department’s 2019 Report to Congress entitled, “Military and Security Developments of the People’s Republic of China,” the report states succinctly:

China conducts influence operations against media, cultural, business, academic and policy communities of the United States, other countries, and international institutions to

achieve outcomes favorable to its security and military strategy objectives...The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seeks to condition foreign and multilateral political establishments and public opinion to accept China's narrative surrounding its priorities. (MSD, 2019, p. 5)

This conditioning is known as soft power, a term coined by American political scientist Joseph Nye, which can be understood as, "the ability to affect others by attraction and persuasion" (Walker, 2019, p. 2), and was defined in contraposition to hard power, or the direct use of military force. Another term which is gaining prominent influence in the foreign policy world is the conceptualization of sharp power, which was coined by the National Endowment for Democracy.

Sharp power, "describes an approach to international affairs that typically involves efforts at censorship and the use of manipulation to degrade the integrity of independent institutions...[and] has the effect of limiting free expression and distorting the political environment" (Walker, 2019, p. 4). While soft power is less coercive than sharp power, the two terms are intertwined and often vague in relation to a clear delineation between the two in official governmental and policy documents. For example, Admiral James Stavridis, the former Supreme Allied Commander for Global Operations at NATO and former Dean of Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, utilizes the terms interchangeably within his writings (Stavridis, 2017). Thus, for the remainder of this dissertation, soft power will be utilized to describe both terms in relation to the CCP's propagandist tactics upon America's democratic institutions.

Chris Walker, Vice President for Studies and Analysis at the National Endowment of Democracy, argues that one of the overarching goals of authoritarian power is to create a legitimacy of non-democratic forms of government. Walker (2019) states that:

The Chinese government's sharp power seeks to undermine democratic standards and ideals. Top leaders in the democracies must speak out clearly and consistently on behalf of the democratic ideals and put down clear markers regarding acceptable standards of democratic behavior. (Walker, 2019, p. 10)

Throughout America's history, America's presidents have answered the call to protect the institutional and legal domains from any infringement upon the jurisprudentially protected rights derived from the United States Constitution. Franklin Delano Roosevelt – stated in his famous Four Freedoms Speech, the necessity to contain, recognize and address threats to the national security of the American nation from foreign influence and subversion from the authoritarian powers of Europe and Asia during World War Two. President Roosevelt stated thus:

I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world, assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity...we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors, and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of people's freedom. (Roosevelt, 1941, para. 12)

John F. Kennedy, a man of great resolve and depth of thought, also recognized the importance of preserving the freedom of ideas and expression, and stood stalwart and strong to

protect the American nation against the challenges of foreign subversion and repression. With the Cold War was at its apogee, John F. Kennedy made clear his vision of freedom when he stated that:

We are faced by an enemy, unrelenting and implacable who seeks to dominate the world by subversion and conspiracy and when all else fails to military force – of which he now possesses through productively far poorer a substantial superiority...while that superiority lasts he may choose to plunge the world into the most destructive in the human race's long history. Or he may, believing time is a friend, continue his efforts to seize control by more subtle methods which have proved so successful in the past.
(Kennedy, 1952, para. 4)

While the speeches of President Roosevelt and Kennedy – may, in themselves, seem like relics of a bygone age, hagiographic epigrams of mythic heroic figures battling long past foes, whose wise words hold no relevance to this technology infused world of the present, these leaders of men, with their decisiveness and strength against great challenges to this nation in the face of danger, recognized that any challenge to the sovereign freedoms of the United States, whether it be by military force or ideological control, must be acted upon and defended at all costs.

Importance of Preserving Academic Freedom from CCP Soft Power Projection

The necessity to protect the academic freedoms enshrined in American universities by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are *sine qua non* to the preservation of free thought and expression by the best and brightest of America's own students, as well as international students who seek to study within the United States. Whether it be a new student first experiencing the

manicured grounds and the enlightening currents of new ideas and perspectives swirling around them, to the tenured professors living the life of the mind, deeply cerebrating upon the imponderables of philosophic inquiry, freedom of thought and creativity are ingrained within the very being of university life (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957).

Harvard University President Drew Gilpin Foust echoed these values in a 2017 commencement speech:

Ensuring freedom of speech is not just about allowing speech. It is about actively creating a community where everyone can contribute and flourish, a community where argument is relished, not feared. Freedom of speech is not just freedom from censorship; it is freedom to actively join the debate as a full participant. (Foust, 2017, para. 15)

Yet Harvard President Foust's appeals of a higher ideal towards fulfilling the ultimate mission of a university have been met with the economic reality of an ever dwindling supply of fiscal support by the United States government. The American university system, whose multi-versity models have developed over the decades to accommodate and provide access to an ever larger pool of individuals (Pelfrey, 2004), are heavily reliant upon federal and state funding streams, a source of revenue that in recent years has been reduced on a massive scale due to budget cuts and fiscal malaise (Kelchen, 2018). This lack of funding has led university administrators to seek alternative financial revenue sources from the private sector as well as from foreign entities, and is the root cause of the subject at issue.

Great Power Competition

The reasons and methods behind the concerted and multifaceted soft power offensives on the democratic institutions of the United States by the Chinese government are myriad and

highly nuanced, and will be explored in depth throughout the dissertation, however the underlying current of great power competition between the United States and China lies at the heart of the issue (Maques, 2019).

In the United States Executive Department’s “National Security Strategy,” the report states clearly that:

The United States will respond to the growing political, economic and military competitions we face around the world. China and Russia challenge American power, influence and interests... While challenges differ in nature and magnitude, they are fundamentally contests between those who value human dignity and freedom and those who oppress individuals and enforce uniformity. (NSS, 2017, pp. 2-3)

In addition, the Chinese Defense Department promulgated a recent white paper titled, “China’s Defense in a New Era,” that further supports this foundational supposition of great power competition. The Chinese Defense Department’s white paper states succinctly that:

As the world economic and strategic center continues to shift towards the Asia-Pacific, the region has become a focus of major country competition, bringing uncertainties to regional security... Major countries around the world are readjusting their security and military strategies and military organizational structures... The US is engaging in technological and institutional innovation in pursuit of absolute military superiority. (CDD, 2019, pp. 4-6)

While the underlying predicate that the United States and China perceive each other as strategic competitors in the global arena of great power politics is clear, it is also quite apparent, that each nation views the economic and military strengths of each other, as a threat to the

other's national security and stability. This disagreement and uncertainty lie at the very heart of international realist based thinking, which holds that the uncertainty over another nation's expressed intent, leads to economic and military competition in order to ensure the preservation of sovereignty and the existence of a national entity (Mearshiemer, 2014).

Realist Theory

John Mearshiemer (2018) writes that, "The ultimate test of any theory is how well it explains events in the real world" (Mearsheimer, 2018, p. 5). The theory of international realism is based upon the premise that all states in an attempt to preserve their existence, perceive the world by making calculated decisions based upon a pragmatic level of thought, which is driven by the uncertainty of intent by rival states (Mearshiemer, 2018). This uncertainty is exemplified by the security dilemma, which holds that a state increases its military industrial complex in order to attain a higher degree of security, which is then countered by rival states who view the defense buildup as a threat. The dilemma is that by not reacting to a rival states defense buildup, the state puts itself at risk, however if the state increases their military buildup, then there is a risk of greater insecurity, as the buildup may lead to a war. It is this primary uncertainty, of never being able to discern the true intent of another state or individual, which is the underlying driver of the security dilemma and hence of international realism (Mearshiemer, 2018).

Furthermore, the international realist theory holds than in an effort to preserve their existence, sovereign states or entities, compete through economic and military means, in a state of international anarchy, which often supersedes institutional treaties, or other ideological considerations, as these considerations could not exist, if the state itself were eliminated or conquered by a rival state (Mearsheimer, 2018). International realists believe that the

international system is Hobbesian in nature, and that, in essence, it is the state that wields the biggest financial and martial stick – that ultimately controls the global arena (Kaplan, 2012).

While there are a host of geopolitical theories which have been posited as models from which to analyze international relations including democratic peace theory, institutional peace theory and economic interdependence theory, international realist theory serves as the overarching and controlling model over which all of these subsequent theories operate, as all nations within the global arena practice international realism (Mearsheimer, 2018). This is well evinced in the fact that all nations across the globe possess some form of military or national defense forces, for if they did not, then they could fall prey to a competing nation which seeks to expand its borders or influence. This is in essence the root of great power competition.

Therefore, due to the great power competition between China and the United States, this dissertation will utilize international realist theory to analyze the geopolitical rivalry that has emerged upon the global stage between the two nations.

Great Power Competition and China's Soft Power

Despite the two opposing viewpoints elicited by the American NSS (2017) and the CCP CDD (2019), a singular narrative has emerged from amongst scholars, policymakers and government officials from both China and the United States as to the ultimate goals of China's rise, in relation to the motivations behind the continued psychological influence campaign that China has launched against America's institutions of higher education. A litany of academics, governmental officials and think tank scholars posit that the Belt and Road Initiative, a trillion dollar global investment plan advanced by China (Wheeler, 2018), is the main driver behind the soft power projection on the American higher education system, and consider the projection of

this psychological operations campaign as the tip of the proverbial spear – in a larger effort by the CCP to slowly shift American public perception in its favor as it seeks to undermine, weaken, and replace the current international system of commonly agreed upon standards and norms.

Do such claims hold merit? After all, China is a signatory to the United Nations (UN) framework, and a willing participant of the World Trade Organization, stating officially that it seeks to uphold the values and norms of the current economic system:

As a founding member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the UNSC, China unswervingly endorses the central role of the UN in international affairs, and resolutely upholds international law and the basic norms governing international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. (CDD, 2019, p. 31)

While the dissertation will seek to explore the modern rise of China, as well as the Belt and Road Initiative in detail, so as to provide the interested reader with an accurate appraisal to explain why China is projecting its soft power campaigns onto the United States and the methods by which it is doing so, this dissertation also firmly adheres to the principles of international law as defined by the UN Charter.

While the protection of the democratic values and freedom of expression are paramount with the sovereign shores of the United States, it is acknowledged that other forms of government and sovereign based legal systems are unique to each nation and culture. As the People’s Republic of China (PRC) states, “It is the right of every sovereign state to choose its own development path. No country can impose its own model on others, let alone forcibly subvert the governments and political systems of other countries” (PRC, 2019, p. 28).

However, while each nation has the sovereign right to create and promulgate its own systems of government, this dissertation will support the supposition that all signatory nations of international treaties such as the UN Charter, should practice the universal standards and norms agreed upon by said signatory nations, in order to create an equitable, fair, transparent and humane global system. Therefore, while this dissertation is based upon protecting the fundamental rights of academic freedom under the Constitutional jurisprudence of the United States, international matters are analyzed in relation to international legal standards as stipulated and agreed upon by all signatory nations in relation to international accords and treaties.

While all signatory nations to the UN Charter have agreed to participate in alignment with the stipulations of the Charter, China is not abiding by the international standards to which it has agreed. This is especially true in relation to human rights, with a telling example being the current detention of over one million of its own ethnic Uighur citizens in ‘re-education’ camps for their religious beliefs, a blatant violation of the UN Charter on Human rights (UN, 2019). Therefore, while this dissertation will take the stance that China has a right to practice its own form of government, and enact its own laws, this dissertation’s stance will hold that these laws and policies should not be in discordance with the international agreements with which China has signed.

Internal Authoritarianism Projected Outwards

Diamond (2019) asserts the fact that the CCP controls all aspects of the Chinese government and the legal system, with every organization within the authoritarian system being subject to the control of the CCP (Diamond, 2019). While this statement is accurate, China has the right to practice this form of government as stipulated under the UN Charter (2019), however

it is the exportation of Chinese based systems and models of state control beyond China's borders that will be at issue within this dissertation, as such violations have a direct effectual relationship with soft power projection onto the United States.

Indeed as Diamond (2019) asserts, the Communist Government of China exercises complete control over the lives of its citizens through new and increasingly sophisticated technological methods of surveillance. For example, the Social Credit System, is a system devised by the CCP that punishes individuals and their families if they do anything contrary to the will of the Party by removing health, education and welfare benefits and would, "allow the trustworthy to roam everywhere under the sun, while making it hard for the discredited to take a single step" (Kainz, 2019, para. 1). Another example of the complete control that the CCP seeks to exert upon its citizens is the newly implemented Skynet system which, "uses artificial intelligence, including one technology under development that could eventually allow the government to identify any one of its 1.3 billion citizens anytime, anywhere" (Chen, 2018, para. 4). These are just two examples amongst a host of others that will be explored, that showcase the lengths the Chinese government is taking, to control every aspect of their citizen's lives in order to ensure an absolute compliance with the dictates of the CCP party line. These authoritarian measures, and Big Brother like systems utilizing highly technical organs of repression, are much akin to the methods practiced by the Soviet Union's system during the Cold War on academics and intellectuals such as Andrei Sakharov, whose voice on human rights was suppressed by the Soviet government (Bullock, 1991).

These highly technological organs of repression are being extended from China's traditional sphere of influence and outwards into autonomous regions such as Hong Kong, in which student protesters are demanding the rights of free speech and democracy guaranteed to

them under previous agreements with the CCP – in ongoing protests against China’s authoritarian reach. In a recent broadcast by PBS Newshour, China’s technological monitoring practices are illuminated in full, “In Hong Kong, protesters say mainland China is exporting a system of surveillance. So when they demonstrate, they climb up ladders and try and cover up the cameras. And protestors also cover up their faces” (Shifiren, 2019, para. 23).

One young protester who would not reveal her name commented upon the fears that the system inspired:

Although I’m wearing a mask, they’re, like, A.I. tracking, tracking down our faces. And maybe they will just use computers and recognize us in maybe just one second, and having all our identifications and our informations [sic]. We are scared about it...we are super scared that our personal information will leak out and we will get caught based on these informations [sic]. (Shifiren, 2019, para. 24)

While such practices are an anathema to Western forms of free speech and governmental norms, China maintains that many of these measures are necessary for the maintenance of security and stability within its vast landmass and variegated provinces, a point that holds validity in many respects, and will be researched in detail later in this dissertation. Yet it is the exportation of these systems outwards from China’s shores and into the United States – through a host of highly sophisticated methods and tactics, far beyond the direct channeling of university funding to American universities, that pose a challenge to academic freedom and the freedom of expression within our institutions of higher learning.

Thus the extension of this modern based Orwellian system of repression, through the generous offering of funding to universities and other associated entities by the CCP, universities

whose coffers have been lightened through years of reduced federal and state funding streams, is in essence an exchange of dollars for academic freedom. The role of American corporations is highly intertwined with this soft power projection, and will be explored in detail throughout this dissertation. It is posited, that China seeks to manufacture a positive narrative of its policies, through the control of information on key subjects adverse to Chinese policy, subjects of which the Chinese government hopes to manipulate or censor, so as to reorient the mind frames and perceptions of our students and the greater public at large.

CCP Soft Power Projection onto American Democratic Institutions

There is no doubt that there is a carefully calibrated and calculated strategy being executed by the CCP through a three pronged system of subversion utilizing their psychological, social and regulatory control, which the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), terms as the Three Warfare's strategy (NSS, 2017). The National Security Strategy explicates that:

Three Warfares is comprised of psychological warfare, public opinion warfare, and legal warfare. Psychological warfare uses propaganda, deception, threats, and coercion to affect the adversary's decision-making capability. Public opinion warfare disseminates information for public consumption to guide and influence public opinion and gain support from domestic and international audiences. Legal warfare uses international and domestic laws to gain international support, manage political repercussions, and sway target audiences... Three Warfares strategy [is designed] to undermine an adversary's resolve in a contingency or conflict. (NSS, 2017, p. 124)

It is clear that the challenge posed by President Xi Jinping and the CCP to implement subversive methods of the Three Warfares strategies on our institutions of learning is ongoing

and pervasive. One of the most highly reported examples of Chinese soft power is those of the Confucius Institutes (CI's), whose stated goal is the promotion of cultural exchanges between the United States and China, yet whose real purpose is to sow disinformation and to project Chinese propaganda into the American higher education system (Peterson, 2018). These CI's provide funding to American universities, in exchange for funding from the CCP controlled organization the Hanban (Peterson, 2018). While Chinese authorities have officially denied any nefarious predilections in regard to the CI's, such claims have been discredited by high ranking officials within the CCP government itself.

On November 2011, Li Changchun, a former member of the highest body of the CCP, stated in a speech at the Beijing Headquarters of a CI that:

The Confucius Institute is an appealing brand for extending our culture abroad. It has made an important contribution toward improving our soft power. The 'Confucius' brand has a natural attractiveness. Using the excuse of teaching Chinese language, everything looks reasonable and logical. (Rubio, 2018, para. 2)

The United States Executive Office recognizes China is practicing the Three Warfares strategy through organizations such as the CI's, which utilize the Confucian brand as a façade in order to subvert free speech and expression. For example, Mike Pence commented in a recent speech at the Hudson Institute that:

Beijing is employing a whole-of-government approach to advance its influence and benefit its interests. It's employing this power in more proactive and coercive ways to interfere in the domestic policies and politics of the United States...Beijing provides generous funding to universities, think tanks, and scholars, with the understanding that

they will avoid ideas that the Communist Party finds dangerous or offensive. China experts in particular know that their visas will be delayed or denied if their research contradicts Beijing's talking points. (Pence, 2018, para. 48)

The CCP is also projecting its influence through corporate control, utilizing its massive markets to alter decisions made by American based corporations, as highlighted by the recent National Basketball Association (NBA) scandal, in which NBA spokesmen Michael Bass issued an apology for a comment on protecting the freedom speech that a Houston Rockets manager had made online. Senate Democratic Majority Leader Chuck Schumer stated that:

No one should implement a gag rule on Americans speaking out for freedom. I stand with the people of Hong Kong in their pursuit of democratic rights. I stand with Americans who want to voice their support for the people of Hong Kong. Unacceptable. (Pramuk, 2019, para. 4)

In a recent Senate bi-partisan letter to Trade Ambassador Robert Lighthizer, senators highlighted concerns about China's new Corporate Social Credit system, an extension of the Social Credit system utilized within China to exert control over its citizens through digital and facial monitoring systems:

Once the Corporate SCS is fully operational, firms with scores below a certain state determined threshold will face an interlocking series of sanctions across multiple Chinese government agencies, including, restrictions on procurement and business licenses, less favorable interest rates, higher inspection rates, and even potential debarment from the Chinese market. Scores can be affected not only by the actions of the company and its employees, but also by the actions of supplier or partner companies, extending the threat

of Chinese retaliation to any American firm with a presence, or supplier, in China.
(Gardner, 2019, para. 6)

This issue will be explored in depth within this research paper, as higher education institutions have a deeply interrelated relationship with publishing companies, textbook corporations and a host of other technology companies that also seek the large and lucrative markets that China has to offer within the educational sphere. This interconnected relationship between corporations and higher educational institutions, and the extension of China's internal methods of control to include American sovereign based associational entities and organizations is highly germane in relation to the protection of academic freedom.

Such domestic interference is also well documented by American security agencies, with the Federal Bureau of Investigation Director, Chris Wray stating:

They're trying to replace the US...and so theirs is a long-term game that's focused on just about every industry, every quarter of society in many ways...it involves academia, it involves research and development, it involves everything from agriculture to high tech. And so theirs is a more pervasive, broader approach but in many ways more of a long-term threat to the country. (Chan, 2018, para. 9)

Bipartisan Congressional committees have also echoed these concerns. In a letter addressed to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo as well as Secretary of Defense James Mattis, a group of senators elucidated the fact that:

We want to make clear that we believe our government should welcome transparent diplomacy from all nations...These efforts are fundamentally different from those that seek to suppress information, and undermine democratic institutions and internationally

accepted human rights...without developing a clear strategy to counter these efforts, the independence of democratic societies may be at risk. That risk extends beyond the borders of our allies – for one of democracy’s greatest defenses against autocracy is the support of other likeminded nations. (Coons, 2018, para. 3)

Yet such critiques are not limited to the official offices of the United States government, but also extend to extremely well regarded independent associations that hold a high level of esteem and prestige within the higher education universe. The National Association of Scholars as well as the American Association of University Professors have both voiced opposition to CCP controlled organizations such as the CI’s, taking a firm stance on protecting the academic freedom and freedom of expression from CCP influence (Wood, 2018).

There have been many subtle attempts by the Chinese government to equate soft power programs such as the CI’s, as comparable to Western based programs, in attempt to legitimize the projection of its propagandist initiatives in the United States and abroad. For example in recent article in the *South China Morning Post (SCMP)* highlighting many African’s discontent with the Belt and Road Initiative, who accuse China of export dumping, human rights violations and environmental degradation – the *SCMP* writes, “China, well aware of these accusations, is determined to fix its image on the continent through a mix of initiatives, including the establishing of dozens of Confucius Institutes” (Nyabiage, 2019, para. 8). The article continues interviewing a professor XN Iraki of the Nairobi School of Business who comments that, “It’s soft power, reaching to the next generation...The US did that before independence with the airlift” (Nyabiage, 2019, para. 24). Prof. Iraki is referencing the 1960 program which provided US scholarships to 800 African Students between John F. Kennedy and African independence leader Tom Mboya (Nyabiage, 2019). The article’s admittance of soft power projection by the

CI's from a non-state owned newspaper, and then its comparison to similar programs initiated by the United States, is geared towards achieving a soft power coup in itself, as the *SCMP* is owned by Ali Baba Corporation, which is controlled by the CCP (*SCMP*, 2019).

Thus through a third party subsidiary ownership of *SCMP*, which receives its funding from the Ali Baba Corporation, Beijing is able to project its voice through a seemingly impartial lens, in order to create the perception of equanimity between its CI's and other soft power programs such as those of the West, even though Beijing denies officially that the CI's are not soft power organs of propaganda on its own state media outlets. This adroit method of soft power projection is also occurring in the United States:

As part of this elaborate Chinese-government effort to exploit the open media space, more than a dozen stations across the United States operate as part of the CCP's 'borrowed boat' approach, in which existing media outlets in foreign countries are used to project China's messages. (Walker, 2019, p.10)

While it is true that Western nations project soft power through programs such as the Fulbright Scholarship, the French Alliance Francaise and the German Goethe Institutes, the Chinese application of traditional soft power through the CI's and other organizations is fundamentally different. As Rachele Peterson of the National Association for Scholars makes clear, the CI's are directly controlled by the CCP in Beijing, and that contractual stipulations which impinge upon the academic freedoms of professors are written into the contractual obligations between the Hanban and participating universities, a fundamental difference between CI's and Western academic programs (Peterson, 2017).

While the differences are subtle, and easily lost on an unassuming public, they are significant in regards to the repercussions on academic freedom and university autonomy. Furthermore, the use of fear and various methods of coercion upon students and professors also separates the CI's and other CCP controlled organizations from Western backed student and scholar programs.

For example, The Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA) has also been a focus of scrutiny by both government and university sources for punishing both students and university administrators from straying from the official CCP party line, of which there are numerous examples. One example includes a case upon the campus of the University of California San Diego (UCSD) in response to an invitation by the university for the Dali Lama to give a commencement speech in 2017. The spokesman for the University stated, "We've learned unofficially that the China Scholarship Council has apparently issued instructions about CSC-funded visiting scholars who do not yet have visas – that they will not be allowed to study at the UC San Diego" (Redden, 2018, para. 4).

A Chinese state run newspaper covering the story commented:

Don't naively believe that China will acquiesce to the chancellor of UCSD. His support for Tibet independence will affect his personal and the university's exchanges with China. Chinese universities will take cooperative programs with it into prudent reconsideration... It's suggested that relevant Chinese authorities not issue visas to the chancellor and not recognize diplomas or degree certificates issued by the university in China. (Redden, 2018, para. 8)

Much like the CI's are controlled by the Hanban which is directly linked to the CCP, the CSSA's are controlled by a United Front, which is a domestic and international branch of the CCP's diplomatic wing. The intent of the United Front is illuminated in its official handbook which states that, "The United Front... is a big magic weapon which can rid us of 10,000 problems in order to seize victory" (Kynge, 2018, para. 8), with the executive vice minister of the organization and politburo member of the CCP Zhang Yijiong commenting that, "If the Chinese want to be powerful and realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, then under the leadership of the Communist Party we need to fully and better understand the use of this 'magic weapon'" (Kynge, 2018, para. 8).

The aforementioned cases of the CI's and the CSSA's, exemplify the lengths at which the CCP is willing to extend its influence onto the campuses of the United States, and considering the gravity of a loss of funding, as well as the punishment of innocent Chinese exchange students attempting to gain an education and better their lives, this incursion and abuse of America's sovereign freedom bodes ominous for any university that becomes reliant or dependent upon such funding or goodwill. These cases are repeated on monthly basis all across the United States, and pose severe implications for administrators, professors and students, all of whom are adversely affected by the long hand of the CCP, which seeks to impose its will upon the very source of America's intellectual wellspring.

While many administrators are aware of these methods, they are often uninformed and hold a minimal comprehension of the larger goals and long term strategies the CI's and the CSSA's were created to achieve, many feeling bound to protect their funding, either dismissing the assertions of the impingement on academic freedom as minimal, politically motivated, or

perhaps even a lesser evil to the greater goal of providing services to more students with the funding they receive from these institutes (Peterson, 2017).

Professors are silenced for many of the same reasons, yet also for fear of retribution by the administration, as well as their access being denied by the CCP to information and exchange, a vital necessity to China scholars who seek to interact with their foreign peers and to travel to the country whose history and culture burnishes their intellectual fires (Pillsbury, 2017).

Furthermore, domestic students are often unaware that such policies even exist, while Chinese foreign exchange students live in a state of constant fear and anxiety lest they slip and be reported to the CCP, losing their privilege to study in the United States, as well as a host of services for themselves and their family upon return. One free expression of what they truly believe, or one small ‘social error’ as the CCP would term it, could cost these students a lifetime of prosperity and success.

While these cases highlight the most prominent and publicized soft power methods the CCP utilizes through the provision of direct funding to universities through student organizations and programs, far more indirect methods utilizing more complex subterfuge in order to sway perception within America’s higher education community are rife and prolific. For example, academic writers and scholars have had their peer reviewed papers suppressed, edited and altered to conform in accordance with Chinese government standards on appropriate subject matter and material, through third party subsidiary acquisition of publishing companies and associational organizations. Through these soft power tactics, Chinese owned press and associational companies have influence over the boards and controlling shares of well-respected publishing companies and higher educational organizations that are highly esteemed in the academic

community. Thus while a publishing company or a higher education association still maintains its perceived independence, it is in effect being heavily influenced to publish materials and enact policies favorable to the maintenance of China's image abroad, and in many cases publishing companies and associational organizations comply with demands to alter, edit and suppress materials that do not follow the CCP party line (Redden, 2019).

A recent article in *Inside Higher Education* highlights this more adroit method of soft power influence where two professors had their peer reviewed articles submitted to the *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* (FLSC) edited to conform with CCP party doctrine by Brill Publishing, a company who is affiliated with Higher Education Press which is based in Beijing. The professors wrote:

We believe that it is precisely the blurring of boundaries between publication inside and outside Mainland China that makes the precedent of *FLSC* particularly worrying and insidious... We have trained ourselves to read between the lines of work published on the Mainland, noting and compensating for the telling absences. But what happens when it is no longer obvious where something was published and according to which rules? Moreover, in these straitened times, dependence on editorial and financial support may well lead other editors, academics and publishing houses outside China to add their stamp of legitimacy to such censorship. (Redden, 2019, para. 14)

The professor's concerns are indeed pertinent, as China has also sought to censor other highly prestigious journals such as Cambridge University Press, as well as Springer Nature, in an effort to censor, edit and facilitate the removal of academic articles, text and papers which do not conform with the CCP party line (Redden, 2019). Revealing such methods to the general

public and policymakers is key towards making progress to arrest such undue foreign influence that utilizes legally sanctioned business practices to undermine American academic freedom of expression, “Exposing the hidden pressures is a first step toward countering the censors’ insidious influence” (Walker, 2019, p. 14).

While non direct corporate takeovers, board control and third party subsidiary acquisitions are more adroit methods that the CCP has taken to circumvent legislative attempts to stymie more blatant and direct projection of soft power on American university systems, even more ingenious methods utilized through the cutting edge Fifth Generation (5G) technologies and artificial intelligence (AI) are manifesting themselves in a host of new and innovate soft power techniques (Wagner & Furst, 2019). As higher education systems become ever more reliant on digital services and cloud computing, the control over the technological platforms and data acquisition will determine who controls the information flows within academia.

Indeed there is great potential for soft power to influence major publishers and technology service providers such as Prometheus, McGraw Hill and Pearson, due to the size and scale of the Chinese educational market as well as by platform control. By controlling access to these market and digital platforms, and requiring that certain technical standards and norms promoted by the Chinese government in regards to censorship of specific subjects be adhered to in order to conduct business in China, higher education corporations have a financial incentive to abide by these more stringent standards in order to prevent duplication down the supply chain, thereby enhancing economic gains through the scaling of their services.

This in turn prevents censored materials controlled under the set standards, such as political references, histories or even maps from appearing in published material:

Scholars are worried that international scholarly publishers interested in maintaining access to the massive Chinese market are coming under pressure to comply with Chinese government censorship demands, in effect helping spread the Chinese censorship regime beyond China's borders and tainting scholarly publishing standards worldwide. (Redden, 2019, para. 13)

Therefore, as the direct funding by the CCP to American universities through programs such as the CI's and the CSSA's come under increasing media and legislative scrutiny, new and ever more complex methods of soft power projection are being devised by China to circumvent regulatory blocks created to stymie and arrest the CCP's influence projection. Indeed, even as Congress has promulgated statutory stipulations in legislation such as the National Defense Authorization Act of 2018 and 2019 (NDAA, 2019), which targets funding by Confucius Institutes and direct contractual funding relations with listed Chinese technology companies, the lengthy process of public awareness, political deliberation and then legislation to address soft power projection – permits the CCP with ample time to find less regulated avenues to facilitate its psychological operations campaigns. Therefore, Chinese soft power is an ever evolving game – in which the Chinese utilize the structural inefficiencies of the American governmental system to stay one step ahead of American efforts to arrest it (Wagner & Furst, 2018).

Corporate Influence on Legislation

In addition, even when issues such as the CI's are addressed through legislation, there are significant loopholes that permit the continuance of the soft power influence – by the very entities whom the legislation sought to address. These legal loopholes – brings to the fore another key component that will be included within the dissertation, that of monetary influence

and interest based politics within the international, domestic and higher education spheres, as associations, corporations and institutions utilize the structural weaknesses of the American Constitutional system to advance their own interests.

As the Senator Sheldon Whitehouse stated before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Administrative affairs:

Our administrative state has grown more complex than anything that our Founding Fathers foresaw. The fundamental principle is that the administrative agencies must further the policies crafted by Congress. But beyond that, the genius of the Framers of our Constitution at crafting checks and balances in Government was never applied to our modern administrative state. Here we are on our own. (Whitehouse, 2010, para. 5)

While the CCP is the main orchestrator of these soft power programs, there are a host of associational, and corporate entities that are often inadvertently and indirectly complicit in advancing China's propagandist campaign upon the academic institutions of America. While legally compliant, these corporate entities seek to capture governmental agencies and politicians through campaign funding and political lobbying efforts in order to protect their own investments even if these investments support policies and initiatives advanced by the CCP – that run counter to the public welfare of the United States. As Senator Whitehouse elucidates:

These are the fruits of regulatory capture: the revolving door, deliberate inattention, industry control, often outright corruption. It is a poisonous tree indeed. Observably, time and time again, industries have acquired undue influence over regulatory agencies that exist to serve all Americans. Surreptitiously and stealthily, industries have sought to control regulatory agencies, to capture agencies. Sadly, industries too often have

succeeded, turning agencies away from the public interest to the service of narrow corporate interests. (Whitehouse, 2010, para. 8)

While it is legal and rational for corporate and institutional entities to protect their bottom line, and to ensure their organizations survival in the highly competitive economic environment, the complex interplay between money, institutional protections and watered down legislation which contain significant caveats and loopholes that permit the CCP to continue their soft power influence, is one of the main themes that will run throughout the dissertation. These corporate based interests and the relationship they have with the legislation within the domestic sphere, is an issue that flows from the apex of international finance – down to the American domestic and institutional levels including the higher education sector.

The Chinese are well aware of this undue influence, with many Chinese scholars believing that, “In the case of the United States, predominance of financial power over political and social powers have sapped the strength of the system and perhaps even poisoned the American dream” (Maques, 2019, p. 182). Therefore the understating and comprehension of this phenomena and how it works within the context of CCP soft power influence, is one which will be explored thoroughly within this research study.

Global Competition and Perception

There is an anecdote often told by old security service hands during the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. The paraphrased story follows, that two security agents were sitting down for a meeting in Washington DC, one an American and the other a Russian, when the Russian queried about some recent plans by the American military establishment. The American agent stated, “I have more than you requested. I have some plans

which will reveal the future of the relationship between the United States and Russia.” The Russian agent looked at the American agent eagerly, “Well what do the plans reveal?” “I don’t know,” the American replied, “They are written in Chinese” (Pillsbury, 2017).

While this story is surely apocryphal, it reveals the perceptions and realizations of China’s economic and military potential, and the concerns over its rise by the security and military establishment of the United States and other world powers. It also reveals the sense that such a rise was not only a potential challenge to the status quo, but perhaps even an unstoppable force, a conceptualization that one China expert claims is the ultimate goal of China’s propaganda offensive, to make it appear that China’s rise is inevitable (Easton, 2017).

As China’s influence continues to grow around the world, and the CCP’s power is increasingly strengthened within the technocratic state bureaucracy as well as projected outwards into the international sphere, China’s rise, its modernization, and its ultimate goals and intentions continue to be a mystery to a majority of the American population, whose only familiarity with the vast nation is projected to them over the often culturally biased reports aired over a Westernized news media. While many experts both in the United States and abroad posit that China is seeking to establish a global hegemony by remaking the world order under a Confucian Paradigm, the CCP categorically denies such claims, firmly advocating that its policies are benevolent and in concord with the advancement of mutually beneficial development under the auspices of international law, and are a reflection of its own unique civilizational cultural ideals and socio-economic security and stability (PRC, 2019).

The reality is surely somewhere in the middle (Maques, 2019). As China rises in great power status, any challenge to the present American led world order, where the United States

occupies the commanding height of the economic and international institutional hierarchy, is bound to illicit responses from the rival powers and systems whose leadership and preeminence are being challenged. In America's eyes, its dominion over this global system is perceived as leadership, but to Chinese eyes the control and power exerted by the United States, which seeks to maintain its place as the arbiter of global affairs, serves as an impediment preventing China from attaining its rightful place as an equal peer and as a determiner in world affairs (Holslag, 2019).

There is no doubt, that China believes that its civilizationally-based Confucian model holds the promise to lift millions from poverty both domestically and abroad, and it is through this belief, that it seeks to spread its own system of values and norms around the globe regardless of whether other nations cleave to a different cultural ideal (Maques, 2019).

While the ultimate goal of China's rise is unknown, it is an ineffable fact – that the United States and China are engaged in an increasingly intense great power rivalry. There is also no doubt that financial largesse to underfunded universities through programs such as the CI's and the CSSA's, as well a litany of more adroit and complex economic, regulatory and cyber tactics, are being employed to alter the perception of the academic and democratic populace of the United States (Walker, 2019). It is also a certainty, that in undertaking this psychological operations campaign upon our institutions of learning, the CCP is utilizing fear, oppression and coercion on the Chinese students who seek to study in the United States, as well as their families who still reside in China, for any utterance which runs in contravention to the prescribed CCP party narrative (Pence, 2018).

While this research composition respects the sovereign laws of other nations under the UN Charter, illicit censorship, fear based policies, forced coercion, guilt by association and a host of other soft power methods which China is imposing on our democratic institutions are an infringement of the Constitutional ideals of freedom of expression and academic freedom. Indeed the CCP's soft power projections are not only anathema to the moral and ethical ideals of the Framers of our Constitution, but are also in direct contravention of America's jurisprudentially established legal system (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957).

Research Outline

The dissertation will seek to explain why China is conducting psychological operations campaigns on America's universities, the ways in which China is doing so, what is being done to address this soft power projection, and what can be done to further arrest any further undue influence on America's democratic institutions and higher education sector.

The research questions are:

1. What are the historical, economic and geopolitical issues that are causing the Chinese government to project soft power onto our universities?
2. What are the current methods that China is utilizing to project soft power on the higher education system in the United States and how does this adversely affect academic freedom?
3. What efforts are legislators and policymakers taking in order to arrest Chinese soft power projection?
4. What can be further done by policymakers to address Chinese soft power from adversely affecting academic freedom on our university campuses?

The outline for the dissertation research conducted is:

1. The first section of this research will include a summarized history of modern China from the end of the Cold War until the present period. This history will be broad at the outset, and will become more detailed as the research narrative progresses, and is focused upon explaining and answering from a balanced perspective – why China is projecting soft power initiatives on the United States. This section will utilize a host of archival documents, books, and media articles, both from within China and without, that will provide a thorough and in depth research foundation and is key to this research analysis, as only comprehending that soft power is being implemented – without gleaning why this soft power is being projected, limits the perspective of the reader to a siloed frame of reference, thus restricting positive outcomes in arresting the CCP’s undue influence within the American based university systems.
2. The second section of this research paper will seek to explain how China is projecting soft power on America’s democratic institutions and university campuses, and will provide both current avenues through which this soft power is presently being projected, or possibly could be projected in the future. It will also contain a section on the current Congressional legislative statutes and policies being proposed as well as those which have been enacted, and will analyze whether these actions have been or will be effective in the present and the future.
3. The last section of this paper will focus on putting the problem of CCP soft power projection and the undue influence it has on academic freedom into practice, by providing a nationally based strategy to address the issue on a domestic and international level.

This section is critical, as it analyzes and recommends solutions that are actionable in manner, and which take into account the entire international and domestic American governmental system as it truly functions in practice, and not just in theory. While many governmental, think tank, and associational entities produce recommendations on how to limit or arrest CCP soft power projection, this research analysis focuses on a systems based approach, which seeks to take into account the entire spectrum of issues at play, to develop recommendations that are cogent and relevant to governmental policymakers, as well as the average citizen who is interested in protecting the Constitutional rights enshrined within the purviews of the First Amendment.

While China's systems of governance and economics are in many circumstances antithetical to the Western based system of standards and norms, they are highly efficient and effective, and are based upon a rational and well-reasoned civilizational culture, which seeks to maintain security, stability and prosperity for its people (CDD, 2019). While many of the first principles to which the CCP holds are diametrically opposed to our humanistic traditions, one does not have to agree with another system to understand it, nor seek a morally relativistic position. However, conversely, one must understand another cultural system, as well as the political and philosophical motivations behind it, in order to make a reasoned judgement in order to facilitate a successful engagement that will produce positive outcomes and results. It is in this vein of thought, that this dissertation considers both Chinese and American perspectives, and does not question the validity of systems of government, but rather seeks to understand them from within the context of how these systems truly work and interact. This balance is necessary, for foreign policy experts highlight the fact that an informed audience is paramount in addressing and remedying China's Soft power influence. As Chris Walker testified before Congress:

There often are few journalists, editors, and policy professionals who possess a deep understanding of China – the Chinese Communist Party, especially – and can share their knowledge with the rest of their societies in a systematic way. Given China’s growing economic, media, and political footprint in these settings, there is a pressing need to build capacity to disseminate independent information about China and its regime. (Walker, 2019, p. 13)

In ecosystems management, a single species cannot be studied in isolation from its immediate environment, as a given species is reliant upon an interconnected chain of symbiotic systems all working in relation to one another in an ever shifting web of interconnectivity. When there is a disturbance within this system, there is a ripple effect which can affect the relationship and balance of the entire ecological structure. In order to properly study a species and ensure its survival, one must have a thorough knowledge of the environment within which that species exists (Maques, 2019).

Geopolitics in many ways is analogous, as it is only through a systems based approach, which takes into account the various interrelated elements of the international hierarchical system – down to the domestic levels of the institutional governance of America’s university systems, that an individual reader or policymaker can gain an accurate appraisal of how and why academic freedom in the United States is being compromised by Chinese soft power, and what actions can be feasibly undertaken to arrest this undue influence. This composition will take many forms, and will endeavor through great effort, to provide an informative narrative through a systems based analysis, so that policymakers and the public at large, can make effective policies and personal decisions to preserve the humanistic ideals from which the foundation of academic freedom was hewn.

Thomas Jefferson's indelible words within the Declaration of Independence made certain – that the enduring spirit of his words would transcend the centuries and be immortalized within the liberal value system that America holds dear. These values must be carried out in deed, lest the very freedoms of which he spoke be eroded with the ebb and flow of time.

As Supreme Court Justice Warren propounded in the precedent setting *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957) decision:

No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our nation... Scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die. (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957, p. 354)

The following research and narrative analysis is one of history, it is one of cultures, it is one of jurisprudential interpretations and the struggles between value systems, but most of all it is one of the human condition.

This study is not an attempt to project the values of the United States outward from its borders, or to force American beliefs upon other nations or peoples, but rather a reasoned and firmly grounded effort to protect American Constitutional values from within. For it is through the preservation of these values, and the moral leadership from which they emanate, that the United States holds its greatest strength to peoples all across the world that seek to visit, study and live within its shores, a country whose, “doors were open to anyone with the will and the heart to get here.” (Reagon, 1988, p. 6).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The projection of soft power initiatives guided and controlled by the CCP – will have profound and enduring adverse impacts on university campuses across the United States. This carefully calibrated psychological warfare – not only threatens the long cherished principles of academic freedom in the American higher education system, but also has the potential to alter public perception, values and mores, thereby posing a clear and present danger to America’s national security (NDS, 2018).

The United States Defense Department states clearly in its 2018 National Defense Strategy that:

The central challenge to U.S. prosperity and security is the reemergence of long term strategic competition by what the National Defense Strategy classifies as revisionist powers...China is leveraging military modernization, influence operations, and predatory economics to coerce neighboring countries to reorder the Indo-Pacific region to their advantage. (NDS, 2018, p. 4)

In light of this realization, it is of critical importance to comprehend the issue of CCP soft power through a systems based narrative approach, which entails a clear understanding of historical, socio-economic, legal, political and hence strategic policy initiatives that can arrest this undue influence upon American universities.

Thus, a comprehensive research based policy narrative, analyzing these foundational elements will be undertaken in order to provide policymakers, lawmakers and the American public at large, with a clear picture of not only why and how the CCP seeks to alter their perceptual mind frames, but also the reasons of why it is important to protect academic freedom, the current methods being utilized by the government to do so, and what can be done to protect American universities from further foreign influence in the future.

Organization of the Literature Review

In order to provide a clear articulation of the research sources utilized to address the adverse impacts of CCP soft power influence on the American higher education system, the literature review that follows will analyze and relate the key importance of a host of primary and secondary sources utilized within this composition. This literature review will cover key sources that entail: (a) the modern historical and socio-economic development of China, including China's modern policy and soft power projection onto American mainland campuses, and; (b) the legislative and policy initiatives currently being enacted in order to protect academic freedom within the United States.

Chinese History

The following pages of this literature review will explore how China has emerged as peer competitor in the global political arena (NDS, 2018), and has sought to project soft power influence on America's higher education system through a myriad of concerted and well refined tactical psychological operations campaigns, with the goal of altering the perceptions of the United States citizenry (Diamond & Schell, 2018).

However in order to better explore why China would seek to exert soft power influence on the American university system, the literature review will next explore the sources researched on the modern underpinnings of great power politics, geopolitical competition, and China's modern economic and military development, in an effort to discover why China is pursuing this major soft power initiative, and most importantly how it is achieving these ends.

The first source cited in this literature review is the book "Asia's Reckoning," by Richard McGregor (2018), the current *Financial Times* Bureau Chief in Washington D.C., who has also served in that capacity in Beijing. "Asia's Reckoning" (2018) provides a detailed history of the diplomatic and historical relationship between China, Japan and the United States throughout the post World War Two period. His analyses are highly germane in relation to this composition, and provide a balanced viewpoint on the trilateral developments between the three nations. One of the most poignant aspects explored through McGregor's work is how historical issues and the perceptions of them, have played a significant role in China's development, even as China pursued adroit pragmatic strategies to harness the monetary largesse and economic expertise of Japan and the United States throughout the Cold War and post Cold War period.

These issues are highly relevant to illuminate how China developed its educational model and altered the historical narrative in Chinese schools and universities to serve national interests. For example, following the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre, Deng Xiaoping recognized the importance of inculcating CCP ideals into the populace through its control over the education ministries, in order to protect its economic rise. McGregor (2018) details that Deng thought that his biggest mistake:

Was failing to prescribe a political education to anchor the disruptions of the market economy, an error he believed stoked visceral antiparty sentiment... While continuing to maintain a role for the market in the economy, the party opened a vast new political front to ensure that such protests never go off the ground again. (McGregor, 2018, p. 129)

McGregor (2018) provides interesting details on the development of Chinese educational policy, in parallel with economic, diplomatic, and geopolitical developments as China continued its rise throughout the Twenty First Century.

McGregor (2018) also elucidates how:

China was run ostensibly by a government but ruled in reality from behind the screen by secretive Communist Party that oversaw the military, the security services, big business, the media, the courts, civilian society and intellectual life in universities and think tanks. (McGregor, 2018, p. 116)

McGregor (2018) also showcases how the propaganda department sought to control not only internal perceptions within China, but also sought to project them outwards through soft power initiatives which benefited its social, economic and geopolitical goals. McGregor (2018) writes that:

Even with the rise of the Internet and the fragmenting of the dominant state media, the Propaganda Department ruled supreme over the Chinese press... officials used their position to send out daily and sometimes hourly missives about how stories should be handled, down to their length, placement and shelf life. They also dictated which issues were to be ignored altogether. (McGregor, 2018, p. 173)

Therefore, McGregor's (2018) book dovetails in concord with China's current projection of soft power as a means to influence social perception on American university campuses, by providing telling information on the history of CCP control over its educational and propaganda system, how it implements these forms of control, and why educational perception is key to the security, stability, economic strength and the geopolitical aspirations of the CCP.

Included within McGregor's (2018) work, was a narrative of how the diplomatic relationship between China and the United States was often dictated by economic and business interests, to the detriment of human rights, free thought, and democratic norms. His narrative of the post Tiananmen Square Massacre diplomatic relations between the United States and China, and the continuance of trade and economic relations with Beijing throughout the Bush and Clinton administrations regardless of humanitarian concerns, brings to the fore the issue of corporate influence within the United States political system, a problem which will be detailed at length in this dissertation, as this influence is relevant not only in the international world of great power politics, but also within the American university system itself.

Thus, Sean McFate's book, *The New Rules of War* (2019), which highlights not only the emergent forms of technologically advanced shadow wars and psychological operations by governments across the globe, but also explicates how corporate influence often dictates the decisions made by our lawmakers in Congress and in the Executive Office, is quite significant in relation to this dissertation. McFate is a professor of war studies at the National Defense University, who specializes in military strategy, and who has associations with the highest echelons of the American military brass, including former American Army generals David Petraeus and Stanley McChrystal. McFate (2019) provides a description of how the deep state of corporate and monetary influence has eroded not only the public trust of government but also

how it has altered domestic and foreign policy decisions to the detriment of the greater good.

McFate explains that:

When I teach this topic at Georgetown University, my graduate students initially reject the idea of a deep state as a conspiracy theory...deep states are institutional actors...they are institutions of power: the military, the secret police, the intelligence services the law enforcement agencies and the judiciary...deep state institutions place their own interests above that of the state and its citizens. (McFate, 2019, p. 161)

McFate (2019) provides a narrative that describes not only how institutions protect their own interests, but also how they themselves are often influenced by corporate largesse. McFate (2019) explains how corporations possess a financial and fiduciary incentive to protect the bottom line in order to increase profits for their business and shareholders, often through the purchasing of a heavy influence on politicians through campaign funding contributions and lobbying efforts, even if these efforts are detrimental to the greater good of society and the nation. Thus the administrations of President Roosevelt, President Eisenhower, and President Obama, as well as a legion of Congressional members throughout the past several decades, have echoed this sentiment through agency capture laws and other legislation meant to reign in this plutocratic influence. Mcfate (2019) explains, “the double helix of corporations and politics forms the DNA of America’s power structure” (McFate, 2019, p. 168).

While McFate (2019) does not delve into foreign influence on the higher education system, nor the influence of corporate power over our institutions of higher learning, the issues of monetary influence and the rationale behind an institution in protecting its own interest through policies which run in contravention to the public trust, plays heavily in this composition,

both in the historic and modern rise of China, and in the subsequent analysis of the corporate designation of university institutions and their funding streams.

McFate's (2019) and McGregor's (2018) works possess a unity of purpose, in showcasing how and why business relationships between domestic companies and foreign entities such as China, also affect policymaking and legislation in the United States government, which can have a deleterious effect not only on the advancement and protection of human rights, but also on public perception, as many of the interests which control the media, also provide funding to American institutions, which themselves often attempt to protect their institutional interest through the maintenance of healthy funding streams regardless of the long term consequences. This complex concatenation of monetary influence, warrants a further exploration of additional sources for more in depth research, which will be applied and analyzed in greater detail later in this dissertation.

While McGregor (2018) and McFate (2019), provide a host of information in relation to the historical development of China's educational and propaganda systems, as well as the influence of vested interests within our own political system, their works are written from a British and American perspective. Therefore, the book *The Dawn of Eurasia*, written by Bruno Maques (2018), a Harvard trained former Portuguese Minister to Europe, who currently holds a position as a financial advisor and think tank consultant for a host of establishments, including those based in Renmin and Beijing University, provides a balanced perspective in the conducting of research for this literature review, in relation to China's modern soft power projection through its new Belt and Road Initiative. Maques (2018) work covers the history of a host of Central Asian states as told through his travels between Europe and China, using a narrative based style

to create a bridge between the past and the present, in an effort to create a sense of continuity between the Eurasian landmass. As Maques (2018) relates:

The term 'Eurasia' expresses a fundamental ambiguity well captured by the original Eurasianists and the contemporary followers. On the one hand it refers to a third continent carved out of the large landmass between Europe and Asia. On the other, it means the supercontinent encompassing Europe, Asia and everything in between. (Maques, 2018, p. 185)

Maques' (2018) references to interesting geographical facts, such as his pointing out that the distance between Kashgar located in Eastern China, to Berlin Germany – is only four hundred miles more – than from Kashgar to Shanghai (Maques, 2018), as well as his allusions to the historical trade routes and cultural interactions between China, Central Asia and Europe over the centuries, provide the reader with an unorthodox perspective in relation to the traditional historical narrative projected through Western oriented texts which often minimize such interactions (Maques, 2018).

However, it is Maques' (2018) perceptive stance on traditional standards and norms that hold the most relevance in relation to this composition. Maques (2018) posits that, "We have entered into the second age of globalization, where borders become increasingly diffuse but cultural and civilizational differences do not, giving rise to a permantley unstable compound of heterogeneous elements. I call it the Eurasian age" (Maques, 2018, p. 4). These positions as such, relate directly to the multi-billion dollar investment strategy outlined by current President Xi Jinping's Belt and Road Strategy. The Belt and Road Strategy is heavily referenced throughout Maques (2018) work, as both an international branding campaign, as well as an interconnected

multi-modal investment strategy controlled by the CCP to secure resources, develop both transport and technological infrastructure, and to project Chinese based standards and norms across the globe through soft power initiatives (Maques, 2018).

Maques' (2018) work is highly relevant to this research, as it highlights the efforts of the CCP to project the Belt and Road Strategy in the light of Confucian ideals of peace and harmony, and as a system to replace the current geopolitical and financial structures controlled and orchestrated by the United States and Western Europe following World War II, through a focused and concerted effort of economic power projection and a concessions based monetary credit acquisition systems. Maques (2018) states that:

Economic power...is embedded within the world economy and provides Chinese authorities with a very high degree of ambiguity and deniability...state control over economic agents is how the Chinese state marshals the private sector in the service of its own strategic goals. (Maques, 2018, p. 40)

The projection of soft power through economic means, in order to create a new system of standards and norms based on the Chinese model, directly relates not only to the increased soft power projection on the United States and its higher education system, in an effort to alter the perception of China's Belt and Road Strategy through its Confucian narrative, but also points to a paradigm shift in Western intellectual and business thinking in relation to China. This is evident as Maques (2018) extrapolates that the best remedy for the European Union to address these new standards and norms is to integrate them into the Eurasian ideal, so as to be more competitive with the United States:

It is not enough for the European Union to uphold its rules and way of life. It needs to create a wider environment where they can work effectively. There is a word for that kind of politics, a new kind of politics [Eursianism]. (Maques, 2018, p. 137)

This research drew into question Maques' stance and raised the question of whether there was a conflict of interest in his work, as he is a financial advisor and investor, as well as a Beijing sanctioned think tank associate, and thus has a clear monetary interest in advocating for the development of the Eurasian conceptualization and the Belt and Road Initiative.

The near absence of any criticism of Chinese policies also drew into question his perspectives, however, his stance will play heavily into the relationship between business and academia, as the two are intimately intertwined. Thus, in explaining China's modern economic soft power system and the acceptance of it by high ranking government officials and business players in the world of multinational finance, this dissertation will provide a rationale as to why China is projecting its influence abroad, and how they are orchestrating this task by utilizing the levers of political and corporate power from within the very systems in which they seek to exert control.

Yet as the standards and norms of human rights advocacy, environmental protections, and economic transparency are key elements of the Western based security, economic and trade based systems, this research also sought to explore an alternative European perspective through Johnathan Holslag's *The Silk Road Trap* (2019). Holslag is an international politics professor at the Free University in Brussels, who has published a host of research works on China's foreign policy in Asia, and writes his book from the perspective of an academic and an intellectual who

has the public interest of the European Union and a free society as his primary impetus and focus of study.

Holslag (2019) writes:

I am an academic who receives his salary from the tax payers. That means that my research should benefit the public interest...I feel I should do so with an eye on the general good of my society, while taking into account the consequences for the next generations that will be part of that society. (Holslag 2019, p. 6)

Holslag's (2019) work is extremely pertinent to this composition, as it focuses on how the Chinese economic and trade network functions, both internally – and in relation to foreign nations and investment. His work covers all aspects of the economic spectrum from shipping, harbor and multimodal transport interconnectivity efforts, to technological, electronic and automation across a host of sectors. Holslag (2019) also highlights how these trade and industry based systems – are orchestrated and controlled by the CCP, which utilizes state owned corporations (SOC's), state champions, backbone industries, package deals and small businesses, all in lockstep unity, to advance the efforts of Chinese economic expansion on the global level.

Holslag's (2019) particular focus, and theme that forms the current of his work, is that China's government seeks to create a new system of standards and norms through the creation of institutional frameworks controlled by China, in order to replace the current traditionally based systems such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), while concomitantly utilizing the former systems to their advantage as they proceed through this shift in global modalities.

Holslag (2019) states that:

The concept of economic security defines China's foreign policy. What shapes external economic relations, the reasoning goes, is not the self-regulating force of the free market, but the ability of the government to build competitive firms. Exposure to the competition is good only if it makes national industry stronger. (Holslag, 2019, p. 67)

Thus Holslag (2019) explains that the CCP seeks to benefit from the current financial and trade systems, yet does not abide by the rules and regulations of the global institutions which regulate them. These practices by the CCP have severe implications not only on fair trade and investment, but also on child labor, workers' rights, economic transparency and environmental standards and norms, "The OECD explained that environmental sustainability considerations are insufficiently considered by China and that there is a clear lack of attention to the sustainability in the proceedings of the Chinese banks" (Holslag, 2019, p. 38).

Holslag (2019) provides a complex array of tools, most poignantly the massive amounts of credit, subsidies and unequal trading policies practiced by China in order to project their economic power outwards through the Belt and Road Initiative after domestic market saturation has been reached, and provides detailed descriptions of the myriad of methods that China utilizes to secure business tenders, project bids and investment in foreign countries around the globe. Holslag (2019), also details the methods of market shares acquisition, board control and third party subsidiary based organizational takeovers of Western based companies and nations.

Holslag (2019) writes:

The array of tools that China uses is impressive if not intimidating... While many liberals in European countries are enthusiastic about China's pro-globalization discourse, its strategy is about manipulating globalization. China's open door policy threatens free

trade and distorts markets as much as protectionism, but we have few conceptual and legal tools to deal with it. (Holslag, p. 150)

The importance of Holslag's work in relation to this dissertation is that the European Union is on the front line of economic investment in relation to China's Belt and Road interconnectivity project across the Eurasian landmass, and thus provides telling lessons, on how this influence has the potential to be projected into the United States as China moves to further its interest and investment activities into the Western Hemisphere. Holslag's (2019) work also possesses great relevance by showing how new governmental, economic and technological models are coming to the fore, making older and more traditional policies and models irrelevant in competing and addressing the panoply of problems that arise with these new modalities and highly technologically based systems. In effect, Holslag (2019) posits that current academic and governmental research models will be rendered impotent in remedying these newly emerging trends, as these legacy models have been replaced by innovative and highly complex new systems which require an evolution of the current analytical dichotomies, in order to address the new problems that may arise from their implementation.

While Holslag's (2019) and Maques' (2018) books do not focus on higher education, the soft power methods being utilized by China to secure financial and corporate backing, to establish controlling shares over electronic platforms and digital media systems, and to alter the standards and norms which run in discordance with the human rights and economic transparency treaties of the current global regulatory institutions, is a very real and pressing concern, for they are highly attenuated to the American higher education system.

The potential for the CCP to control perception and access to information through publishing and media outlets, is directly related to the higher education system, which relies on these platforms, as well as the funding streams from the private sector, whose participation in the lucrative Chinese markets often runs in contravention to the long term greater good of society as a whole.

Thus, in seeking to explain how and why China is projecting its soft power influence on American university campuses across the nation, through an explanation of the financial and trade policies conducted by China, Holslag's (2019) and Maques' (2018) writings provide not only a perspective from credible financial and academic sources outside the United States, but also add weight to the conceptualization that CCP soft power projection is ultimately an extension of great power competition for global economic supremacy.

Perceptions, Realities and Chinese Soft Power Projection

While the previous literary sources provide a window into why China is projecting soft power influence into the United States, Rachele Peterson's report, "Outsourced to China, Confucius Institutes and Soft Power in American Higher Education" (Peterson, 2017), provides a traditional and well researched document funded by the National Association of Scholars, which highlights the direct soft power influence that China seeks to exert on the American university systems. Peterson's (2017) widely read and cited report, details the influence of Confucius Institutes (CI's) within America's higher education system:

They are ostensibly centers for teaching American students Chinese language and puff courses on Chinese arts. In reality, they are instruments of what Harvard University

professor Joseph Nye calls ‘soft power.’ That is they attempt to persuade people towards a compliant attitude, rather than coerce conformity. (Peterson, 2017, 12)

Peterson’s (2017) report was extremely effective in gaining national attention by news and media outlets on the nature of soft power, and China’s attempt to influence the perception of Chinese policies and history within the American academic sphere.

While Peterson’s (2017) report provides a litany of evidence through interviews and reports by a host of university administrators, professors and higher education associations – that probe into the contractual methods utilized by the Chinese governmental agency the Han Ban, to reduce the transparency of funding agreements to American universities that host the CI’s, the report does not consider the wider spectrum of soft power projection by the CCP on the American university system through less direct and more obscure methods. In addition, the report does not delve into the structural issues within the American governmental system, nor the legal, corporate and technological loopholes that will permit further soft power projection by the CCP through alternative methods and means.

While the mainstream reporting of the CI’s has induced Congressional members to take action on a raft of new legislation designed to reduce the influence of the CI’s soft power influence, the recommendations Peterson (2017) advances to remedy this influence are based upon the predicate of how the legal and academic system is supposed to work in theory, but does not consider how it actually works in practice. This dissertation will seek to further research this dilemma, and also to address other potential soft power methods that the CCP will utilize towards the furtherance of its goals, so as to influence public perception and restrict the freedom of expression within the academic community.

Another key research document written in conjunction with the Stanford affiliated Hoover Institution, is a report titled, “China’s Influence, and American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance” (Diamond & Schell, 2018). This report, written by Larry Diamond and Orville Schell, lends credence to the fact that China’s soft power influence is widespread on America’s institutions of learning.

In the section of the report which details the methods utilized to exert soft power on campuses across the United States, Diamond and Schell (2018), highlight the role that the United Workers Front, a governmental agency tasked with projecting propaganda both within China and onto foreign shores, is utilizing Chinese Student Scholar Associations (CSSA’s), to project CCP orchestrated soft power directives on American students and university systems.

Diamond and Schell (2018) write that:

Even when these contacts are for clearly cultural purposes, the CSSA provides a ready channel or entry point, for the political departments of the Chinese Embassy or consulates, to gather information and to coordinate action, which in some cases includes pressuring the behavior of Chinese students. Sometimes political pressure is applied by Chinese security services on family members, back in China, of those students it finds speaking out in unacceptable ways. (Diamond & Schell, 2018, p. 6)

While Diamond and Schell’s (2018) report provides direct evidence of China’s attempt to exert soft power and to restrict the freedom of expression within our higher education system through the CSSA’s, as well as the methods China utilizes to exert this influence, the report is limited in its scope to dated methods of CCP soft power tactics within the academic system.

Much like Peterson's (2018) report on the CI's, Diamond and Schell's (2018) writings, provide hard and compelling evidence of the lengths to which the CCP has taken to alter the public and academic perception in relation to China and its policies, yet they do not address the more adroit methods that the CCP has begun to craft in the present time. The importance of these reports is not to be underestimated nor dismissed, as they are written by credible sources, and influence public awareness and hence legislative action. However there is a significant lag time between the publication of these documents, public awareness and then subsequent statutory action, a time gap which permits the CCP to continually devise new methods to circumvent the outdated models of soft power which they formerly projected, ahead of any policy or legislative action targeted to curb them.

This point is key, for prophylactic measures of risk management must be taken by policy makers and Congressional actors to address potential points of vulnerability to CCP soft power influence so as to prevent this influence from altering the public's consciousness before China has a chance to exploit these vulnerabilities. Thus, this dissertation – will seek to further research these potential vulnerabilities, and also seek to explore if these proactive measures are realistic within the restrictions imposed by current economic, corporate, legal and governmental frameworks and systems.

One of the key literature sources which will be utilized to research these potential soft power vulnerabilities is Jonathon Ward's recent book, *China's Vision of Victory* (2019). Jonathon Ward is a graduate of Oxford University, is owner of Atlas Organization Consulting, and has extensive experience studying and working within China. Ward also serves as an advisor to the United States Defense Intelligence Agency as well as Fortune 500 Companies seeking to invest within China. Ward's (2019) book – provides telling insight into the most recent policies

and plans being laid out within the CCP's halls of power, detailing the economic, technological and soft power methods China is utilizing to unfold its Belt and Road Initiative and new model of international governance.

Ward's translation of a host of CCP documents and legal policies, including China's recent national security laws requiring all Chinese citizens and associational entities to engage and participate in any and all requests by the CCP intelligence and security apparatus (Ward, 2019), provides a wealth of information from which to analyze potential CCP soft power vulnerabilities within America's domestic sector, including the higher education sphere.

In addition, Ian Easton's work, *The Chinese Invasion Threat* (2017), as well as Michael Pillsbury's, *The One Hundred Year Marathon* (2017), will also serve as key literature sources to bolster research into China's soft power projection within America's democratic institutions. Ian Easton is a security analyst for the Project 2049 institute, and former China analyst at the Center for Naval Analyses, whose (2017) work delves into the various methods by which China projects misinformation, propaganda, and psychological operations campaigns. Michael Pillsbury, is a former State Department Official, and current Director of the Hudson Institute, whose much acclaimed (2017) work, highlights a legion of tactics which the CCP has utilized to infiltrate and influence the higher education sector.

However Robert Spalding's (2019) book, *Stealth War: How China Took Over While America's Elite Slept*, is perhaps the most in depth and focused literature source from which to analyze connections between Chinese soft power, financial institutions and the governmental sector, and how these issues relate to the higher education sphere. Spalding is the former Senior Director for Strategic Planning to the President at the National Security Council, and was the architect for America's National Security Strategy. Spalding also served as the Chief China

Strategist for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and served as an attaché for the Defense Department in China (Spalding, 2019). In Spalding's (2019) book, he highlights the interconnected relationship between the American financial sector and the United States government, as well as how the CCP is subtly utilizing monetary largesse, investment relations, digital technology and communications infrastructure, to project soft power within the United States. Spalding (2019) relates:

War between nations-states in the twenty-first century looks much different than war in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Instead of bombs and bullets, it's about ones and zeros and dollars and cents: economics, finance, data information, manufacturing, infrastructure, and communications. Control those fronts today, and you can win a war without firing a shot. (Spalding, 2019, p. xii)

Spalding's (2019) work – provides a legion of accurate information which proves invaluable for this dissertation, and is directly related to CCP soft power, the financial industry as well as the governmental interworking's of the United States. Spalding (2019) highlights the importance of researching Chinese soft power influence:

China is closing in on achieving its goal of influencing the politicians and corporations of the United States. If this happens, fundamental freedoms we take for granted – the ability to criticize a politician or a policy, to publish political statements, to report on governmental abuse or inefficiency...to study literally any subject under the sun, to visit any website, no matter what ideology is espoused – will come under assault. (Spalding, 2019, p. xiii)

The direct relationship between CCP soft power influence, the economy and the

American governmental sphere is a key focus area within this dissertation for analyzing the vulnerabilities as well as the effectiveness of Congressional legislation to arrest CCP soft power influence on the democratic institutions and higher education sector within the United States.

Following this vein of thought, one of the primary pieces of legislation researched for this dissertation is the National Authorization Defense Act (NADA), a statutory text which is passed on an annual basis, and is akin to an omnibus bill in the sense that while related to national defense appropriations, a host of specialized amendments, sections and trailer bills, are often added and appended to the main body of the legislative text – to address prescient national security and defense issues recognized as potential threats to the homeland (NADA, 2019).

The 2019 NADA states its express purpose is:

To authorize appropriation for fiscal year 2019 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes. (NADA, 2019, sect. 1)

The pertinent phrase, “and for other purposes,” (NADA, 2019) is the key point in this research, as recent NADA bills have contained statutory mandates relating to CCP soft power projection in relation to Defense Department funding appropriations to universities, which rely heavily on this funding to implement and conduct research within a variety of technological and scientific fields of inquiry. For example, The NADA of 2018, contains a mandate which will prohibit all universities participating with CI’s to receive federal defense funding as stipulated

under Section 1091 (b) (NADA, 2018), unless they are granted a waiver by the Defense Department. The section reads:

None of the funds authorized to be appropriated by this Act or otherwise made available for the Department of Defense may be obligated or expended to support a Chinese Language program at an institution of higher education that hosts a Confucius Institute. (NADA, 2018, sect. 1091 b)

The waiver section makes clear that three stipulations must be met to satisfy the statutory requirement, that no CI employees will provide support for the program, that they will have no authority over curriculum or activities and that:

The institution has made available to the Department of Defense all memoranda of understanding, contracts, and other agreements between the institution and the CI...or between the institution and any agency or organization affiliated with the government of the People's Republic of China. (NADA, 2018, sect. 1091 b)

The NADA of 2019 also contains a key provision in relation to CCP soft power, honing in on university funding streams, stating in Section 889 (A) (NADA, 2019), that universities will lose research funding if they utilize Chinese technology or:

Procure or obtain or extend or renew a contract to procure or obtain any equipment system, or service that uses covered telecommunications equipment or serve as a substantial component of any system, or as a critical technology as part of any system. (NADA, 2019, sect. 889 A)

Upon a closer reading of the text however, it becomes apparent the obvious loopholes contained within both of these statutory requirements, that being expressly the fact that the statutory mandates are limited in scope – to funds appropriated by the Defense Department directly related to Confucius programs, not the universities that host Confucius programs, (NADA, 2018) and that while universities will lose research funding if they utilize Chinese technology, the bill does not address third party subsidiary parties not included within its designated foreign entities list, which essentially permits a backdoor route for soft power influence to continue unabated (NADA, 2019).

Therefore, further research will be conducted which will investigate current and previously proposed Congressional legislation directly related to CCP soft power projection, the legal loopholes contained within these bills, and the political, policy and economically related reasons as to why these provisions do not contain more expressly stringent limitations to prevent CCP influence within America’s university systems. This research will tie directly into the corporate influence on international and domestic policy procurement and enactment, as well as the structures and funding streams of the American higher education system.

Additional research for this dissertation will utilize a host of sources such as Cory Gardner’s recent bi-partisan letter discussing the possible adverse effects to the United States in relation to China’s new Corporate Social Credit System (Gardner, 2019), as well as other congressional letters expressing concerns in relation to China’s soft power influence on the democratic and educational institutions of the United States.

Sources such United States Senator Chris Coons’ recent bi-partisan supported letter expressing concerns on China’s attempts to undermine democracy within the United States

(Coons, 2018), as well as Senator Marco Rubio's official letter highlighting Beijing's growing influence on our democratic, economic and governmental sectors (Rubio, 2018), will provide accurate and highly valuable material from which to analyze CCP soft power influences on the higher education sector.

In addition, Robert Kelchen's (2018) book, *Higher Education Accountability*, as well as John Dayton's (2015) book, *Higher Education Law and Policy*, will provide key research information from esteemed higher education experts, from which to consult and analyze CCP soft power influence in relation to the domestic and international spheres.

While the potential limitations of Constitutional law, Supreme Court precedent, and Congressional legislative enactments to protect academic freedom within the sovereign bounds of the United States will be a primary focus of this dissertation, it is in the international arena of great power competition that the rationale behind CCP soft power projection emanates. Therefore it is essential to investigate and analyze the functions and composition of the global system – in order to understand the cause and effect relationship it has upon the United States.

While each national entity has the sovereign right to enact within its own jurisprudential system – a set of laws and judicial courts to exercise the interpretation of these laws within its own purview, any national entity which seeks to participate within the international global and economic and security frameworks and commits to abide by these frameworks as signatory nations, should in good faith, adhere to the stipulations as outlined by these international bodies to the documents and treaties to which it commits (Holslag, 2019). Therefore China and the United States, as signatory participants of the UN and other international treaty based organizational bodies, will also factor heavily into this research analysis.

The UN Charter states in the Preamble of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights that:

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms...to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction. (UN, 2019, para. 5)

The UN Declaration on Human Rights (UN, 2019), continues to stipulate a host of basic human rights that all signatory nations must abide by in order to participate in accordance with international law. Therefore, while conducting research for this dissertation, it became clear that the UN Declaration on Human Rights (UN 2019), sets a fundamental standard on a widely agreed upon internationally based value system – that seeks to provide all individuals, regardless of which sovereign nation to which they maintain citizenship, with basic human rights guarantees. These basic human rights as defined within the UN Charter (UN, 2019), permit the resolution of international disputes on human rights to be settled in the UN Security Council, if all other arbitration methods and processes have failed to achieve an agreed upon resolution (UN, 2019 art. 27).

However upon further research, it became clear that there was a fundamental caveat to the final arbitration of potential human rights abuses, as all five permanent members hold a veto status, which permits any permanent member to annul any contestation of human rights violations even if they run contrary to the stipulated provisions within the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, as unanimity among the five permanent members is necessary in order to pass

a UN resolution (UN, 2019, art. 27). Article 27 of the United Nations Charter states succinctly that, “Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of five members” (UN, 2019, art. 27). As the United States and China, are both permanent members of the UN Security Council, any disputes between the two can be vetoed, thus prohibiting the protection of human rights.

Therefore, as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights sets an international value system on standards and norms as practiced within the global institutional framework, this dissertation seeks to further research how these standards and norms are related to higher education within the United States, and how great power competition and hence the projection of soft power by China, has the potential to adversely affect the perception of human rights as agreed upon by the international community, through the suppression and manipulation of information and access to publications that highlight China’s human rights abuses as defined under the UN Charter.

As universities are often perceived by the public as bastions of free thought, the soft power pressure exerted by the CCP upon the higher education system to subvert the overall perception of human rights within the academic community, thereby has direct implications to the perception of the overall American populous, which in turn advances the CCP’s ultimate propagandic strategy in advancing their Confucian based Belt and Road system of standards and norms, and furthers the CCP’s goals in the arena of great power competition.

The final source researched within this literature review is the book, *AI Supremacy*, written by Daniel Wagner, and Keith Furst (Wagner & Furst, 2018). Daniel Wagner is a former risk management consultant for AIG and the current CEO of Country Risk Solutions, which

manages cross border risk in the private and public sectors. Wagner's coauthor Keith Furst, is the Director of Data Derivatives, a company which focuses on financial crimes and digital systems analysis.

The relevance of Wagner and Furst's (2018) work is their assertion that in order to compete on the global, national and regional level, financial institutions, corporations and nations, are going to have to quickly adapt to the newly emerging technologies of artificial intelligence, deep learning, neural networks, and a host of other fifth generation digital platforms coming to the fore, in what they term as the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Wagner & Furst, 2018). Wagner and Furst (2018) provide an in depth analysis showcasing the multiplicity of ways in which the Fourth Industrial Revolution will alter the fundamental structures of the financial, health, corporate, technological and national security spheres, as states and organizations are forced to utilize these new machine learning based data systems in order to compete with rival corporations and nation states. In their book, Wagner and Furst (2018) detail the speed, efficiency, and flexibility of application for these new systems in transforming the digital and informational landscape, and provide a risk management perspective for managers and policymakers to implement and utilize these fifth generation systems within their organizational spheres.

Wagner and Furst (2018) provide a host of examples in relation to national security issues that have relevance to the rise of China, stating that:

AI could help provide authoritarian governments with a plausible alternative to liberal democracy-a phenomenon that is already in play around the world. This could enhance

the existing propensity for renewed international competition between social systems.
(Wagner & Furst, 2018, p. 50)

However the most enlightening portions of Wagner and Furst's (2018) book in relation to this dissertation – was the complex elucidation of how these new systems have the potential to alter perception through sentiment analysis and informational controls, as well as through massive data analytics programs, which utilize deep learning and foundational digital platforms to create parametrical fields of predictive analysis. These platforms are essentially the technological architecture, from which all other systems are based and supported. Thus the implications of whether these systems are based under governmental or corporate control is an issue of the utmost importance, for the entity which controls the framework – has access to and control of the digital information and application of the pre-set parameters on the wider scale (Wagner & Furst, 2018).

Wagner and Furst's (2018) book, highlight a host of evidenced based real world examples, where state and corporate controlled platforms have already compromised informational security, and how this data driven information can be utilized to undermine, compete with, and alter the perceptions of consumers and citizens in the pension markets, financial services, corporate compliance and academic publishing fields. Considering the fact that regulatory legislation and risk management policies have yet to address these potential privacy and security issues, and the fact that university pension funds are heavily reliant on fin-tech, student and employee informational systems on the digital cloud software, and publishing and research on deep learning analysis, understanding the potential for newly emerging technologies to compromise the higher education systems is key to any policymaker or administrator working in the higher education sphere.

It is also instrumental to know how these new systems are interrelated and interconnected to the conventionally based legacy models, systems and practices in the present, so that policy makers and interested stakeholders will be able to provide prophylactic policies that protect potential breaches of information, strengthen institutional autonomy, and ultimately prevent the alteration of perceptions through CCP soft power techniques before they gain a foothold within the American university systems.

One example cited in Wagner and Furst's (2018) work is related to the medical research and publishing fields in higher education. Wagner and Furst (2018) elucidate how AI systems are currently being utilized to essentially comb through massive amounts of information within scientific literature – and derive a meaning and analysis of this information without the assistance of a human being, with the only work being conducted by the human, being to set the control parameters by which the search was initiated.

Wagner and Furst (2018) explain that:

By utilizing Unsupervised Machine learning...clusters of words form around certain research papers even though the context of the paper itself is unknown...the next step in the evolution of scientific research and AI is extracting the meaning from papers...the next milestone will be to actually extract the problem, solution, evaluation and result from scientific papers quickly and efficiently. (Wagner & Furst, 2018, p. 117)

While Wagner and Furst (2018) do not delve into foreign influence and soft power projection in relation to the digital platforms for which research is being utilized, the scientific research example cited above – provides the very real possibility that the overall scope of research in the humanities and other fields could be controlled by the entity that creates the

digital platforms on which that research is being conducted. Thus if these forms of AI are furthered towards other publishing related activities, the potential for policies to be altered in favor of a preconceived outcome through limitations or constraints as constructed within the software – is a very real potential threat to academic freedom.

The removal of critical thinking, and the machine based data driven analysis and outcome based solutions derived from algorithms with the human element controlling only the parameters, is already a reality in many fields of compliance based, financially based and even diplomatic fields (Wagner & Furst, 2018). As the current federal legislation moves to control soft power projection by China, the inability for Congress to adapt at a swift enough pace to address these potential incursions could present a series of unforeseen consequences in the future, for the current models and standards have not adapted to these new realities.

Wager and Furst (2018) state that:

The exponential growth in chip processing speed, memory capacity, and other computer metrics is so great that the amount of progress computers will make in the next few years will surpass the progress they have made since the beginning of the computer age. The primary innovative bottleneck is, ultimately, the time it takes society to adjust to the many combinations and permutations of new technological and business models.

(Wagner & Furst, 2018, p. 82)

Considering the fact that the Chinese government has the ability to enact new legislative policies at a far swifter pace than the United States governmental system due to its highly centralized hierarchical bureaucratic structure (Wagner & Furst, 2018), the implications in the arena of great power competition and soft power projection are not positive for the United States,

as the ability to adapt quickly in the ever changing techno-informational battlefield will be essential – if the democratic freedoms of expression are to be preserved on our higher education campuses.

Thus Wagner and Furst (2018), provides a host of various points of vulnerability that have currently been unexplored – within the context of the potential liabilities to the American higher education system. This dissertation will further research how these unregulated weak points have the potential to be exploited by the CCP, so that policy makers in the business, university and legislative fields will be aware of these critical risks, and thus be able address and remedy them in a timely manner. For in order to stem the furtherance of informational controls, psychological operations, and societal perceptual alterations, which are the hallmark of the CCP projection of soft power and propaganda upon the United States, forward thinking methods of risk management practices and due diligence must be in the vanguard towards protecting academic freedom throughout the American university system.

Summary

There are two main themes that have emerged from this literature review, each directly impacting the other in a cascading pattern of interrelatedness.

The first theme – is that, with the rise of modern China to great power status, the CCP has engaged in a multibillion dollar campaign to project soft power onto American universities in order to alter public perception within the United States, so as to advance the new system of Chinese standards and norms that the CCP is projecting on a global level (Diamond & Schell, 2018). These standards and norms are often in contravention to the UN Universal Declaration on Human rights, which has significant structural barriers within its Charter, and has the potential to

be severely undermined by the new institutions being created within China's new Belt and Road sphere of influence (Holslag, 2019).

Secondly, CCP soft power projection, has been directed at universities within the United States through a variety of ever evolving and complex ways to shape, limit and alter academic research and perception, many which are intricately linked with corporate and financial interests (Diamond & Schell, 2018).

Even when CCP soft power projection has been recognized, such as with the much publicized C.I.'s, the Congressional mandates and statutory prohibitions enacted, contain significant loopholes which permit the CCP to continue to adversely impact the freedom of thought, expression and the search for the truth on university campuses (NADA, 2019).

Furthermore, this research has found that new methods of soft power projection will emerge through innovative models of technological control and application, including digital platforms, artificial intelligence based data analysis, and systems based parametrical controls. These platforms and applications are often shrouded in highly complex and interrelated supply chains, proprietary confidentiality terms of agreement and protected contractual relations, making them extremely difficult to regulate and police (Wagner & Furst, 2018). Finally, this research found that the potential for the further erosion of the democratic ideals of academic freedom will be severely compromised unless prophylactic risk management policies are implemented to prevent future CCP soft power projection.

Therefore, this literature review has found that while there is significant literature on the corporate influence, and the rise of China in relation to geopolitical competition, there are significant gaps in the research tying all of these factors into a cohesive and comprehensive

analysis – which illuminates the complexities of how the system truly works in practice, and not just in theory.

As this dissertation seeks to create a systems based policy narrative seeking to explain why and how China seeks to undermine academic freedom on American university campuses, and whether current methods of legislative and policy prevention are effective to arrest this undue foreign influence, further research needs to be conducted in order to form a foundational critical analysis which ties all of these elements together.

In this vein, key CCP documents such as the PRC's official defense white paper (CDD, 2019), and the PRC's recently released white paper on its new system of international governance (PRC, 2019), will be researched in depth to provide a balanced and accurate analysis within the body of the dissertation. Additional research studies such as Alex Joske's (2018) report from the Australian Strategic Policy Institute on PLA infiltration within higher education institutions around the globe (Joske, 2018), as well documents from the National Association of Scholars expressing concerns over CCP soft power influence on American universities will also be consulted (Wood, 2018).

This is the key point of this dissertation, for only through a comprehensive understanding of how the system works in a totality of the circumstances, will the public, policy makers and legislators, be better able to protect academic freedom in the United States from undue foreign influence which seeks to undermine the values and mores enshrined within the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

With the higher education sector suffering from ever shrinking funding allocations by the American federal and state governments (Kelchen, 2018), many universities across the United States have been driven to seek alternative funding sources to fill their fiscal coffers. While a host of higher education institutions have established profitable and successful corporate relationships with domestic business entities, other universities have turned to foreign based revenue streams through international partnerships and agreements in order to meet their budgetary needs (Peterson, 2018).

While these foreign contracts and partnerships are highly lucrative for the beneficiary universities, and are an important tool towards the facilitation of cultural exchanges and ideas in an environment of free speech and expression, nations such as China have taken advantage of this climate of openness to suppress academic freedom and to profit at the expense of American goodwill (Diamond & Schell, 2018).

In a new era of great power competition, China has emerged as a rival to the United States in the geopolitical arena (NSS, 2017), and through the financial capture of higher education associations, businesses, presses and university programs themselves, the Chinese government has utilized a highly subversive form of soft power projection in an attempt to

infiltrate, suppress, and control the social narrative and psychological perceptions of university staff and students (Diamond & Schell, 2018).

As testimony given by Chris Walker to the United States House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence makes clear:

Given its corrosive impact on critical democratic institutions, China's authoritarian internationalism poses both a rule-of-law and a national security challenge; authoritarian efforts that today target democratic institutions and seek to undermine their integrity represent what should be understood as a serious and persistent nontraditional security threat. (Walker, 2019, p. 12)

The significance of this narrative based analytical research study lies in the fact that it will provide a comprehensive, systems based narrative analysis to the reader, which combines historical, legal, socioeconomic and policy based sources in order to create a geo-educational fusion that encompasses the entire spectrum of the subject at issue. This form of research is engaging, interesting, accurate and most importantly educational to any policy maker, higher education professional, or public citizen interested in addressing and remedying the infringement of academic freedom on American university campuses (Pattyn, Molenveld, & Befini, 2017). Without a systems based narrative analysis, which considers each foundational aspect of the research at issue, the interested reader is limited to gauging the problem of practice from a myopic perspective, thereby preventing a full consideration of the all the issues at hand (Moen, 2006).

One of the key elements and goals of this dissertation as a problem in practice, is to explicate and delineate the complex interaction of higher education, corporate entities and

foreign powers in relation to the Constitutional mandates of the First Amendment, in order that higher education leaders and professionals will be able to create policies that protect free speech and expression while also benefiting from the social and economic gains of both domestic and foreign business relationships.

A second prime element of this research is to utilize an international realist based perspective within this research analysis, so as to provide the reader with a chronological narrative which explores not only how the geopolitical, economic, legislative and policy spheres work in theory, but also how they work in practice (Holslag, 2019).

Lastly, the narrative based analytical research undertaken within this composition is also of great significance, as the ability to communicate this information to a wide audience is not only conducive to extending the readership of this research beyond a traditional academic and policy based sphere, but also aligns in concordance with the Constitutional principles of providing all interested individuals with the opportunity to learn, engage and participate within the democratic system on which the United States is based (First, 2018).

This narrative research analysis is systems based in nature, as while there are a host of informative sources detailing various aspects in relation to the subject at issue, there is minimal research which ties all of the various strands of information together into a coherent and comprehensive narrative (Moen, 2006).

The qualitative data collection within the dissertation will focus on historical, legal, policy and geopolitically based primary and secondary sources.

No human subjects will be utilized within this research through intervention or interaction, nor is any communication with any individuals conducted in this research. This

research has not nor will, utilize private information, and will include readily and broadly available information for archival retrieval.

Design of the Study

The qualitative based narrative inquiry, utilizing archival retrieval, is the most appropriate research method for this composition. There are several reasons which underlay the rationale for utilizing this qualitative method. The first is that the purpose of this research study is to provide a broad audience with a panoptic systems based narrative which encompasses a host of various cultural, governmental and legal systems, in order to provide the reader with the information and knowledge necessary to make a well informed decisional analysis, on the pressing issue of the adverse effects of Chinese soft power influence on the academic freedom of American university campuses across the nation.

Therefore the narrative based analysis, which investigates the entire system as an integrated whole (Moen, 2005) – as opposed to one single unit of study, works in concordance with the overall goals of this dissertation, as investigating only one single aspect of the subject would limit the overall perspective of study. The limitation to a single point of focus would then have the potential to result in a distorted perceptual analysis, as the global system is composed of a host of interconnected moving parts, not just one specific focal point (Holslag, 2019).

Torill Moen comments on narrative analysis, stating that:

A unit must not be a diffuse, syncretic whole of elements, something that combines everything with everything else. It should, rather, be an integrated whole. The unit of analysis must also be a living part of the whole. It must be a unified system that cannot be

broken down further. Any further division of the whole into elements is possible but results in its decomposition as a living and unified entity. (Moen, 2005, p. 57)

A second reason that the narrative analysis is the most appropriate form of qualitative methodology in relation to this dissertation, is the fact that the narrative analysis works in confluence with a host of various forms of qualitative genres:

Very often, the concept of narrative is used in connection with how to represent a qualitative research study. Thus, it is maintained that a case study, a biographical study, a phenomenological study or an ethnographic study may have a narrative form of representation. (Moen, 2006, p. 57)

As comprehending a complex issue that weaves its way through a host of various interdisciplinary fields, the narrative analysis will provide a key vehicle to communicate academic research and policy on Chinese soft power projection to a wide audience:

Throughout many societies in which China today is deeply engaged, information concerning the Chinese political system and its foreign policy strategies tends to be extremely limited...Civil society organizations should develop strategies for communicating expert knowledge about China to broader audiences. (Walker, 2019, p. 12)

With the goal of communicating a complex message to a broad audience interested in comprehending the historical, legal and geopolitical elements in relation to China's soft power projection on the American higher education system, the ability to harness the strengths of cultural analysis, historical anecdotes, biographical study and legal interpretation, all within a

single qualitative based interpretive framework, makes the narrative based analysis the prime vehicle for accomplishing the overall goals of this composition.

Through the implementation of triangulation of the archival source material through a narrative analysis, a broader perception will be accorded to the reader. This expanded perception, facilitates the comprehension of China's soft power initiatives from what is normally a narrow parochial perspective, involving a single entity or area of focus, to the broadening of the perceptual based horizon. This perceptual expansion, therefore – permits the research within the composition to encompass a three dimensional perspective, which transcends a more linear study of the historical, and cultural research continuum by providing analysis on multiple planes of delineation.

This idea is analogous to Plato's analogy of the cave, in which prisoners are chained and confined to a cave, and can perceive nothing out of that perceptual viewpoint. When one of them is freed, to experience the light of day and a field of vision that was once denied, the individual was able to recognize the entire spectrum of perception, and therefore assess reality through a more valid perceptual axis of reference. As Socrates stated:

If he again recalled his first dwelling, and the 'knowing' that passes as the norm there, and the people with whom he once was chained, don't you think he would consider himself lucky because of the transformation that had happened? (Plato, 2019, p. 516)

In essence, while a given piece of research might make sense within the context in which it is written, the overall thrust behind the predicates upon which it is based, might become untenable or obsolete in relation to a wider analysis of multiple literature sources spanning time and systems (Moen, 2006). The comparison of archival sources from a variety of domestic,

international, historical and cultural fields of research, therefore permits for a much more nuanced and accurate appraisal of China's soft power initiatives to be gleaned by interested readers and policymakers.

One of the main goals of this dissertation is to provide higher education policymakers with a broader range of information from which to make efficient, effective and results oriented policies to prevent and arrest further incursions to the freedom of expression on American university campuses. Therefore, the narrative based study serves to act as an evaluative tool from which an interested reader can then extrapolate information in order to make an informed policy decision.

Researcher Perspective

As this research is interpreted subjectively through this writer's own perceptual viewpoints, it is important to discuss the personal biases, theoretical methods and hermeneutical considerations which will be employed within this dissertation.

Researcher Positionality

Due to this writers' own personal experiences, upbringing and education within the United States of America, there is a strong propensity to perceive the world through a Western oriented paradigm, which is rooted in classical, Judeo-Christian and Enlightenment based values systems (Haskins, 1957). As a firm believer in the democratically based Constitutional ideals of freedom of expression and speech (First, 2018), this writer has made great efforts in the research of this dissertation, to objectively consider the historically and culturally based non democratic constructs of Eastern oriented models of government.

The ultimate aim of any research based inquiry is to follow the truth to where it leads even if the end result and conclusion of the study is unpopular, unorthodox, or unconventional (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957). As one of the main goals of this dissertation is to provide the reader with an accurate appraisal of how China's rise is directly related to soft power projection on the American higher education system, a one sided theoretical analysis based upon a democratic and Constitutional ideal – would not only compromise the overall academic integrity of study, but would also lead to an incomplete analysis of the overall subject at issue (Moen, 2006).

This subjective stance would – in effect, with the intent of promoting democratic ideals, counterintuitively prevent policymakers from fully comprehending the motivations, applications and projection of Chinese soft power onto the American higher education system, and therefore weaken the policies implemented in order to halt this undue influence on our academic programs and campuses.

While the Constitutional ideal is supported in this research study in relation to the protection of academic freedom within the sovereign borders of the United States, the analysis of a variety of models of government, taking into account their cultural, geopolitical and pragmatically based elements, will be given full consideration within this dissertation. In giving full consideration to all perspectives, and investigating through in depth research, a variety of subjects which are not often considered within the traditional Overtonian Window of academic discourse, the academic injustice of excluding unpopular findings, suppositions and perspectives to gain the approval or agreement of the popular majority will be obviated (Moen, 2006).

Georges Sorel, a late nineteenth century political philosopher comments on the importance of looking beyond the commonly constructed barriers of thought in order to perceive the world from a higher vantage point, “I put before my readers the product of a mental effort which is endeavoring to break through the constraints of what has previously been constructed for common use and which seeks to discover what is” (Sorrel, 2019, p. 4-5).

In seeking to move beyond the cultural and structural barriers within the democratically sovereign based system of the United States, this composition also explores research from an international realist based perspective. This writer also holds a subjectively based belief in the internationally established ideal of human rights, as espoused under the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which states as its goals:

As a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms...both among the peoples of Member States themselves, and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction. (UN, 2019, para. 8)

However, while the UN Declaration of Human Rights is an international standard held by all signatory nations, including the United States and China (UN, 2019), this dissertation, in seeking to analyze the motivations and intentions behind the Chinese government’s soft power offensive, seeks to delve beyond personal beliefs and the institutional constructs that govern both the domestic and international governmental spheres. Therefore, the decision to analyze the research in this dissertation through the international realist based theoretical conceptualization of great power competition, which is not bound by any sovereign ideologically based system,

model, nor internationally sanctioned body (Mearsheimer, 2018), is the most hermeneutically appropriate theoretical stance of investigation for this composition.

Data Collection

As this dissertation seeks to provide a comprehensive narrative based research analysis through archival retrieval, the collection of valid sources of data are of capital importance in order to provide an accurate and well researched study.

Key data sources in this dissertation will include numerous Supreme Court cases and federal legislation so as to provide the reader with a clear understanding and comprehension of the Constitutional protections of academic freedom, as well as the statutory mandates that have been promulgated by Congress in order to protect the United States from CCP soft power influence. Therefore access to the online resources such as the official governmental websites of the Supreme Court and the Congressional departments will provide accurate sources from which to extract data.

The Supreme Court cases are of prime importance, as they provide an overarching precedent for all public universities within the higher education sector, and thus provide the reader with a broad comprehension and understanding of the Constitutional protections accorded to academic freedom that is relevant across the United States. Cases such as, *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, (1957) and *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), are examples of key cases from which data will be drawn from official governmental websites. Supreme Court cases can then be reinforced with federal legislation thus far implemented by Congress to arrest Chinese soft power influence, which works within the arc of Supreme Court case precedent. Data sources such as the NDAA (2019) which is the primary legislative vehicle to address the national defense

and security concerns for the United States, will be a valuable source from which data can be drawn, along with other Congressional legislation and Executive actions that can all be accessed via official governmental online sources.

In addition, a host of policy documents from higher education associations, think tanks and other American based democratic institutions will be consulted frequently within this dissertation. These documents provide policy based analysis from top tier sources which will add to the depth and focus of the overall dissertation, and supplement the Supreme Court cases and Congressional legislation with a more technically based policy perspective that hones in on key issues or subjects relevant to CCP soft power projection.

The online websites from associational and think tank sources, such as the National Association of Scholars, the Hoover Institution, and the Hudson Institute, all provide key data sources to access pertinent and accurate policy in relation to CCP soft power and the higher education sector. Policy documents from the National Association of Scholars such as Rachel Peterson's report on China's Confucius Institutes (Peterson, 2018) and Diamond and Schell's (2018) report from Stanford's Hoover Institution on CCP soft power projection, are prime examples and key data sources from which the research on this dissertation will be based.

Furthermore, a host of books from both American and foreign writers will also be researched and included within this dissertation, so as to glean a perspective that will encompass a wide range of viewpoints, from which to draw analytical conclusions. By researching a spectrum of different cultural interpretations of the international system, a more balanced and nuanced analysis can be drawn.

In addition, governmental documents from both the United States as well as China will be utilized frequently throughout the dissertation. Thus the official websites of the Executive Department, as well as the PRC's Information Department will provide accurate and balanced data sources for the research conducted within the dissertation. The NSS (2018) which provides the national security strategy for the United States, as well as its Chinese based equivalent the CDD (2019), which lays out China's national defense and security policies, will provide an equivoise from which to compare, contrast and draw data. By researching official documents from both the American and Chinese governmental spheres, and then comparing the similarities and contrasts between these documents, inferences can be drawn to analyze commonly held viewpoints in relation to great power competition, as well as oppositional perspectives.

Aside from the traditional review of books and their content in relation to this composition, this literature review also seeks explore the use of credible news media sites, focusing with particular emphasis on the *South China Morning Post (SCMP, 2019)* and *Inside Higher Education (IHE, 2019)*, for a large amount of up to date information and content on foreign and educational policies, events and news. The importance of including these two media sources amongst others, rests on two fundamental predicates.

The first, is that in order to gauge ongoing and emergent events as they transpire, it is of the utmost necessity to utilize and analyze trends, models, polices and politics as they occur in real time, as much of this composition rests upon analysis of cutting edge and freshly unfolding events. While traditional sources such as books, academic writings, governmental legislation and higher education policy procurements provide the foundational aspects of this composition, the analysis and inclusion of credible media sources permit a study of key issues before they have been explored, published or enacted by academics, administrators and legislatures.

Secondly, by including news sources and triangulating the information, perspectives and stances on which these sources rely, a comparative analysis of these events – permits an unvarnished and subjectively based intellectual introspection and interpretation, which can then be applied to gauge the pulse of the populace – within the readership, media organizations, and nations from which these sources originate. By utilizing credible media sources to compare the actions the United States and China take, as opposed to the official statements of intent within their governmental and policy documents, a more accurate analysis can be made of the intentions of these governments not simply by what they say in form, but how they act in practice.

Therefore, the key data sources within the dissertation will be composed of official websites of the American Supreme Court and Congress, the online websites of top tier higher education associations and think tanks, a wide variety of books, the governmental websites of the Executive Department and the PRC, as well as credible online media sources.

Data Analysis and Validity

The various research sources selected for this dissertation will seek to derive analysis which is wide and highly variegated in order to provide the reader with a systems based perspective in relation to the analytical components from which the research is derived (Moen 2006). Therefore the method of triangulation is utilized in order to gain a more accurate assessment of the information presented. The technique of triangulation permits for the validation and cross checking of information which improves the accuracy of the composition (Pattyn, Molenveld, & Befini, 2017).

The triangulation technique permits the collection of research data through an analysis of the various systems, word usage, historical consciousness and culture of the given subject, in

order to formulate a more accurate assessment of the information gleaned from the research.

Triangulation is important to ensure that the validity of research accurately considers all angles of the study at issue.

Historical Consciousness

Firstly, when analyzing historical research data for this dissertation, it is not just relevant that various books, documents and sources are compared and then analyzed, but rather that the historical consciousness, context and background of the research from which one is deriving and making the analysis is also taken into consideration (Pattyn, Molenveld, & Befini, 2017).

As Gustav Le Bon, an early twentieth century philosopher relates:

Numerous are the words whose meaning has thus profoundly changed from age to age – words which we can only arrive at understanding in the sense in which they were formerly understood after a long effort. It has been said with truth that much study is necessary merely to arrive at conceiving what was signified to our great grandfathers by such words as the ‘king’ and the ‘royal family.’ What, then, is likely to be the case with terms still more complex? (Bonn, 2001, p. 62)

In order to address these semantic and social evolutions, the tool of triangulation is utilized within this dissertation, to inform policymakers interested in preventing the infringement of academic freedom by foreign influence – of the current legal perceptions in relation to former legislation – so that they might craft more accurate and proscriptive policy remedies. Without triangulation, the ultimate results of policy outcomes will most likely be less than determinative (Pattyn, Molenveld, & Befini, 2017).

This historically conscious approach to triangulation, and the recognition of the societally based perceptual evolution, not only provides the ability of this writer to discern the golden thread of truth which weaves its way through the commonality of the dissertation, but also permits the reader to comprehend the dissertation through a wider lens (Moen, 2006).

The triangulatory method thereby provides the clear delineation for the reader, the attenuated aspects of the historical factuals from which this dissertation builds its narrative. It also provides interesting insights into the developments and shifts in historically related academic and legislative thought and interpretation, in relation to the research at issue. This comprehension is of critical importance, for in order to draw accurate assessments from the past in relation to applicatory remedies for the future, it is important for the reader to be well acquainted with the historical referential framework from within which legislation was manifested (Pattyn, Molenveld, & Befini, 2017).

By having a firm grasp of the various political, social, economic and geopolitical events occurring within the timeframe from which the research originated, the analysis takes on an entirely new dimension, as the ideas and conceptualizations of the research can be analyzed not only to the statements and theories generated, but also within their historical context.

Interdisciplinary Studies

Secondly, the qualitative method of triangulation, also permits for a variety of sources to be consulted and compared from a wide range of disciplines. As this narrative research analysis seeks to provide a systems based dissertation, the conducting of research across a host of various disciplines permits a triangulative analysis to create something new in itself (Moen, 2006). Much like an atom is merely a piece of matter in its autonomous state, it has the potential to be

transmogrified from its base elements, its ephemeral state, into something tangible and altogether new, a genesis of combinatory elements.

The prime insight is that something new can be created from something old, that the building blocks can be reconfigured in various orders to create new structures, that an exposure to a multiplicity of ideas is often a prerequisite to innovation (Satell, 2017).

It is the Promethean concept of the phoenix arising from the ashes, and a combinatory approach is a prevalent commonality throughout a host of qualitative narrative research methods. Because while something new may arise from the triangulation and comparison of a multiplicity of different sources, the hard factual elements which remain in continuity, provide the ability to create a dissertation that is *sui generis* in originality, yet also remains insuperable to the plinth of truth upon which the work stands.

One of the main tenets which forms the under flowing current of this composition, is to provide a wide ranging and accurate assessment of China's evolutionary history and rise to great power status, so as to provide readers with a clear eyed understanding of the background and rationale behind soft power projection onto American higher education campuses. Thus, a high variation of archival research data will increase the validity of the analytical findings within this work.

Source Variability

Furthermore, it is critical that the sources chosen for this research are selective not only through the lens of historical consciousness, or their interdisciplinary nature, but also with the knowledge and background of the authors or entities that composed the works from which the narrative analysis is derived. Having a firm grasp of a data source's history, nationality of origin,

political stance, previously published works, as well as the associational and business relations a certain author or entity maintains, is a key component in this research composition, as the research being compared is not only selected in relation to academic credibility, but also due to the background of the source from which the research was gleaned. For example, the legislative documents selected for this dissertation were gathered not only for the *credos* associated with a formal governmental source of material, but also to showcase that the issue of great power competition between the United States and China, as well as the soft power projection by the CCP into American campuses, is a non-partisan issue that crosses the political divide, and is supported by a host of executive agencies and legislative investigative committees.

This selective investigative source based approach, was conducted in order to explore the conceptualizations of China's rise and soft power projection from a variety of different research perspectives that factored into its analytical calculus, a host of both domestic and international modalities, in order to create a multiprismatic analysis of the research. Rather than simply investigating the research based upon the writings of works from one specific school of thought, ideological underpinning or national perspective, this composition seeks to explore the full spectrum of thoughts on the subject at issue. This triangulatory method is akin to Alexander Dugin's philosophical conceptualization of the 'metaphysics of debris' (Dugin, 2012).

Dugin is a Russian Eurasionist intellectual thinker who has earned the moniker of Putin's Brain, and who advances the conceptualization that a deconstructive analysis of a host of various, seemingly disparate schools of thoughts and philosophies, must be undertaken in order to truly comprehend an ontological perception or meaning beyond the commonly held ideologies or theories present within a given society. Dugan posits that this expansionary and combinatory

investigation – then has the potential to generate a new heuristical perception, from which to create a more accurate analysis of the subject under investigation (Dugin, 2012).

This frame of analysis is critical in relation to the consideration of hermeneutical elements, due to the wide variety of perceptual perspectives that emerge from different cultural, national, or professional stances. The concept of the ‘metaphysics of debris’ (Dugin, 2012) is also important, because the consideration of a host of seemingly contradictory elements from a legion of various sources – creates a more accurate analysis in relation to this dissertation, which can then be utilized to inform policymakers and the greater public at large – with a far more nuanced and academically sound foundation from which to comprehend and understand the important issues in relation to the foreign subversion of academic freedom on American university campuses.

In effect, a singular point of perspective by a host of authors, even if the sources are numerous in relation to the subject, weakens the overall research conducted, as while it may be academically sound, the point of reference is limited in scope, thereby distorting the lens to perceive the study at issue.

This distortive disconnect, if not properly considered, could result in an inaccurate conclusion based upon the preset predicate on which it is based, but not comport with reality or the alternative perceptions of reality as espoused by other schools of thought or data collection metrics, thereby running in contravention to the consonance of an accurate policy prescription from which to provide a remedy to a given problem of practice.

Hermeneutical Semantics

Lastly, this dissertation seeks to bridge the divide between the perceptual comprehensions and interpretations of two distinct cultural and civilizational entities. Therefore, the issue of untranslatability or the notion that a certain word has no equivalent when compared between two different language groups (Pillsbury, 2017) – is given great consideration, as a misinterpretation or a less than optimal grasp of a semantic understanding, has the potential to create a weakened analysis or comprehension of the meaning or intent behind a given piece of research.

As the Chinese language system is written as a series of symbols, and thereby interpreted through the representation of these symbols, a given word in Chinese may take on a host of meanings or interpretations which connate a broadly based element which is undefinable within the singular meaning of its English based equivalent (Pillsbury, 2017). While seemingly esoteric in relation to a qualitative based narrative analysis, this element is extremely important for the engaged reader or policy maker to comprehend, as the understanding that a word as a symbol or suggestion, can be connotative of something much broader than the meaning as understood through a siloed semantic lens, provides an interpretative bridge from which to better understand the Chinese culture.

Gustave Le Bon relates that:

The power of words is bound up with the images they evoke, and is quite independent of their real significance. Words whose sense is the most ill-defined are sometimes those that possess the most influence. They evoke grandiose and vague images in men's minds, but this very vagueness that wraps them in obscurity augments their mysterious power... The images evoked by words being independent of their sense, they vary from

age to age and from people to people, the formulas remaining identical. (Bonn, 2001, p. 60)

This takes on an element of significance in relation to China's rise, as well as the motivations behind the CCP's soft power projection onto the campuses of the American University system, as the Belt and Road Initiative mentioned earlier in this composition – is not only the manifestation of China's new found great power status, but is in itself untranslatable, as its meaning supersedes and transcends the English interpretation or conception of its overall policy arc. As Bruno Maques relates, “The Belt and Road is certainly not one project. It is an idea, a concept, a process, better captured through a metaphor, not an exact description” (Maques, 2019, p. 24).

The concept of *Tianxia*, which underpins the Belt and Road Initiative, is also a broadly interpretable word, which means ‘all under heaven,’ but represents a far larger gestalt or world view, that could mean a global system under one power, or also a chain of relationships between state actors with corresponding obligations to the network within which they exist (Maques, 2019).

Bruno Maques explicates the amaphorous interpretational meaning of *Tianxia*:

Looking for a way to frame new political concepts distinct from Western ideas of world order, the Chinese authorities quickly appropriated *Tianxia*, a notion that originated about three thousand years ago, and made it the cornerstone of their most ambitious geopolitical initiative...Both [interpretations] have their own emphasis: the former belongs to the idea, the concept or type, the latter is aimed at practice. (Maques, 2019, p. 67)

The fact that the Taoist academic Wang Huning, the so called philosopher king of the CCP (Patapang & Wang, 2017), whose use of metaphysical Taoist principles are speculated to be behind the creation of the Belt and Road, highlights the importance that a far deeper philosophical, metaphysical and cultural meaning underlies the Western interpretation of the Belt and Road as a project or initiative (Maques, 2019). Facilitating the understanding of the dualistic nature of Chinese symbolism and policy, and of implementing new ways to create a cross cultural comprehension on seemingly untranslatable semantic lacunas, will provide the informed reader with a better grasp of the intentions and motivations behind CCP political initiatives, as well as the dualistic meaning behind many of their policies.

Therefore, when attempting to convey the meaning or intent of a word or project, that in itself represents an idea that is far broader and contains within itself a host of different meanings through the symbols from which it is derived, this dissertation seeks to analyze and triangulate the research data – in a manner in which these semantic and untranslatable elements are considered and explicated within the body of the dissertation, in relation not only to the possible miscomprehension of the given words, but also in relation to the potential purposes behind their usage.

Anecdotal Metaphors

In furtherance with the goal of seeking to clarify and bridge the civilizational and cultural divide in relation to semantic and cultural perceptions between the United States and China, as well as to represent complex ideas in a simple and communicatory effective manner, the use of narrative anecdotes and metaphor will be utilized frequently within this dissertation.

As Torill Moen elucidates in her approach to narrative history, “For most people, storytelling is a natural way of recounting experience, a practical solution to a fundamental problem in life, creating reasonable order out of experience” (Moen, 2006). Through the use of anecdotes, metaphors and stories, which evoke a symbolic understanding of a concept, the singular meaning of a word or an idea that is encapsulated within a cultural framework of referential interpretation, can be expostulated with a far more accurate representation of the meaning of a word or symbol, than through its singular cognitive interpretation (Bonn, 2001).

Interestingly, a study by Carnegie Mellon found that:

Words are not the most fundamental components of thought, because sentences read in English and Portuguese triggered the same neural activation patterns in the brain, which suggested that AI can predict what a person is thinking regardless of their native language or culture, since humans share common brain activity patterns. (Wagner & Furst, p. 141)

This additional scientifically based information – lends credence to the qualitative narrative approach through the communicatory elements of the symbolic, anecdotal or metaphoric approach to qualitative analysis, as it infers that through symbolic or metaphoric descriptions, a cultural and hermeneutical untranslatability can be reduced through a common comprehensive capacity common to all nationalities and linguistic groups.

The utilization of metaphors and anecdotes are also germane in relation to the conveyance of a complex concept – into a simply understood interpretation that can be grasped by a wide readership unfamiliar with Kafquesque nature of theoretical or academically based philosophical pedagogies. Oftentimes in order to comprehend certain heavily interrelated theoretical concepts, a foundational teaching of the basic underpinning of each of the studied

theories within their own given frameworks must be undertaken – before an establishment of interlinking chains of these ideas are utilized in an attenuated string of theoretical reasoning in order to express a given idea or thesis (Bonn, 2001).

While this dissertation will make a great effort to explicate the basic premises underlying a host of theories in order to provide the basic thrust of their meanings, anecdotal references serve as a reinforcement mechanism from which to bolster the overall interpretation and comprehension of the theories put forth within this work.

Traditional anecdotes, fables and idioms are also heavily utilized by Chinese politicians and policymakers such as Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Xi Jinping in order to communicate the labyrinthine meaning of CCP policy documents to their citizens – and to provide an unbroken sense of continuity between the present ruling CCP party and China's Imperial past (Pillsbury, 2017). Thus, by comprehending the Chinese fables and idioms included within this composition, the reader will be more informed and aware of their meanings in relation to the policies in which the CCP is promulgating.

Therefore, the utilization of anecdotes, metaphors, and symbolic references are ubiquitous throughout this narrative based qualitative analysis. This dissertation will also elucidate a legion of concepts, theories and historically based narratives that seemingly have no relation to the research study when first encountered within the early pages of this dissertation. This is no accident.

Ideological Inculcation

In attempting to vary the conditions and outcomes throughout the various research sources consulted within this dissertation and in order to improve the overall policy results

through an understanding of the broader canvas of soft power projection onto the American academic sphere, the individuals reading this dissertation, must be able to have the ability to understand various Chinese rationales, models, structures and systems that are foreign in concept and structure. Without this knowledge a reader will not be able to analyze the philosophies and policies beyond the Western based frames of reference inculcated into their mind frames through years of education and experience.

In many respects Chinese based governmental and economic systems are an anathema to the democratic humanistically based philosophies and socio-political doctrines to which many Americans cleave. While one goal of this paper is to provide a background to illuminate the profound effectiveness and strategic rationales behind the Chinese based models of governance in relation to their state run governmental organs, another is to break through the ideological chasm of a parochial perception of the international system through a Western oriented lens.

There is a tendency for many to immediately reject a system of thought, or to immediately jump to a given conclusion on an unorthodox subject based on a preconceived political or ideological stance held by the majority (Sorrel, 2019). This form of group think is ubiquitous throughout the United States (Bloom, 1987), and is related to the concept of the leading thinkers and writers becoming disciples of themselves (Sorrel, 2019).

This concept holds that leaders of intellectual thought are often held captive by their own creative ideas, as once their theory or idea is accepted by the masses, they acquire thought disciples, whose adherence to a rigid interpretation of a given theory – prevents the original intellectual who devised it, from altering their tack or idea through additional research or

reflection, as this divergence would ultimately result in the undermining of popular acclaim or credibility (Sorrel, 2019).

The idea of holding firm to a given theory or research position due to popular acclaim, which is antithetical to academic research and effective policy promulgation, results in a dogmatic and limited expression of unpopular or unconventional thoughts from entering or even being considered, within the mainstream consciousness of the overall public at large (Bloom, 1987). This divergence of the consideration of ideas that are unpleasant in relation to a morally based philosophical ideal – is a fundamental flaw in arresting the various ideas from which many intellectuals themselves might hold a contravening standpoint, as one must first understand another perspective in order to address it. This concept is expounded by Georges Sorell when he states that:

Ever since we have wanted pupils to absorb an enormous amount of information, it has been necessary to put into their hands manuals suitable to this extra-rapid form of instruction; everything has had to be presented in a form so clear, so interconnected and so arranged to avoid uncertainty, such that beginners come to believe that science is much simpler than our fathers believed. In no time at all the mind is very richly furnished, but it is not provided with the instruments which facilitate individual effort... The student has more confidence in the formulas that he is taught and consequently retains them more easily, especially when he imagines that they are accepted by the great majority; in this way he is distanced from all metaphysical concerns and gets used not to feeling the need for a personal conception of things; often he comes to regard the absence of any inventive spirit as a superiority. (Sorell, 2019, p. 4)

The idea of the well-furnished mind, in which individuals posit theories and models from within a given set of parameters in a type of bounded and intellectualized echo chamber, which when breached, creates a jarring dissonance of rejection to the ideology or theory which is foreign or outside the preset parameters, is a common occurrence in modern society (Bloom, 1987). Thus a position based within the objective sphere, much like a given ideological position, has less propensity to garner opposition than a subjective position, which is akin to an ideological stance from outside the familiar sphere of intellectual reference.

While many of the governmental policies practiced by the CCP may be dissonant to the first principles of democracy and free speech held by many in the Western world to be essential in a fair and just government, the necessity for the Western public as well as policymakers to gain a fundamental understanding of the security and stability rationales behind the governmental and economically based policies of the CCP, as well as their highly efficient and effective outcomes within the Chinese state and in the international arena, is of supreme importance.

The understanding of a different governmental and economic system as an effective alternative, regardless of moral or ethical concerns, is a key component of this work, as it is necessary for policymakers to gain an understanding of why China is utilizing propagandist materials to subvert the higher education system in the United States, and that this soft power projection is not only rationally based, but is highly potent and effective. The rejection outright of a different model based on an ideological predicate, weakens the overall outcome of policy in practice, and is diametrically opposed to solid academic research (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957).

There is a perceptual lesson within the dilemma of Socrates Cave – that is equally true – yet less often explored than the perceptual influence alluded to earlier in this section. This less often referenced lesson is one that rings salient in relation to academic freedom and the exploration of unconventional views and research to a society that often perceives the world through an isolated lens (Bloom, 1987).

Socrates states:

Now if once again, along with those who had remained shackled there, the freed person had to engage in the business of asserting and maintaining opinions about the shadows – while his eyes are still weak and before they have readjusted, an adjustment that would require quite a bit of time – would he not then be exposed to ridicule down there?... And if they can get hold of this person who takes it in hand to free them from their chains and to lead them up, and if they could kill him, will they not actually kill him? (Plato, 2019, p. 517)

The answer posited by Socrates’ student Glaucon in relation to his postulation is that, “Yes, they surely would” (Plato, 2019, p. 517).

This final lesson contained within Socrates’ Cave points to a common truism of societal resistance to new ideas and conceptions which are oftentimes not held by the majority (Bonn, 2001), and relates metaphorically with our own culture’s often siloed perceptual framework to given doctrines, theories and ideologies which run in contravention with their own (Bloom, 1987).

In *summa*, in order to better inform the public towards a facilitation of the understanding of the CCP system so to counter its undue influence, a distancing of first principles through

historical examples in the early framework of this dissertation, is intentionally included, so as to evoke a rationalized consideration of a given principle at hand, absent of the ideological opposition that would be engendered within a modern politically based example.

This narrative tact – is utilized to groom the mind of the interested reader to consider the modern model through the already preset rationales established by that reader, which have been established through the comprehension of the distanced historical examples elicited earlier within the body of the dissertation. Therefore, much like a lecturer positing a policy issued by a political party which is favorable to the majority of the audience, thereby gaining their favor of the policy, and then reorienting that policy in a different context to an opposing political party, which is disfavored by the audience, the lecturer is able to guide the audience in being able glean the key aspects of the policy example, analyze its relevance and effectiveness free from cognitive bias within the policies original context, and then consider the policy with a realization of its effect in the newly given context. While this methodological technique may not engender a shift of morals or value systems, the goal is not to effectuate reorientation of the subjective lens of the reader, but rather to produce an understanding which can then be applied through critical thought of the subject or policy at issue.

Limitations and Delimitations

This writer has endeavored to take great strides to communicate the importance of safeguarding the Western traditions of academic freedom and expression within the American higher education system. The legal and political backgrounds of academic freedom, and the rise of China, as well as the policy analysis of the methods utilized by the CCP to project soft power

on American universities will inevitably contain omissions due to the breadth of the research being examined, and limit the depth to which each historical epoch and period can be explored.

With this realization in mind, the anecdotes, historical sources, governmental documents, and legal cases are selective in nature, and utilized in order to craft a narrative that is interesting, engaging, and most importantly educational to a widely varied audience (Moen, 2006). However the common factuals contained within this composition hold firm to a clear line of accurate historical evolution with a commonality present in all of the works consulted. Even though much of the research contains seemingly irreconcilable contradictions, this dissertation seeks to showcase that mutually exclusive doctrines and ideologies, can be complementary towards explaining and remedying a problem in practice.

This dissertation, therefore includes a host of seemingly contradictory systems, structures, and cultural perceptions that appear to be antithetical in nature, yet work concordantly towards a mutually inclusive policy goal. For example, Johannes Kepler and Sir Isaac Newton held the view that the entire universe was much akin to a celestial clock. They posited that the various transits and orbits of the galactic firmaments are constantly shifting in contraposition to one another, much like the gears and mechanisms of a highly calibrated time piece. Yet the countercyclical orbits, pan elliptical motions, and linear delineations of the ever shifting spheres of the universe – work in a metronomic synchronicity, all within a system encapsulated with the laws of physics and mathematics. Therefore, they held that the universe is much akin to a complex clock, for when viewed from a parochial perspective the system is one of immense complexity – yet when viewed from a panoptic perspective, one can observe that the entire system works within a clearly calibrated system that is easily discernible and recognizable (Dugin, 2013).

This dissertation seeks, much like Newton's clock, to rise above the seemingly contradictory elements with a comprehensive analysis to elevate the reader's comprehension to a commanding height of knowledge-based understanding, so that the reader can more easily fathom the immense complexity of international arena and great power competition in relation to academic freedom and the American higher education system. While the information contained within this dissertation may appear diffuse, the underlying currents unite within a unity of purpose towards a common policy goal.

However much like the chaotic theoretic systems later envisioned by Einstein, there can be no determinate end or given degree of certainty to conclusions generated by this study, as the chaotic elements which dictate the future are mysterious and unknown (Dugin, 2013). Therefore, while this research may posit a policy remedy at the conclusion of this study, much like the search for the truth and the cerebral manifestations and neural synaptic orientations of each individual's mind, the outcomes and the course which policymakers and the public choose to take in the future, will remain eternally ephemeral and elusive.

This dissertation seeks to pursue the truth to where it leads (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957) and to form a blueprint from which to approach a complex issue that holds fixed elements, yet is simultaneously shifting in the fluidity of unforeseen events. The research and methods contained within serve to expand and enhance the accuracy of each reader's intellectual mind frame, comparing and contrasting the various contradictory elements in a narrative fashion, so the reader can create a more accurate appraisal of the times in the present, so as to better plan and predict an unknown future.

Assumptions

This work is predicated upon three fundamental assumptions. The first is that that the United States and China are engaged in a global game of great power competition in an anarchic international system, much akin to a game of chess upon a grand scale (Maques, 2019). This assumption is based upon the verbatim declaration by both the Chinese and American governments in official documents, that this competition is real and prescient, and that it encompasses all elements of socio-economic and military spheres, including the American higher education system (NSS, 2017).

The second assumption on which this research dissertation is premised, is that this great power competition has elicited a propogandically oriented and highly calibrated policy of soft power projection onto the university systems of the United States by the Chinese government (Peterson, 2018). This dissertation assumes that this highly concealed psychological operations campaign on America's fount of learning, has been orchestrated by the CCP to advance a policy of ever evolving and shifting tactically subversive methods, which seek to take advantage of the social, economic and political structural weaknesses within the American governmental system (Diamond & Schell, 2018).

This study also posits that the ultimate goal of this soft power projection – is the altering of the hearts and minds of the thought leaders of this nation through the suppression of information, intellectual expression, and academic freedom:

Authoritarian initiatives are directed at cultivating relationships with the political elites, thought leaders, and other information gatekeepers of open societies. Such efforts are part

of Beijing's larger aim to get inside such systems in order to incentivize cooperation and neutralize criticism of the authoritarian regime. (Walker, 2019, p. 14)

The third and final assumption, is that academic freedom is not only legally enshrined within the Constitution, and thus protected by the sovereign laws of the United States (First, 2019) but that the freedom of expression is a cherished and critically important element to a healthy and thriving democracy and the marketplace of ideas that composes the American institutions of higher learning (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957).

It is from these three foundational assumptions, well evidenced through official governmental documents, research studies, and foundational Supreme Court case precedent, that this narrative research analysis seeks to explore why China is projecting soft power onto American campuses, and how they are implementing this form of psychological warfare, so that readers and policymakers have the in depth background and knowledge from which to protect American freedoms within its own sovereign borders.

As stated earlier, Christopher Walker made clear the importance of providing credible knowledge to a wider audience of policymakers, stating in his testimony before Congressional members of the House that:

Throughout many societies in which China today is deeply engaged, information concerning the Chinese political system and its foreign policy strategies tends to be extremely limited...Civil society organizations should develop strategies for communicating expert knowledge about China to broader audiences. (Walker, 2019, p. 13)

While the implications of China's rise extend far beyond America's sovereign shores, this research study is focused with a fundamental eye towards the protection of the American higher education system, and seeks to define new terms of engagement and understanding within American society, so as to prevent the erosion of American democratic values and academic freedoms.

Conclusion

While the research methods above outline the narrative based analysis methodology utilized in conducting this dissertation, the content contained within this dissertation will often appear provocative and unconventional in nature, as a comprehensive geopolitical and educational fusion on this subject has not yet been undertaken from a perspective which considers the merits and dualities of two disparate civilizational systems. However this writer has endeavored with great earnest, to represent a balanced and hermeneutically accurate perspective within the given predicational assumptions outlined above, to deliver to the interested reader, the most accurate and incisive analysis of the given research subject at issue.

The intent of this dissertation is to deliver not a common narrative or to receive the approbation or applause of the majority, but to deliver with celerity of purpose and methodical adherence – a composition which pierces the veil of ideological doctrines, and breaks free from the intellectual cloisters of common academic discourse. New viewpoints, if properly researched and explicated, have the potential to alter the public discourse towards new currents of perspective and acceptance (Maques, 2019).

Higher education law experts, Klinton W. Alexander and Kern Alexander highlight the importance of unorthodox thoughts and research in their book, *Higher Education Law: Policy*

and Perspectives, where they state, “Promotion of innovation and creativity are essential to the progress of society. The welfare of the people must have a legal foundation that is utilitarian in nature, the greatest good for the greatest number” (Alexander & Alexander, 2011, p. 674).

The Supreme Court furthered this perspective in *Keyishian v. Board of Regents* (1967):

Our Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom...The Nation’s future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth ‘out of a multitude of tongues [rather] than through any kind of authoritative selection.’ (*Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 1967)

Therefore, in the true spirit of academic freedom, this research seeks to challenge the commonly held preconceptions derived from a unitary Eurocentric perceptual base, and hold to the light a hermeneutically accurate civilizational and cross cultural narrative, with the firm faith that the academic community and the greater good at large will accept, if not in totality, at least some of the analytical postulations and research put forth within this dissertation. This narrative research analysis seeks to explore what is outside the common bounds of academic discourse, in order to protect the Constitutional academic freedoms within.

CHAPTER FOUR: ACADEMIC JURISPRUDENCE AND HISTORY

Constitutional Precepts

When the United States Constitution was ratified by the Founding Fathers, it was meant to serve as a guiding star, a document that represented the foundational legal values and mores of the citizens of America, while still remaining flexible to the economic necessities and growth of the fledgling nation. The ability to thus amend the Constitution, acknowledges the Framers' understanding that as society evolves, so too should the jurisprudential principles that govern them. While many individuals perceive the law as a fixed system, it is in reality an ever evolving *corpus* of judicial interpretation that reflects the social and political norms of the era in which it exists.

While there are often disputes between originalist scholars who interpret the Constitution within the literal context within which it was written or *amended*, and those who posit that the Constitution is a living document that must reflect the social context of the current era within which it is interpreted, both hold the perspective that the Constitution reflects the guiding moral principles upon which the United States was founded (Dayton, 2015).

In essence the constitution is like the North Star, it is a beacon, akin to a moral compass, that while fixed within the nebulous firmament, adjusts to constellations within its presence, yet remains true to its orientation. As Supreme Court Justice Cardozo explains:

A constitution states or ought to state not rules for the passing hour but principles for an expanding future. Insofar as it deviates from that standard and descends into details and particulars, it loses its flexibility, the scope of interpretation contracts, the meaning hardens. While it is true to its function, it maintains its power of adaptation, its suppleness, its play. (Cardozo, 1921, p. 82)

Therefore the Bill of Rights, which created a host of amendments to clarify and express the will of Congress and the people as written in the Constitution, is evidence of this jurisprudential concept. Thus, in promulgating the First Amendment and the protection of the freedom of expression and speech, Congress created an implied necessary and proper protection of these rights in all public institutions, where the Constitution and the First Amendment hold sway.

The First Amendment and Academic Freedom

While the First Amendment's freedom of expression is now indelibly linked to academic freedom within the university system, historically the legal rights now conferred upon professors and students in academia, were not practiced in the manner common to the modern era. In addition, many of the rights and privileges of academic freedom, as well as equal opportunity and access to a university education, were denied to individuals based upon their race, creed and ethnicity during much of America's early history. While these social justice issues hold an importance of the first magnitude, this dissertation is focused on analyzing academic freedom in relation to CCP soft power, and thus will focus on this vein of analysis. However it bears stating that America's higher education system was and is anything but perfect, and reminds the reader that academic freedom must be constantly defended in order to provide not only the freedom of

speech and thought, but also the access and opportunity to all who seek to benefit from a university education.

Indeed, during much of the nation's history, federal and state governments often deferred to the institutional autonomy of universities and their academic expertise for the provision of educational services. Furthermore, education is a constitutionally delegated power of the state, and thus the federal government often deferred to the state in matters of educational policy and enforcement during this era.

However as America's higher education universe evolved to fit the needs of a steady industrializing nation during the Progressive and New Deal eras, and more public universities began to emerge to serve a citizenry and society that had become increasingly reliant upon federal and state administered funds, Congressional legislation and Supreme Court legal interpretations began to reflect expanding government involvement within the institutions of higher education. Cases such as *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923), which addressed the rights of an instructor to teach a foreign language within the K-12 system in violation of a Nebraska statute that prohibited such acts, were a prelude to the academic freedom cases of the coming decades. In restricting the freedom of speech within the Nebraska K-12 system, The Supreme Court found that:

The desire of the legislature to foster a homogeneous people with American ideals prepared readily to understand current discussions of civic matters is easy to appreciate...But the means adopted, we think, exceed the limitations upon the power of the State and conflict with rights assured to plaintiff in error. (*Meyer v. Nebraska*, 1923, p. 262)

Thus the Supreme Court found that such free speech restrictions exceeded the state of Nebraska's authority and impinged upon First Amendment rights during times of peace and tranquility.

While the case was a prelude to further Supreme Court rulings on freedom of expression, it was held within the purview of the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause, and was related to the parochial education sphere, where *loco parentis* controls, and is thus within a separate jurisprudential province that that of the higher education sphere which falls under the doctrine of an institutional corporation.

However while cases such as *Meyer* (1923) presaged further action by the Supreme Court in relation to academic freedom, it was not until 1940, that academic freedom was codified within the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), "Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure" (Dayton, 2015). The AAUP statement elucidated the importance of academic freedom in America's universities:

The common good depends upon the free search for truth and its free exposition. Academic freedom is essential to these purposes and applies to both teaching and research. Freedom in research is fundamental to the advancement of truth. Academic freedom in its teaching aspect is fundamental for the protection of the rights of the teacher in teaching and of the student to freedom of learning. (Dayton, 2015, p. 216)

While the AAUP statement served as guiding document for universities in which to craft charters, policies and procedures, it was not a binding vessel enforced by the letter of the law. Indeed, it was not until the Supreme Court's *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957) decision that

academic freedom was articulated and associated with the First Amendment rights of free speech and set into binding case law.

In the *Sweezy* (1957) case, the Supreme Court found that the state of New Hampshire's restrictions upon a Communist professor's free speech rights, exceeded the power of New Hampshire's legislature – and impinged upon his First Amendment right of expression. The concept of academic freedom was elucidated in the main opinion by Supreme Court Justice Souter:

The essentiality of freedom in the community of American universities is almost self-evident. No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our Nation. (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957, p. 234)

Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter expounds the importance of academic freedom and institutional autonomy in a concurring opinion:

It is the business of a university to provide that atmosphere which is most conducive to speculation, experiment and creation. It is an atmosphere in which there prevail 'the four essential freedoms,' of a university-to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study. (*Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 1957, p. 234)

With this landmark holding, the Supreme Court clearly and unequivocally dovetailed the Constitutional rights of free speech and the importance of academic freedom within all public higher education institutions nationwide. As the Supreme Court's rulings supersede all federal,

state and regional jurisprudential decisions and holdings, its decisions are binding upon all lower courts and regions across the United States, and thus creates a comprehensive multi-jurisdictional legal penumbra.

Keystone Cases

The *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957) case thus serves as a landmark precedent-setting case, which is based upon the legal concept of *stare decisis* meaning the decision stands. This concept was created to ensure a sense of stability and order within the legal system, and thus a landmark precedent setting case such as *Sweezy* (1957), which clearly links academic freedom to the freedom of expression, serves as a type of keystone within the foundational issuance of further rulings by the Supreme Court.

Indeed, a litany of Supreme Court cases clarifying the rights of academic freedom within the higher education sphere were built upon the *Sweezy* (1957) precedent, and addressed a host of different issues in relation to academic freedom, institutional autonomy, and the Constitutional rights of professors, students and the higher education institutions at which they taught. Many of these academic cases drew seemingly non attenuated legal principles and other precedent setting Supreme Court cases into the orbit of academic freedom and freedom of expression. This legal concept is termed judicial mechanics, or a decision based upon a preset predicate which seemingly bears no relation to the facts at issue. Thus Supreme Court cases such as *Griswold* (1965) which address contraception, can be applied to seemingly disparate cases within the purview of academic freedom, as certain legal tenets of a case serve a dual legal applicability, even though they are intuitively separate contextually.

Familiar cases such as the *Citizens United* (2010) decision, which classified corporations as people under the First Amendment clause, are based upon similar legal mechanics. While often foreign to non legally trained scholars, judicial mechanics serves a purpose of building a foundational structure around keystone cases upon which further findings are issued.

As has been stated earlier, the law evolves in relation to society. It also evolves in relation to the composition of the Supreme Court justices, and thus by dint of logical deduction, Supreme Court case rulings also evolve. Therefore, the concept of *jurisprudence constante* or stable jurisprudence, in which a long string of attenuated rulings are persuasive, yet not binding is also part and parcel of the legal sphere, and academic freedom is no exception.

Yet while the principles of *jurisprudence constante* are a reality, keystone cases such as the *Sweezy* (1957) case, which serve as a center of legal gravity from which a host of separate decisions are built, are rarely if ever overturned, for such actions could potentially topple the legal structure upon which all subsequent rulings were issued. This could cause a legal ripple effect, much akin to economic perturbations, in which a significant downturn within a key segment of the economy, such as gold or oil, adversely affects a host of sectors that are dependent upon these key markets.

Thus overturning a landmark Supreme Court decision could pose deleterious and adverse effects upon a host of corporate, governmental and institutional sectors which have designed their course of trade upon the foundational principles of these landmark rulings. Picture a brick wall with the *Sweezy* (1957) case holding a central position within its foundation. While cases may be shifted upon the top of the wall in response to legal, economic and political realities

without causing any structural damage, removing the Sweezy (1957) case could cause the entire structure to collapse.

Therefore, as legal expert Klinton W. Alexander, a professor of Law and International Relations at Vanderbilt University, points out in relation to the Supreme Court case *Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System v. Southworth*, (2000), the legal system has evolved to address new realities within the academic realm, yet the *Sweezy* (1957) decision remains the pivotal case for academic freedom, as it lays out a legal value ideal which reflects the social and academic culture from which subsequent cases can be built.

A Patchwork Quilt

While there are a host of other federal, state and local cases relating to academic freedom, many of these cases become increasingly complex in relation to the legal processes and judicial cannon utilized within their holdings. Indeed, federal administrative statutes, state rights, civil procedure and contract law figure prominently in many academic freedom cases, as do employment and union regulations as many professorial contracts stipulate the degrees of academic freedom permitted to professors within the development of their curriculums by university administration. Richard Posner of the U.S. Court of Appeals highlights the fact that academic freedom is a bifurcated system, as it has been defined to, “denote the freedom of the academy to pursue its ends without interference from government [and to promote] the freedom of the individual teacher to pursue his ends without interference from the academy” (O’neil, 2008, p. 212).

While many readers may perceive institutional autonomy and academic freedom in the same vein, there are many cases where these two conceptualizations of academic freedom come

into direct conflict, an issue which is related to a multiplicity of factors, including the monetary interest of outside corporations and other associative entities. In addition many readers may assume that the Constitutional precepts of academic freedom extend to all universities within the United States. They do not. Private universities are not required to adhere to First Amendment free speech rights, however many private universities adhere to practicing the spirit of the law, and have included these rights within their institutional charters.

While private institutions have the legal right deny certain principles of academic freedom to their professors and students, Congress has regularly exercised its *ex cathedra* right of the power of the purse to deny funding to private universities that do not comply with statutory requirements mandated by the legislature. This Congressional power is granted under the Interstate Commerce section of the Constitution, and is a common legal tool utilized by the federal government to leverage compliance within private universities covetous of the lucrative federal funding dispersed through student aid programs and research initiatives. This is a key point, as this dissertation will focus mainly on large tier one research universities in highlighting CCP soft power projection and the potential vulnerabilities these academic institutions may have in relation to CCP infiltration and theft. As both public and private universities often receive funding and grants from federal departments and agencies, the Congressional power to withhold valuable revenue streams to research universities is a salient point in leveraging universities to fall in line with federal initiatives seeking to protect both academic freedom as well as sensitive technology and proprietary research.

This complexity within the sphere of academic freedom will be explored in depth within the soft power section of this dissertation in relation to CCP soft power, as will corporate influence on the higher education sphere, and the direct relationship between monetary politics,

academia and government relations. However, in order to better understand the connection between academic freedom, CCP soft power, and the complex methods in which the CCP is utilizing to undermine the democratic institutions of the United States, a brief background of corporate and governmental relations with academia is in order to orient the reader on how CCP influence on corporations within the United States is directly related to the American higher education sphere.

The Multiversity and the Golden Era of Higher Education

Previous to World War Two, many of the universities across the United States derived their funding streams from endowments and contributions from charitable organizations such as the Carnegie Foundation and the Ford Foundation, with minimal federal and state funding. This dichotomy changed as the United States emerged victorious in Europe and Asia, and faced ever growing technological and scientific competition with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The need to create jobs for returning GI's and the Baby Boomer generation that followed in the coming decades, jobs that required advanced manufacturing and technological expertise in the fields necessary to drive America's continued industrial and economic growth, led to a raft of federally funded programs and statutes enacted to increase access and opportunity for Americans of all political stripes (Douglass, 2005). Federal programs and mandates such as the GI Bill, the Stafford Loan program as well as the Higher Education Act of 1964, which was passed in near concordance with the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act under the Johnson Administration, were designed not only to provide educational equity and opportunity to all American citizens but also to increase American economic competitiveness and innovation (Dayton, 2015).

These federal initiatives proved highly successful in creating a new paradigm for the American higher education system. Clark Kerr, the President of the University of California system at the time, and a key player in the modernization of the higher education universe, spoke at Harvard University of the traditional schools and universities of the past, and how the future would need a new type of institution, one that he defined as the multiversity. Former President Kerr stated:

The University started as a single community, a community of masters and students. It may even be said to have a soul in the sense of a central animating principle. Today the large American university is, rather, a whole series of communities and activities held together by a common name, a common governing board, and related purposes. This great transformation is regretted by some, accepted by many, glorified in, as yet, by few. But it should be understood by all...[as] having no living peers in the search for new knowledge; and no peers in all history in serving so many of the segments of an advancing civilization. (Pelfrey, 2004, p. 40)

However the new multiversity model came with a cost, as many of the federally crafted programs were heavily interrelated with the corporate sphere and in particular with the military industrial complex, which had forged new partnerships with the federal government and university research labs during the World War Two era. While the monetary influence of charitable organizations over American universities prior to World War Two could be seen as conflict of interest, as these non-profit entities provided funding and often board members to the administrative bodies overseeing public and private universities, prominent scholars have posited that charitable donors were overall a net positive for the traditional university system, as well as promoters for equity and access to the swiftly evolving multiversity models of the 1960's.

Indeed, the Carnegie Foundation funded a major research initiative named the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, which brought a host of scholars and higher education leaders together to think outside the box in order to address issues such as social justice, the effectiveness and quality of academic programs, as well as investigations into the purpose and performance of higher education institutions (Douglass, 2005).

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education – was led by former University of California President Kerr who had, “the unique opportunity to select a great variety of research projects and sponsored studies by scholars, with no need to generate additional funding or to seek the approval of either lawmakers, government bureaucrats, or higher education lobbying groups” (Douglass, 2005, p. 6).

As the Senior Researcher for University of California Berkeley John Douglass relates in his study, “The Carnegie Commission and Council on Higher Education: A Retrospective” (2005):

With the help of the Carnegie Corporation, a wave of research on state systems of higher education began. It fed into the increasing interest of state and federal lawmakers and government officials in organizing, coordinating, and promoting access to postsecondary education. (Douglass, 2005, p. 3)

There is valid criticism that such charitable organizations could conceivably advance educational curriculums and standards in alignment with the mission and goals of the charitable organization itself, thereby subverting institutional autonomy and academic freedom. However, the universities, colleges, and programs receiving funding and research initiatives from the organizations and research projects such as the Carnegie Commission, created new programmic

conceptualizations as well as recommended policies and practices for both utilitarian and social means, which would most likely not have come to fruition had it not been for charitable donors. Thus there is a subtle interplay and a balance to be struck between the potential benefits incurred from charitable organizations such as the Carnegie Institute, as well as the potential losses to institutional autonomy and academic freedom in relation to the influence they might project on administrative decision making and research.

Yet as the multiversity model evolved towards one which included increasing federal and state involvement to meet the needs of a highly industrialized global superpower and a newly transformed global economy, the new multiversity model and the heavy reliance on corporate partnerships led to concerns by many within the highest echelons of government, that the American university system, and the academic freedoms within it, would become captured by powerful monetary interests. These concerns were expressed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his Military Industrial Complex Speech (Eisenhower, 1961), in which he warned the nation of the potential abuse of corporate influence on the wellbeing of America:

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. (Eisenhower, 1961, para. 13)

Interestingly, a portion of this speech of which many are unaware, deals directly with the higher education sphere, in which Eisenhower (1961) states the potential deleterious effects of monetary influence on the higher education system:

The free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

(Eisenhower, 1961, para. 17)

Eisenhower's portentous prognostications were more accurate than many surmised at the time, for it was during this period that the institutionalization of inquiry within American university culture became more pronounced, often limiting the boundaries and domains of academic research to comport with the goals of corporate partners and governmental initiatives in order to maintain steady funding streams. This created a system where many of, "the people 'inside' [the university] are identical in their appetites and motives as the people 'outside' the university" (Bloom, 1987, p. 18), in the sense that while professors and researchers traditionally studied a variety of subjects which were unbounded by the popular currents of society outside the university and reflected the pursuit of the truth wherever it might lead, the new multiversity model, and the influence of outside interests, brought the outside interests into the university to a previously unseen degree.

This infiltration thereby created parameters of expression and inquiry which limited the boundaries from which different theories and perspectives could be generated or deemed acceptable within the academic commons to the degree practiced before such monetary interest became more pronounced (Bloom, 1987). While the direct implications to which Eisenhower (1961) alludes, are the dangers of an unrestricted Military Industrial Complex co-opting the freedoms of American university culture through undue influence, the emergence and formation of large new university systems, heavily dependent upon federal, state and corporate funding in

order to provide education, training, and opportunity to a much larger portion of our citizenry, made these funding streams a necessity (Pelfrey, 2004).

The additional benefit of harnessing the educational, corporate and national security interests of the nation towards a singular goal of competing with the Soviet Union also created a unity of purpose within the newly created multiversity, providing additional tenured professors, administrators and research staff with a secure paycheck and a community of fellow scholars and educational professionals from which to expand upon academic fields of inquiry.

While the multiversity was an innovative and progressive break from the limited access provided by the pre-bellum university system, it maintained the traditional roles held by professors and scholars within the Ivory Tower. Therefore, as seen within the dichotomy of academic autonomy and academic freedom, there is once again something of a catch twenty-two in relation to the necessity of funding for the provision of access to education, as well as a drawback in the potential capture of university policy by outside monetary influence and the adverse effects such influence might create on the freedom of inquiry. It is important to note, that neither President Kerr's Godwin lectures nor President Eisenhower's Military Industrial Complex Speech, considered the possibility of foreign monetary funding streams compromising the integrity of America's higher education sphere, as at the time, there existed a clear cut delineation between the American market based system and the state run communist economic system during the Cold War period.

The Corporatization of Higher Education

As the Iron Curtain fell and the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union came to a close, the federal government cut back major funding streams for

research and development within the American university system, as it drew down its military expenditures and focused on expanding its economic and security interests into the new markets left open by the Soviet Union's collapse (Zeihan, 2014). These newly opened markets and the increased availability of investment opportunities overseas, also led many foreign firms and nations to begin investment and business partnerships with American based universities in order to capitalize on the lucrative research contracts, professional expertise and educational opportunities for their citizens. The open and democratic model of the American higher education system, which was based upon the free exchange of ideas and research, proved attractive to many nations within the international community, yet as will be seen in the pages to come, some nations perceived not only an opportunity from this system but also a weakness and naiveté (Ward, 2019).

Thus, the multiversity model and the technological and research hubs which were formerly dedicated toward federal and corporate partnerships that procured basic and proprietary research for national security related purposes, and which had formerly provided revenue for university programs, shifted towards a new industry based model, where corporate and business investments formed industry clusters in and around universities, thereby replacing the lost revenue streams once provided by the federal government. Areas such as Silicon Valley, which were located in near proximity to former government funded research universities such as the University of California Berkeley, were the outgrowth of this new model (Pelfrey, 2004).

However, this heavy reliance on corporate and industry investment began a steady shift within the American university system towards a more business oriented model of higher education, where universities and colleges became ever more reliant upon corporate partnerships and funding. This shift had the potential to weaken institutional autonomy, as universities sought

to maintain a stable stream of funding through the continuance of the amicable relationships and profitable contracts with the corporate sphere, thereby creating an inducement for upper level administrators to craft policies which would create a duality of benefits for both parties.

Therefore, as the federal funding streams diminished and corporate influence increased within the university spheres, the boundaries of inquiry were subtly shifted to align within the construct of this corporate university fusion, thereby lessening the confluence of the national interest in relation to the multiversity model, and increasing the relationship of what is correct or acceptable in the public sphere to the academic arena (Bloom, 1987).

Dugin (2013) defines this phenomenon as the restrictive tyranny of the idea, in the sense that as the greater public consciousness defines what is tolerable, and advocates tolerance, in the same vein, it counterintuitively does not tolerate anything outside the parameters in which it has defined to be acceptable. This is antithetical to the *ideal* of academic freedom, as the Supreme Court and the American Association of University Professors has made clear that there must never be a straitjacket placed on academic inquiry, and that professors must be able to conduct their research free from institutional, ideological or social dogma (Dayton, 2015). Thus the corporate influence on academic freedom and inquiry and the lessening of federal influence, further restricted the bounds from which researchers could pursue the threads of evidence to glean new insights and deductions, and detached to a significant degree the dualistic orientation of national interest to the interests of the academy.

While American universities are classified as institutional corporations, and are tasked with a dual mandate to maintain solvency as well as the provision of academic services, this new business oriented and market based model of higher education – also began the trend towards a steady erosion of the traditional roles of tenured professors as well as stable administrative

positions within many universities nationwide. Indeed, business professionals hired on a contractual basis, and tasked with lecturing in university classrooms became more common, and administrators well versed within higher education policy began to become replaced with corporate oriented professionals, whose acumen and expertise were well honed, yet lacked the overall training and institutional experience of educational professionals (Kelchen, 2018).

The fact that many university board members are often prominent figures within the business community – and are tasked with appointing high level administrative officials such as university presidents – contributed to this steadily evolving business model, for while a university president sourced from a corporate background may aid in the provision of a highly efficient and streamlined university, the near inevitable conflicts of interest and the lack of educational experience and relationships with the academic community over which they are tasked with overseeing, created a rift from the traditional model of the appointment of university presidents from amongst the administration and faculty of the university in which they served. To be clear, the dual mandate of a university demands that profits and efficiency are matched by educational quality to deliver the best educational experience to students seeking to learn and improve their lives (Dayton, 2015).

Thus, while the benefits accrued to the new business model of higher education in many instances offered the potential to increase revenue and institutional efficiency, they were often balanced against the cost of secure jobs for faculty, the overall quality of educational services, and the building of strong and lasting relationships within the community of scholars in an institution.

This new model also led to the increased potential for university capture by outside interests through the provision of funding to universities, as many of the university board members often possess private investments and interests within the very corporations in which they offer contractual tenders for the universities in which they regulate. Even if conflict of interest laws prevent university board members or administrators from making such investments while serving upon the boards, the revolving door of industry politics – could permit them to be hired in a position as a board member, where they could grant favorable contracts to a business, and then after leaving that position, be hired by the same company with the provision of a lucrative salary. As will be seen in later pages, this model of operation has the potential to leave a university heavily exposed to foreign subversive influence, and, while legally sound, could be perceived by many as ethically questionable.

For Whom The University Bell Tolls

However it was the financial crisis of 2008 that indelibly altered the multiversity model of education supported by former University of California President Kerr which had envisioned, “a whole series of communities and activities held together by a common name, a common governing board, and related purposes” (Pelfrey, 2004, p. 40).

While the multiversity model was crafted in response to both national and educational interests during the Cold War period and was steadily being eroded in the decades following the Soviet Union’s collapse, the Great Recession was the death knell for the multiversity, and brought forth in full stride – the business and technologically oriented higher education model of the present, which is far more fragmented and lacking in a clearly articulated vision than the multiversity model of the past.

The Great Recession further reduced university budgets not only due to the loss of federal and state revenue streams, but also funding from the private sector as many corporations began to focus their research on more profitable proprietary formulas and shifted away from many of the basic research projects conducted in partnership with universities. In many cases this shift away from university partnerships was due to increased fears among corporate staff – that their proprietary research and intellectual property was being expropriated by foreign based entities such as the CCP due to the laxity of security and safeguards within the university campuses where research projects were being carried out (Gertz, 2019).

This new business model and the shift away from traditional services and outreach following the Great Recession also had the potential to adversely affect equal opportunity and access within the higher education sphere. As Ben Millar, Vice President for postsecondary education at the American Center for American progress states in a recent *Inside Higher Education* report in relation to the deleterious effects of the Great Recession on university equity issues:

Each successive recession appears to be worse and worse for higher education...

Community colleges and regional four-years already do a disproportionate job serving our lowest-income learners and learners of colors. I would anticipate that further cuts will continue to have disparate equity impacts. (Amour, 2020, para. 36)

This significant loss of funding following the Great Recession – led to many higher education leaders seeking new organizational models and funding streams in order to sustain institutional operations. Such modals included an increased reliance upon technological and digital service providers to cut administrative costs as well as new and increased partnerships

with foreign entities such as China, whose deep fiscal coffers and governmental initiatives promoted heavy investment and integration in research, development, and cultural exchange within the American higher education sphere.

While the remedies crafted by university officials to remedy diminishing state and federal funding streams are legion, foreign based funding became increasingly common in order to fill in the fiscal gaps, as did the shift towards the employment of non tenured faculty, who provided a cheap labor force which did not require the overhead costs of healthcare, retirement and other benefits conferred upon fully tenured faculty. The crisis of non-tenured faculty within the American university system has reached epic proportions in the present, with nearly seventy five percent of the total professoriate being comprised of non-tenured adjunct faculty (Flaherty, 2020). Indeed, a recent report by the American Federation of Teachers found that nearly twenty five percent of non-tenured faculty are reliant upon public assistance and that, “Nearly a third of the 3,000 adjuncts surveyed for the report earn less than \$25,000 a year. That puts them below the federal poverty guideline for a family of four” (Flaherty, 2020, para. 2).

The temping out of the higher education professoriate poses a litany of problems for not only the faculty, students and the university community, but also creates a potential vulnerability for CCP soft power projection within the higher education systems of the United States. Adjunct faculty are often at will employees, who sign contractual employment agreements with universities to teach their courses. This contractual status, which is ubiquitous within the corporate sphere, permits university administrators far more flexibility in terminating the contracts of adjunct professors, and also saves on the overhead costs of paying benefits to these individuals.

The fact that many of these adjuncts are highly trained doctoral professionals living upon public assistance, with variable job stability, few benefits and a heavy workload should be enough to raise concerns within higher education community on ethical concerns alone. However this temping out of the professoriate also adversely affects students relying upon the quality of courses and mentorship of professors as they proceed through their programs towards the attainment of their degrees. An overworked adjunct faculty member, juggling several jobs, often lecturing on a university campus without the provision of permanent office and possessing little job security, hardly makes for a fully focused and engaged professor.

The fact that many universities terminate adjunct faculty after several semesters in order to avoid having a faculty member becoming designated as a full employee under a host of new state mandates (Kelchen, 2018), also leaves students without an informed and engaged mentor to guide them through their college experience, or even to write them letters of recommendations after the completion of their degree.

The relationships, connections, networks and ideas shared between faculty mentors and their students has been an essential component of the American university community, and the removal of this elemental relationship could portend unforeseen consequences to the productivity and innovation of the next generation of scholars and researchers. The traditional fully tenured professoriate is a tried and true evidence based formula, and any sudden shift away from this model could destabilize the foundation of the most highly regarded academic system in the world, the *par excellence* of free inquiry and truth.

Creating a large adjunct pool within the university sphere, also affects faculty and administrative morale within the university community itself, as relationships are often forged

over the years within a university campus between these two groups, aiding in the delivery of high quality and efficient services to students. Reliance on the business model of higher education, which often seeks profits and costs savings to the detriment of holistic and difficult to measure pedagogical educational excellence, also has the potential to create a divide between faculty and the administration, with many faculty members perceiving an existential crisis to the traditional university roles that professors have held throughout the higher education continuum.

This ‘us or them’ mentality, creates a disservice not only to students who are seeking a quality education, but also to taxpayers who are funding the universities with their hard earned dollars, so as to facilitate a productive workforce that will burnish the American economy. Furthermore, this academic schism makes it more difficult for professors to serve within the administrative realm as deans, provosts, and chancellors, as they do not wish to be perceived by their academic peers as going to the proverbial ‘dark side’ of the higher administrative realm. As will be showcased later in this dissertation, the CCP is well alert to these divisions within the university community, and has sought to exploit them to the hilt.

However most poignant to the subject of this dissertation, the adjunct crisis has also weakened the protections that academic freedom accords to fully tenured faculty, who have the Constitutional right to express themselves freely through lectures, research and publication. Fully tenured faculty are often protected by union memberships and show cause employment laws, which permits them a significant degree of protection to express themselves freely without fear of administrative reprisal. Thus reducing tenure track positions limits the job security of the university professoriate, and could cause a chilling effect on ideas, research or expression that may be seen as controversial or politically incorrect.

The fact that many legal scholars advise administrators to provide no rationales as to the reasons of termination behind an adjuncts firing to avoid potential litigation (Dayton, 2015), has a chilling effect on free speech within the adjunct professoriate, as these individuals might fear that any expressive misstep beyond the bounds of what is deemed acceptable by administration or popular opinion at large, could cost them their careers. As will be showcased within the soft power section of this dissertation, this lack of tenure for university professors, has created a vulnerability within the American higher education community that the CCP has not missed the opportunity to exploit.

University Capture

The newly unfolding business model of higher education which has become ever the more integrated and dependent upon technological firms and learning platforms, has also created vulnerabilities to CCP soft power projection, and an erosion on institutional autonomy amongst universities across the United States. As global systems become increasingly dependent upon the Internet of Things and the Fourth Industrial revolution unfolds in earnest, newly emergent technological vulnerabilities within the higher education ecosystem have come to the fore, and the myriad of soft power applications that can be utilized to weaken academic freedoms and institutional autonomy within these new systems have increased exponentially (Gertz, 2019). Indeed, with distance learning programs becoming ubiquitous, the daily departmental operations by university services have become somewhat reliant on these tech firms. This dependence, has led to the outsourcing of jobs formerly provided by on site administrators to digital service providers whose economies of scale and cheaper services have cut costs in university spending.

While many of these digital corporations and online management programs are necessary for the provision of online education and a host of other services that the university receives, it is the outsourcing of traditional mid-level administrative positions such as academic advising and technological organization departments, that have led to the loss of jobs in many brick and mortar universities across the United States. The loss of solid jobs for university administrators, not only affects their families and the many local communities in which they live, which are often reliant upon the tax revenue and employment opportunities that universities provide, but also tenured professors, who have been tasked with backfilling the many duties once assigned to these individuals that are not covered by the outsourced job positions the administrators vacated. This phenomenon is especially pronounced within rural communities where universities are often the largest employers, and where university culture and employment earnings expands into the small towns, which would otherwise be bereft of the intellectual and economic benefits which these academic institutions provide.

This ever increasing reliance on digital services, which utilize corporate models and standards, has led to a host of vulnerabilities to the higher education system which the CCP has recognized and exploited. Many critics have pointed to the loss of institutional autonomy and decision-making by the American universities themselves, as more and more of the daily operations and decision making are outsourced to technological firms (Wagner & Furst, 2018). This writer questions whether the American university system will fall victim to a form of university paradox, much akin to the democratic paradox, where the institution outsources or votes itself out of existence.

Many of these critics have also pointed out the undemocratic nature of digital firms creating policy and funding streams, that the federal government then approves, which link both

private and public funding streams towards STEM related fields which benefit the technology corporations themselves. While these tech backed initiatives have the potential to provide much needed funding streams, as well as training and opportunity to many students, critics claim that the democratic process demands that citizens elect legislators to make decisions for the greater good, and not that corporations make policy decisions which ostensibly benefit themselves (Tampio, 2019).

These critics point to the potential loss of funding for humanities based programs and training, which are often perceived as antiquated in relation to the fast paced digital world of the future. As this research will showcase, while the STEM fields are critical for an effective and efficient workforce in the post-modernist age, history, philosophy, sociology and the liberal arts, will also be critical in crafting the policies and regulation from which these new STEM related industries will be constructed. Without a comprehensive understanding of the humanities, the future could be determined by technological advances proceeding at a pace unrestricted by the deep insight into the human condition. An informed populace must be aware of the deep cultural currents, ideologies and models of government that are circulating towards the surface of the globalized world if effective policies, regulations and legislation are to be enacted in order to address these changes in a proactive and effective manner. As Liang and Xiangsui (2017) make clear, without the liberal arts and humanities as well as a highly calibrated and focused plinth from which to base societal goals, technology can take a direction of its own:

Technology is like ‘magic shoes’ on the feet of mankind, and after the spring has been wound tightly by commercial interests, people can only dance along with the shoes, whirling rapidly in time to the beat that they set. (Qiao & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 2)

The fact that the majority of information, research, publishing and default systems controls are now fully digitized, has further narrowed the academic boundaries from which research can be conducted with academia, as the channels of information and the parameters by which they are defined are restricted by the corporations delineating these channels. The ‘outside’ coming ‘in’ as Bloom (1987) expressed in relation to free academic inquiry, has increased in magnitude and scope to as yet unforeseen levels. The decisions made by Amazon as to what books are acceptable for public consumption, by Facebook as to what is real news, or by Google as to what search queries appropriate or are listed at the top of a search list, has not only narrowed the field of inquiry based upon the *vox populi* of popular opinion, but also upon the interests of the corporations providing these informational conduits and services. As will be showcased within the soft power section of this dissertation, the Chinese government has taken full advantage of this new technological industrial model of education, and has waged an unrestricted war upon what it perceives as the digital battlefield of higher education with its Three Warfares strategy. As Colonels Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui make clear, warfare has extended to the digital sphere and the boundaries are limitless:

It is possible for each field that at any moment tomorrow there will break out a war where different groups of people are fighting at close quarters. The battlefield is next to you and the enemy is on the network. Only there is no smell of gunpowder or the odor of blood...It is very obvious that none of the soldiers in any one nation possesses sufficient mental preparation against this type of new war which completely goes beyond military space...This is a matter of wiping away the long narrow cloud covering of war that has been cast over one’s eyes. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 2)

While the evolution of the higher education model, much like the legal landscape, is ever changing to meet the societal needs of the nation, the modern university with its dependence upon technology and corporate backing has created a new paradigm that has disrupted and shifted the traditional roles of professors, administrators and students within the higher education system. As has been shown, there is often a balancing act that university officials must make, in determining the best policy decisions towards the provision of educational services, while simultaneously maintaining a steady funding stream to keep the operations and the institutional corporation solvent.

These decisions are heavily influenced by a complex *mélange* of geopolitical, domestic and societal factors which are often beyond the control of university officials to alter or determine. Research as to the merits of this system, what forms it will take for better or for worse in the future, and the corporate influence within this system, could be a dissertation topic in itself. However this dissertation is focused on answering the essential questions of *why* China is conducting a soft power offensive on the United States university system, *how* it is projecting this soft power, and *what* can be done to arrest the undue influence from undermining academic freedom and university culture in the American higher education sphere. As the following pages will reveal, what is perceived as truth or reality is often less than determinate – and is based upon a cultural and historical continuum which defines the lens through which the world is viewed. Boundaries are beginning to shift, and the global commons as well as the higher education universe are beginning to resemble more the works of the artist M.C. Escher in which the normal laws of gravity do not apply, than the traditional models and archetypes to which many have become familiarized and comfortable.

There is often a tendency in academia for researchers to become lost in the details, losing the forest for the proverbial trees. The goal of this research dissertation is to cast aside a parochial and culturally siloed perspective – in order to take a panoramic view of the entire global system and all of its constituent parts in order to address a critical threat to American university culture and academic freedom.

The breadth and scope of the following dissertation is immense, and cannot possibly cover every possible facet within this topic area – however – this research’s main goal is to facilitate introspection and awareness of the very real phenomenon of CCP soft power projection, and the potential of this undue influence to erode and compromise the enduring values enshrined within the Constitutional precepts of the United States. Thus, in order to understand why the CCP is projecting soft power on American universities across the nation, this research does not look to the West for answers, but rather to the East, for as this research will showcase, the West does not hold a monopoly upon ideas nor the truth.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE RISE OF CHINA

Introduction

The following narrative seeks to answer the question of why the CCP is spending billions of dollars in projecting a highly orchestrated soft power campaign onto the campuses of American universities. Many scholars have provided telling evidence that China's multi-pronged psychological operations campaign seeks to limit the freedom of expression and informational availability within America's democratic institutions – in order to control the narrative and to thus present China in a positive light to the American populace (Gertz, 2019). This section of the dissertation will seek to research the rationale behind the CCP's psychological operations campaigns on America's democratic institutions – and will focus on the underlying motivations of this CCP soft power campaign in relation to China's rise within the arena of great power politics and international relations.

There is an anecdote common in foreign policy circles within the United States. The story describes four blind men trying to describe a particular object. The story goes that one of the blind men feels a tusk, the other a leg, the other a trunk, and the other an ear. Each man describes the object in which he has touched, but none of the blind men can piece together that he is touching an elephant (Ward, 2019). This anecdote is much akin to the subject of this dissertation, as while much has been written about the rise of China, as well as various elements of China's soft power projection on American universities, none has described the entire elephant.

The purpose of this portion of the dissertation is to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of China’s political, economic, military and cultural motivations to develop and modernize their society, and to research how this modernization is directly related to a multipronged effort by the CCP to not only alter the perceptions within the United States, but to accomplish the goal of creating a new model of international relations under China’s current General Secretary Xi Jinping. This new model of international relations is termed the Common Destiny for Mankind, and is based upon Confucian principles that are deeply embedded within Chinese culture and history (Ward, 2019).

As the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) 2019 white paper, “China and the World in the New Era,” has stated:

Based on the 5,000-year-old Chinese culture, the experience and lessons from the birth of socialism, the fall-to-rise turnaround of the Chinese nation in 170 years, and the history of revolution, construction and reform, the Chinese people have opened up the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and achieved remarkable outcomes.

(PRC, 2019, p. 3)

As China has emerged as a major power upon the world stage, its economic, financial, business and trade relationships have become deeply intertwined with America’s top firms and corporations. This portion of the dissertation will also research and seek to explain how this economic interdependence and its relationship to the domestic economy of the United States – is directly related to the American higher education sector.

By providing the interested reader with a broad perspective that encompasses a multiplicity of rationales behind China’s soft power initiatives – and investigates the

multifaceted goals of the CCP to attain intellectual property, technological mastery, and telecommunications dominance over the next decade, this research seeks to provide a much clearer picture to the general public that China's geopolitical aspirations and its soft power projection are directly related – and will adversely impact both academic freedom and academic research in myriad ways. It is important to note for the reader, that the strategies and the policies of the CCP and the Chinese government do not always reflect the goals and perspectives of the Chinese people.

There is a story that when former American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger first visited China he made the comment that China was a 'mysterious country,' to which an interlocutor replied, "What is so mysterious about China? There are 900 million of us and it is not mysterious to us" (Ward, 2019, p. xvii). The following research is designed to remove some of the 'mystery' surrounding China, and to illuminate for the reader – the foundational principles and motivations behind China's rise and how this rise will profoundly affect the American university system for decades to come.

The Early Years of Chairman Mao and Deng Xiaoping

In 1949 Mao Zedong, a great visionary and adept student of history, founded the PRC. Under Mao's rule as the General Secretary of China, as well as the leader of China's Communist Party (CCP), Mao ushered forth a transformation within the faction ridden nation, which began the process of lifting China out of poverty and down the road towards industrial and social modernization. Chairman Mao envisioned a Chinese nation that would be free from foreign influence, be able to stand up on the great stage of international affairs, and dictate the future of

its destiny upon the civilizational and cultural precepts that were unique to its long history and traditions. As Mao stated:

Two possible destinies await China, a bright destiny and a gloomy destiny... Either a China independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous... or a China semi-colonial, semi-feudal, divided, poor and weak... A new China or an old China these two prospects lie before the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and our Congress. (Ward, 2019, p. 10)

However Mao had no intentions of liberalizing China nor moving the nation towards a more democratic future, and thus the CCP's modernization of its industry and economy came at a great cost to the Chinese people, who suffered under his Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution policies. Millions were imprisoned, sent to reeducation camps, and suffered under a firm Leninist based authoritarian and ideological system that brokered no free expression, nor opposition in any form (Mosher, 2017). Yet Mao's goals of consolidating China into a unified nation state were ultimately successful, as China secured its borders, maintained order and stability, and strengthened the powers of the CCP to exert complete control over the political and economic system within China.

During this period, which took place during the height of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union was a major contributor in providing China with technological, agricultural, political and military assistance. However, due to ideological breaks between the two communist led states, as well as geopolitical concerns, China realigned its foreign policy to engage with the United States, who sought to balance China against the Soviet Union (Ward, 2019). Then American President Richard Nixon, and his Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger recognized, as did China's Chairman Mao, that with China's vast population, cheap manufacturing potential and its geopolitical locus in relation to the Soviet Union, that strategic engagement between China and United States could offer both nations a mutually beneficial relationship. The United States would provide financial and manufacturing expertise to China, which in turn would offer its vast lower cost manufacturing capacity and resources to American corporations and firms, eager to reap dividends for their corporations and shareholders. This symbiotic relationship – would serve to lift China's people out of poverty and work towards modernizing the Chinese nation, while concordantly bolstering America's economy – and providing a wedge to arrest the further spread of Soviet influence within Southeast Asia.

However, President Nixon well understood China's vast potential both politically as well as economically, as he commented during the opening of American and Chinese relations in 1972:

Well, you can just stop and think of what could happen if anybody with a decent system of government got control of that mainland. Good God. There'd be no power in the world that could even – I mean, you put 800 million Chinese to work under a decent system – and they will be the leaders of the world. (Ward, 2019, p. 94)

Yet it was not until General Secretary Mao's passing that China opened its economy to new reforms under the newly appointed General Secretary Deng Xiaoping. Deng Xiaoping recognized that in order for China to become a wealthy and prosperous nation, and a competitive force within the global commons, that all sectors of China's economy would need to be opened to new markets, technologies and financial systems. Thus Deng adopted the term Socialism with

Chinese Characteristics, which was a combination of market based principles, adapted to China's authoritarian and ideologically based system.

As Ward (2019) states, Deng's reforms:

Brought forth the economic miracle, resulting in the China of 'Markets over Mao' and 'One Billion Customers,' the China of mass manufacturing and global supply chains, the rise of the container ship, and the new globalization at the turn of the twenty-first century. (Ward, 2019, p. 18)

Deng held out the promise of liberalist based reforms to the United States and other Western nations as China progressed towards becoming a modern state, carefully downplaying the geopolitical potential of China's rise (Mosher, 2017). This resulted in many American corporations and firms opening further markets within China, expanding international supply chains, and developing new financial and trade related systems with the hope that China would eventually become a liberal based system of free markets and trade, and adopt the democratic principles of free speech and Western based humanitarian values (Gertz, 2019).

Under Mao, the Chinese people had stood up, and under Deng they were growing wealthy (Ward, 2019), yet at the root of Chinese government, the maintenance, stability, and prosperity of the nation was dependent upon the success of the CCP in orchestrating and fulfilling the multigenerational goal of China's ultimate rise to power and prominence upon the world stage.

The Era of Optimism

Often in retrospect, historical events appear obvious, even inevitable to the modern reader. However, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, was in many respects an unfathomable geopolitical event at the time, and one that would alter the course of world history (Schweizer, 2002). Yet in 1989, another global incident occurred, one that would highlight the fact, that in China, liberalization was a long way from coming to fruition, and that the CCP still maintained absolute control over the citizens and national governance of China. Indeed, the Tiananmen Square Incident showcased that the CCP's authoritarian grip over the nation of China would be maintained at all costs, and that the democratic and liberalizing principles of the West would not be embraced if they could in any way threaten the security and stability of China's rise (Ward, 2019).

With the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent demise of the Soviet Union two years later, a major ideological determinant in the calculus of geopolitical policymakers conceived and held through several subsequent American presidential administrations was removed, as the need for the balancing of China against the Soviet Union was obviated, creating a power vacuum within Central Asia – that left standing only one major power on the Asian mainland (Gertz, 2019).

Thus the Tiananmen Square Incident, where thousands of Chinese protestors demanding democracy and an open government within China were massacred in Beijing, was a shock to many in the Western world who thought that China was opening up, and was moving towards becoming a liberalized democratic state (Mosher, 2017). During the uprising, Deng Xiaoping, after careful thought and consideration, ordered the brutal suppression of over one million

student protesters and dissidents calling for democracy in China, by ordering his generals to halt the protests at all costs, even if that meant that blood must be spilled (Mosher, 2017).

Thousands were killed by the machine gun fire, tanks and the armed personnel carriers of the PLA. While the massacre was condemned by the West, little was actually done in reaction to the incident, with President George W. Bush decrying the incident publically, yet enacting no significant policy shifts in America's stance of economic engagement with China, even when confronted with egregious human rights violations (McGregor, 2018). When then Secretary of State James Baker declared that the Tiananmen Square Incident was tragic (Mosher, 2017), the CCP Premier Li Peng claimed that the actions taken were positive and should not be regarded as tragic (Mosher, 2017).

Certainly Premier Li Peng had a point in relation to the CCP's existential survival, as the stability of the regime was potentially at stake. With the fall of Berlin Wall, and the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* unraveling the Soviet economy under Secretary Gorbachev's liberalization of the former Soviet Union's command and control economy, the CCP astutely recognized that permitting similar events within its own borders could compromise the authority of CCP rule, and create a destabilizing effect in relation to the modernizing of China that had taken decades of accomplish.

However one of the most interesting points of the Tiananmen Square Incident, is not only that Deng Xiaoping showcased that he was willing to go to great lengths in order to ensure the preservation of the CCP, but also that the United States, having defeated the Soviet Union in the Cold War, was willing to chide China on its human rights violations, yet was not willing to impose any significant economic sanctions on the egregious human rights violations the CCP

had practiced on its people. This would be a recurrent theme throughout both Republican and Democratic administrations in the coming years, as the massive investments on trade and finance by many American corporations during the opening up of China under Deng, had reaped lucrative dividends and profits, profits that Western companies and shareholders were loath to lose if a Presidential administration imposed sanctions that went beyond the minor sanctions imposed by the Bush administration (McGregor, 2018).

Thus, while the Tiananmen Square Incident was given much press by the media, it failed to curb significant trade and business ties with China, as geopolitical imperatives and market based economics ultimately dictated the policy decisions made in the highest echelons of the American government (McGregor, 2018). Even during the Clinton administration, which sought early on to bring human rights issues in China to the fore, economic policy considerations took precedence over liberalizing principles. When former Secretary of State Warren Christopher made a trip to China to cite concerns over humanitarian abuses by the CCP, the Chinese resisted any outside interference over their internal political affairs and made it clear – that if human rights issues were pressed by the American delegation, then they would lose significant access to Chinese markets (McGregor, 2018). As McGregor (2018) elucidates:

To underline their position, the Chinese detained a host of dissidents before and during Christopher's trip. Then, to drive their point home, Li Peng (the Chinese Premier) lectured Christopher with such contempt and rancor at a formal meeting in Beijing, about how human rights were none of the American's business that the U.S. delegation considered walking out. (McGregor, 2018, p. 145)

Thus, the Clinton administration backed off on pressing China on human rights issues, in order to maintain normalized economic relations with China. For the CCP, with its keen eye towards history, any interference within its internal affairs, could compromise its sovereign integrity to secure its borders. This lesson was well learned during China's historical past, when European nations had carved out spheres of influence within Chinese coastal and interior regions, creating zones of extraterritoriality in a Qing Empire that was riven from within by revolts and uprising, and that had neglected to develop its institutions, economy, and military forces (Merry, 2017). These factors thereby permitted China to be exploited from both the sea and land by Western powers eager to capitalize on the Qing's weakness, relegating China to colonial status. Historian, Robert T. Merry, highlights China's plight in his book, *President McKinley: Architect of the American Century* (2017). Merry (2017) states that:

The story of the Chinese Western conflict goes back to the dawn of the eighteenth century and the outset of a demographic explosion in China that overpowered the Qing dynasty's ability to govern... The Qing government neglected the infrastructure – dams, canals, dykes, roads – needed to keep agricultural production apace with this demographic surge. The result was poverty, hunger, banditry, societal breakdown. (Merry, 2017, p. 416)

Merry (2017) also highlights how this internal weakness led to outside aggression by a host of European powers, with the Opium Wars of 1839-1842 and the subsequent Treaty of Nanking, leading to Chinese cities being opened up to British trade, including Shanghai and Hong Kong, with Hong Kong becoming a British crown colony (Merry, 2017).

Other European nations joined the fray, and while the Qing government was granted semi autonomy gaining the advantages of rail links, mining industries, port development and other institutional improvements, it was essentially controlled by the European powers. Merry (2017) relates the Qing Empire's dire situation, "Many international experts predicted the eradication of China as an independent nation with its partition into Western spheres of influence" (Merry, 2017, p. 416).

China considers this period as the 'period of national humiliation' (Ward, 2019), and it was the one of the driving factors for China's consolidation under Mao, and the economic opening up of China under Deng (McGregor, 2018). Indeed, if China was once again to be able to reclaim its place as a regional hegemon independent in its own right, then any interference with its domestic policies by an outside entity was to be considered by the CCP, as an affront to their sovereign right to rule as an independent actor upon the world stage.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Pacific, the Clinton administration, faced with internal dissention, pressure from lobbying and business groups, and a Republican Revolution led by Newt Gingrich, abandoned its initial human rights policy advocated by Warren Christopher, as it turned towards internal domestic affairs and continued the economic policies of investment with China unabated (McGregor, 2018). Thus from that point onwards, the official Washington D.C. narrative became that although human rights violations were committed by China, it was slowly moving towards a more democratically oriented system of governance, and that just as the Soviet Union had collapsed under a command and control economy and emerged as a democracy, albeit a weakened one, a new future awaited China (Holslag, 2018).

As Gertz (2019) comments:

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was the architect of the Nixon-era strategic gambit that successfully played the ‘China Card’ in seeking to confront the greater danger posed by the Soviet Union. But the Kissinger policy of tilting toward Beijing was never recalibrated after Beijing’s fall in 1991. The result was a generation of American policy that rejected the moral imperative of an international foreign policy rooted in the defeat of communism. (Gertz, 2019, p. 212)

Therefore, while the CCP was chided on human rights violations by successive administrations, no serious efforts were made to hold them to accountability on this issue (Ward, 2019). This permitted Western corporations to continue trading and profit making unabated regardless of the foreign policy implications or human rights violations, an unfortunate paradigm shift that would later become an albatross on the neck of the United States.

Such opinions were evinced by both the United States and members of the European Union, during China’s bid to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, a move which would require the Chinese economy to follow a specific set of international standards in order to participate within the globalized trading system. These standard included: opening up China’s economy to foreign investment, the elimination of proprietary theft, the lessening of acquisition of sovereign wealth bonds, the abstention from practicing currency manipulation, moving away from the support of State Owned Corporations (SOC’s), and a host of other requirements deemed essential for China’s participation in the globalized free trade system (Holslag, 2018).

Jonathon Holslag (2018) a professor at the Free University in Brussels, highlighted three goals of the European Union towards China’s admittance to the WTO, “Three objectives were key: the promotion of the liberalization of the Chinese economy, helping China to enter the

liberal global trade system, and to achieve better market access to European goods and services” (Holslag, 2018, p. 23).

Indeed, President Bill Clinton declared during the Spring of 2000, that by joining the WTO, China was agreeing to import the democratic principle of economic freedom, free elections, as well as free citizens of the world working together (Maques, 2019). President Clinton also believed that the internet within China would also be liberalized, comparing controlling the world wide web as similar to trying to pin a piece of Jello to a wall (Gertz, 2019).

Members of the European Union envisioned a similar sanguine outcome, proclaiming in 2001 with China’s admission into the WTO that:

China’s accession can only lock in deepened market reforms empowering those in the leadership who support further and faster moves towards economic freedom. The opening up of telecommunications, the internet and satellite services will inevitably expose the Chinese people to information, ideas and debate from around the world. The rule of law will be strengthened as China finds itself obliged to play by the global trade rules. Many human rights activists and members of the foreign policy community agree that bringing China into the world trading system will be a push in the right direction in these spheres also (Holslag, 2018, p. 24).

The exuberant optimism by many in the United States and other Western nations following the collapse of the Soviet Union, was reflected by the Stanford based intellectual Francis Fukuyama in his famous *Foreign Affairs* article, “The End of History and the Last Man” (Huntington, 1996). Mr. Fukuyama theorized that with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the elevation of the United States to a hyperpower status, that the previous eras of nationalistic

and ideological battles within the anarchic arena of great power politics, would give way to a universal world order based on liberal principles espoused and represented by global institutions such as the United Nations (Huntington, 1996).

Fukuyama claimed in his article that the world was witnessing the end of history, that an ideological evolution towards the last form of human government was a universalized Western form of democratic principles (Huntington, 1996). Fukuyama, believed as did many other prominent liberalist thinkers and foreign policy experts, that the war of ideologies had been sent its death knell, that the future would be a universally liberalized system with the United States positioned as the economic and military hegemon, concluding in his piece, that the future will be a somewhat dull and boring affair (Huntington, 1996).

Such postulations embraced the concept of economic convergence with China, a theory expostulated by many scholars during the detente period between the United States and the Soviet Union under the Nixon administration. Hedrick Smith, a *New York Times* reporter who spent years in the Soviet Union during the period of detente posed the tantalizing question, “Are they becoming more like us? Has life inside Russian changed – is it being liberalized” (Smith, 1976, p. 665). Smith (1976) continues:

Scholars have even coined a name for it: convergence, the comforting and tempting thesis that the mass production, vast scale, complex organization, and modern technology of today’s economies will impel them along similar paths. Economic and political systems, so the theory goes, converge because they must cope with the same kinds of problems and naturally tend to evolve similar techniques and institutions. (Smith, 1976, p. 665)

During the period of detente Smith lived among ordinary Russians, interviewing a host of individuals from all walks of life including academics, businessmen and everyday people trying to make ends meet. Yet while token gestures by the Soviet leadership of opening up their system and economy during detente with the West were made in form and portrayed in the Soviet media as move towards liberal principles, with prominent dissidents receiving relief from repression, they were not made in deed to lesser known individuals who comprised the majority of the Soviet citizenry (Smith, 1976).

Indeed, many of the previous organs of repression instituted under the Stalinist based systems were reoriented into more adroit and subversive methods of control such as blacklisting, restricted access to academic research centers, and loss of employment (Smith, 1976). Smith writes, “The fascinating eccentricities of Russian life beneath the surface, most of the basic economic and political structure inherited from Stalin remains intact today...the dominance and infallibility of the Communist Party are still the pillars of the Soviet edifice” (Smith, 1976, p. 665).

Interestingly Peter Schweizer, a political consultant and former research fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Center, describes how during the period of detente with the West, the Soviet leadership utilized the new technologies, agricultural trade and access to formerly closed markets granted under detente, to strengthen their military capabilities and super industrial complex (Schweizer, 2002).

Schweizer (2002) writes, “Six weeks after the summit, the Nixon administration approved the sale of \$750 million worth of grain to Moscow at bargain prices...Nixon supported a program to finance Soviet purchases of U.S. technology using long term loans through the

import export bank” (Schweizer, 2002, p. 76). Schweizer (2002) reveals in a formerly top secret CIA analyst’s report that the trade and finance deals allowed the Kremlin to continue its ambitious military buildup without significantly reforming their economy. The end result, as Schweizer (2002) elucidates, was an extensive military buildup:

In East Germany, large underground storehouses had been built near several Warsaw Pact military installations. Hidden away in these cavernous facilities were interesting tokens. There were literally hundreds of street signs printed with names like Karl Marx Platz and Friedrich Engels Strasse. There were also enormous stacks of crisp new money unlike any other currency in circulation. And thousands of military medals were stacked neatly in large crates. These were the necessities of an expected conquest. (Schweizer, 2002, p. 78)

Schweizer (2002) relates how the medals were for Warsaw Pact heroes and soldiers for a planned future war with the West. The money was for newly occupied territories, the street signs for newly won cities in the heart of Western Europe. General Danilevich who served on the Soviet General Staff claimed that the Soviet Union had plans to advance all the way to the English Channel, and thought it was a very real strategic possibility to achieve such goals (Schweizer, 2002, p. 78).

Thus as Smith (1976) related during the period of detente, that life had not changed within the Soviet Union in relation to the theory of convergence, Schweizer (2002) showcased how the Soviets utilized the perception of convergence to strengthen their country in direct competition to the United States and the Western nations which sought to deescalate and liberalize the Soviet Union. The Communist Party in the Soviet Union knew, that its ultimate

survival lay not in convergence, but in competition, and it would utilize the semblance of convergence only to strengthen its hand in the arena of great power competition (Schweizer, 2002). This is an important lesson to be gleaned from history, that many Western leaders and economists had forgotten or ignored as the profitable flow of technology, investment and trade continued with China unabated.

Therefore in the new globalized era, where the end of history was perceived as the victory of liberalism over former authoritarian based systems (Huntington, 1996), it was assumed that business and foreign policy would inevitably align towards a singular goal of enhancing the internationally based system of institutions and economic connectivity. This vision was not to be, as the later pages of this dissertation will showcase.

However contrary to the oft quoted cliché, all great minds do not think alike. Samuel Huntington, a University of Chicago professor, who had taught Fukuyama during his former university years as a professor at Harvard, as well as the likes of Henry Kissinger and Zeb Brzezinski, both former United States Secretaries of State, had a less sanguine view of the future altogether. Huntington (1996) proposed an international realist based thesis that held a Casandra like portent reminiscent of the existing present day geopolitical realities. This thesis, which was also published in *Foreign Affairs*, was termed “The Clash of Civilizations,” and posited a saturnine view of the future, in which the former eras of nation states, ideological conflicts and great power competition, as represented during the first two World Wars and the Cold War period, would evolve into civilizational based blocs of competing interests. Huntington (1996) states succinctly that:

The post – Cold War world is a world of seven or eight major civilizations. Cultural commonalities and differences shape the interests, antagonisms, and associations of states. The most important countries in the world come overwhelmingly from different civilizations. The local conflicts most likely to escalate into broader wars are those between groups and states from different civilizations. The predominate patterns of political and economic development differ from civilization to civilization...Power is shifting from the long period of the West to non-Western civilizations. Global politics has become multipolar and multi-civilizational. (Huntington, 1996, p. 29)

Huntington's prescient hypothesis has taken on more weight in relation to the Western based foreign policy community's interpretation of the modern world, as the rise of China and its new Confucian based system of standards and norms has emerged on the forefront of the geopolitical stage. However there is another theory propounded by former European Finance Minister Bruno Maques (2018), which is interesting in the fact that he theorizes that it is impossible to truly know which model or theory is correct, as each prognostication has not reached its final endpoint in the historical continuum. Maques (2018) expostulates that:

I agree with Fukuyama that the whole world is on the path to modern society, but there are numerous paths and naturally, different visions of what a modern society looks like. Everyone is modern now, but there are different models of modern society. From this fact the essential terms of the new world order follow more or less directly. The hard distinction between modern and tradition has broken down, giving way to a deeply integrated world, but its most distinctive trait is the incessant competition between different ideas of how world wide networks should be organized. (Maques, 2018, p. 35)

Thus Maques (2018) interprets the current geopolitical arena and the various models as far more fluid and less defined in clearly delineated terms, and while Huntington's (1996) clash of civilizations theory is accurate in many respects, it belies a complexity that is inherent in relation to various cultural, civilizational, ideological and national perceptions and systems of which hold no general units of distinction. Thus while Fukuyama's end of history thesis has not come to fruition, there is one point within it that is surely a fallacy, for the future as he predicted, will be anything but prosaic and boring (Huntington, 1996).

Yet it was during the period of economic growth that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the United States as a hyperpower which dominated a liberal based economic system policed by its unchallenged military, and robust control of the world's economic markets and institutions, that Fukuyama's theory held sway, leading to the perception that China was slowly evolving towards a democratic state in a universally liberal based global commons.

The Chinese Powerhouse

Thus the policies of convergence and constructive engagement were perpetuated not only within the European Union, but also during both the Clinton and the subsequent Bush Administrations (McGregor, 2018), leading to the admittance of China into the WTO and a host of other international institutions, under the premise that China's admittance would gradually liberalize their authoritarian command and control based model of governance.

It was during this optimistic period, that the Chinese General Secretary Jiang Zemin and his successor Hu Jintao built upon Deng's legacy of creating a strong economy within China, in order to maintain its sovereignty and compete on the world stage with Western based nations and

corporations. Zemin and Jintao developed a host of newly emergent corporate and business entities that were created in order to modernize China's domestic economy, later becoming known as national champions (NC's), or China's backbone industries. These years saw the success and rise of the now commonly known names such as ZTE, Huawei, Ali Baba and Baidu, as well as a host of other firms in the industrial, technology and manufacturing sectors (Holslag, 2018).

These newly created NC's were to serve as competitive businesses within both the domestic and international sphere, yet received massive state backed credits and subsidies, and, while benefiting from market based economics, were required to invest their profits and shares in alignment with CCP command and control based planning and policy development (Holslag, 2018).

These policies were based upon two basic tenants, that of Civil Military Fusion as well as Comprehensive National Power. In essence, the concept of Civil Military Fusion, is that every sector of the civilian based economy and the newly developed innovations created within them, fuses with the development and enhancement of the CCP controlled People's Liberation Army (PLA). This Civil Military Fusion was seen by the CCP as tantamount to protect the sovereign borders within China and perceived as an existential necessity towards the successful rise of the CCP controlled state (Ward, 2019).

As Jonathon T. Ward (2019) explains:

In China's modern history, the power of the military, the power of the state, and the power of the Chinese people are ideologically bound together, bound up in the county's ability to fight against the outside world...Most important of all are the principles of

‘sovereignty and territorial integrity’ and ‘noninterference’ in internal affairs. (Ward, 2019, p. 92)

These policies were advocated by former Chinese leaders Mao and Deng, and were countenanced upon the fact, that no outside power should ever have the ability to interfere, dictate or alter the sovereign will of the CCP, which is inextricably bound to the policies as promulgated by the CCP. Thus every aspect of society from the SOCs and the NCs, down to the smallest businesses, were geared towards the strengthening of China’s economic and military industries, all under the auspices of the CCP based system.

Therefore the development of the civilian based economy and the military based economy are mutually complementary. This complementarity is also based upon the principle of Comprehensive National Power, a conceptualization that is seen scrolling across skyscrapers, and emblazoned upon the elementary school walls throughout mainland China, and is attached to the ancient Chinese dictum, ‘Wealthy country, strong military’ (Ward, 2019, p. 92).

The concept of Comprehensive National Power is explained by several top scholars of Qinghua University in Beijing as the idea that the power of a nation within the global commons is directly related to its national power and its strategic resources. Thus Comprehensive National Power means the aggregation of all the strengths within a nation, including its education, military, technology and foreign influence (Ward, 2019).

Yet as China developed its own sovereign domestic industries within its Civil and Military Fusion based policies in order to increase its Comprehensive National Power, the CCP did not move towards a more openly democratic system, nor did it significantly alter the economic structure within China in relation to the WTO stipulations in order to create a level

playing field for trade and financial exchange (Holslag, 2018). China continued to provide heavy subsidies across its industry sectors, flooding the United States and the E.U. with cheap goods and resources, while practicing sophisticated forms of currency manipulation, which made it more difficult for Western nations to ship traded goods into China (Holslag, 2018).

Many Chinese corporations operated at a loss of net profits while being subsidized by the Chinese state, with the goal of out financing Western corporate actors, to secure markets when their Western competitors, who were not backed by the massive credit streams available to Chinese companies, collapsed. This state controlled system of state subsidization permitted the Chinese firms to incur a short term loss for a long term gain of controlling key economic spheres of influence (Holslag, 2018).

Thus, China was able to look towards long term strategic goals that worked in concordance with both their economic and military sector, with all corporations and associational entities working in coordination towards a nationalist based goal of advancing China's overall competitiveness in the global market fields. All of these economic and industrial sectors were aligned in order to build Chinese Comprehensive National Power and to increase China's influence within the international sphere.

These practices are in many respects converse to the standard *modus operandi* of Western companies, whose CEO's have to produce dividends to shareholders or face losing their jobs. Many Western firms are also unable to receive massive state subsidies and credit streams at low interest rates, and are thus often forced to look towards shorter financial goals that may not run in alignment with the best interests of the American greater good, but rather their own financial solvency.

Ward (2018) makes a similar point, citing a conversation with a Chinese telecommunications manager that the Chinese economy was similar to one giant corporate incubator:

The country's objective of turning 'national champions' into global actors will mean a new form of competition for multinational companies around the world... When American and other global companies compete with their Chinese competitors, they are competing not only with these companies but also with the Chinese state. (Ward, 2018, p. 98)

In addition, as China worked to develop their internal manufacturing, industrial and agricultural infrastructure with companies that conducted complex construction activities such as high speed rail, all foreign based companies that worked within China were required to divulge the methods and techniques they utilized in highly technical projects (Holslag, 2018). These non-domestic firms were also required to employ Chinese workers, and utilize Chinese materials, with the majority of the profits made by these foreign companies being required to remain within China (Holslag, 2018). As Holslag (2018) relates, "Today, foreign contractors are allowed to enter into so called Sino foreign contractual joint ventures, but their freedom of operation in such ventures is severely limited... Such regulation leads to discrimination since it always puts Chinese companies in a better position" (Holslag, 2018, p. 124).

These stringent regulations of forced technology transfers and other policy based initiatives imposed by the Chinese government, has permitted foreign corporate participation within Chinese markets, yet simultaneously allowed Chinese corporations to gain Western technical and proprietary knowledge.

These CCP mandated policies, along with transferability centers specifically designed to reverse engineer technology from outside entities (Wagner & Furst, 2018), has permitted China to be able develop their domestic manufacturing facilities and technology at a swift pace, and to simultaneously recirculate the majority of the net proceeds, materials, and profits within the Chinese based economy.

Western companies, hoping that these requirements would recede as China modernized, sought to break into these markets, and also had the additional incentive to compete with other multinational firms for the Chinese business tenders, for if they did not, they could be outpaced by rival firms. Yet the implicit irony is that if even the Western firms that secured the contractual tenders to work within China, were often led to a self-fulfilling defeat at the hands of competing Chinese firms emerging in similar fields, for as these rival Chinese firms developed the technical knowledge and manufacturing facilities provided by the Western firms, new restrictions or trust violations polices were enacted and imposed on foreign firms by the CCP after they had made investments within China. Thus Western firms were pushed out of the Chinese markets in which they had invested, thereby solidifying these newly minted Chinese firms as major competitors and players on the global stage (Spalding, 2019). Such practices occurred across all sectors within China, including aerospace, vehicle manufacturing, electronic domains, as well as the high tech and digital spheres, and is one of the many techniques utilized to leap frog foreign competitors, while reaping the majority of economic and financial developments towards the benefit of the Chinese state (Holslag, 2018).

In addition many technology firms and NC's such as Huawei, were founded by former PLA officers and CCP officials, and were tasked with acquiring technology from foreign firms both through legal means such as corporate partnerships, as well as through espionage (Gertz,

2019). Indeed, Huawei actually offered bonuses to its employees who stole foreign technology from Western corporations, universities, and government research facilities, and had a secure e-mail link for this stolen intellectual property to be funneled over CCP based servers. The employees would be rewarded for this espionage with monetary bonuses based on the sensitivity and value of the stolen research material (Gertz, 2019).

The shipping industry also faced similar practices, with shipping giants such as Maersk, who provided more efficient and environmentally soluble transoceanic shipping practices, to be outpaced by Chinese based companies such as COSCO, who though less efficient, were able to benefit from lower insurance rates, higher credit streams, and tariff free shipping rates within China (Holslag, 2018).

All of these efforts were designed by the CCP to permit China to dominate the interoceanic trade and shipping industries and to push foreign competitors out of the lucrative trading markets (Holslag, 2018). Such techniques are utilized in myriad ways across all industries from manufacturing, shipping, and port construction, to the financial, technological and digitally based sectors. Indeed, all of these CCP based economic policies are designed to boost China's Comprehensive National Power, increase its Civil to Military Fusion, and hence protect the CCP's foreign and domestic interests, thereby strengthening the CCP itself.

Therefore, as General Secretaries Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin continued to hold the course in China's strategic goals towards modernization and technological parity with the West, sticking to the dictum of former leader Deng Xiaoping to 'nurture your strength and hide your light' (Ward, 2019), China's economic prowess steadily increased at the expense of many Western and WTO participatory nations, who hoped in vain that China would steadily liberalize as a signatory

to the WTO protocols and come into alignment with the stipulations provided therein (Mosher, 2017).

Yet contrary to many Western expectations, the CCP's power was strengthened, and its violations of human rights abuses continued unabated. For example over one-hundred thousand political dissidents of all stripes; artists, lawyers, professors and other intellectuals, were imprisoned during Zemin's and Jintao's tenure. Indeed, following a peaceful demonstration by a Falun gong adherents, a Buddhist oriented religious movement, hundreds of thousands were imprisoned for practicing their religious beliefs with thousands disappearing, "or dying in police custody as a result of torture, mistreatment, and the harvesting of their organs" (Mosher, 2017, p. 122), for the lucrative black market. While the CCP reserves the right to formulate its own constitution and laws on religious practices, the execution and organ harvesting of inmates for religious expression is very difficult to defend in the name of social stability. Thus the dictates of the CCP and the Chinese government, are often divergent from the beliefs and desires of the Chinese people.

While any student of history would recognize the fact that there are certainly similarities between the Falun gong movement and the White Lotus Flower rebellions or the Taiping revolution against the Qing Empire in 1850 to 1864, which is estimated to have taken the lives of more individuals than the First World War (Merry, 2017), one questions whether the brutal suppression of dissidents, whether designated as a cult or a threat to stability, requires mass imprisonment and executions in the modern era.

Jiang Zemin has stated in response to recriminations on these issues that if any organization raises objections to the CCP, then its head must be cut off (Mosher, 2017). Once

again, while the CCP represents the government of China, the perspectives of the Chinese intellectuals and other persecuted individuals must also be considered.

Nonetheless the United States Congress and other Western powers, while admonishing China on its human rights record, looked the other way in relation to passing any significant legislation in relation to China on such issues, with the hope that the CCP would begin to liberalize. Such hopes were in vain. By 2008 with the economic recession bearing down on the United States and the globalized economy, and with China weathering the economic maelstrom largely unaffected and continuing its high rates of growth and economic strength, many economists and leaders began to challenge China in relation its continued violations of the WTO's standards and agreements (McGregor, 2018).

During 2008 China celebrated its 60th anniversary and also hosted the World Olympics for the first time, showcasing to the global community that China had become a modern nation on par with many in the West. As *Financial Times* Washington D.C. editor Richard McGregor (2018) highlights:

With a discipline other governments envied, China's state-owned banks began doling out large loans...By mid-2009, as Western leaders waited for the crisis to bottom out, economists were already revising upward their estimates for Chinese growth. China was rising, peacefully or otherwise. (McGregor, 2018, p. 240)

That same year, as the financial crisis gained steam, there was a famous encounter between Hank Paulson, a former Goldman Sachs CEO and then Treasury Secretary under the George W. Bush administration and his Chinese counterpart Wang Quishan. McGregor (2018) states that, "Wang told Paulson on the sidelines of the U.S. China conclave in 2008, 'You were

my teacher,' ... '[but] I look at your system, Hank. We aren't sure we should be learning from you anymore'" (McGregor, 2018, p. 240). McGregor (2018) continues that during the meeting, it was reported that, "Wang berated Paulson at length about America's shortcomings, and that afterward, Paulson seethed at the lecture" (McGregor, 2018, p. 240).

Bruno Maques (2018) points out that in many respects it was perfectly natural for China to continue its then current economic policies during the 2008 financial crisis, as its goals of maintaining social stability and security within its vast populous, were intimately linked to a strong and steadily growing economy, which in turn were connected towards the CCP's coterminous goals of emerging as a preeminent player on the world stage. In essence, adjusting its economic practices, whether in alignment with WTO global standards to which it had agreed or not, would not be in the best interest of China's goals to increase Comprehensive Wealth Power, and through a pragmatic lens, was a logical reaction to expect from a highly sophisticated technocratic power such as China.

These criticisms reflected a disagreement between the Washington consensus and the Beijing consensus, which on the most basic level, were disagreements on a free market based system founded upon equitable trade and investment, in opposition to a controlled economy with elements of a highly regulated system, which Beijing maintains, is necessary for continued growth and stability of their nation (McGregor, 2018). These perspective are both valid, however in signing a treaty to participate and benefit in global bodies such as the WTO, China made an explicit and legally binding agreement based upon international law to abide by the stipulations outlined in the WTO contractual documents. Therefore any deviation by China, for whatever reasons, presents an unfair disadvantage to those nations who work in concordance with the international treaty in which they signed. Thus holding out the promise that it would liberalize its

institutions and trade policies to Western nations, the CCP strengthened its economy and hold on power, while continuing a host of unfair trade practices, espionage and human rights violations, which weakened the comparative advantage that many Western and developed nations held within the global marketplace.

This division between the Washington consensus and the Beijing consensus is a key point, for two reasons. The first being that even though the United States controls the majority of the WTO decisions through its economic influence, and China does not comply with the binding agreements of the WTO (Spalding, 2019), subsequent American presidential administrations and legislators were extremely reluctant to launch any challenges to these unfair practices by Beijing, as they had the potential to destabilize the global economy, as well as adversely affect the corporate business environment on which the United States heavily depends.

Essentially the economic and financial interconnectedness of China's and America's economy in regards to the massive debt accumulation of sovereign wealth funds by the Chinese government in dollar denominated funds, which the United States has issued in order to keep its economy afloat through continuously raising the debt ceiling over the last several decades, as well as the highly interconnected intersection of complex trade, finance, manufacturing and supply chains, was considered by many as symbiotic relationship, which if frayed would cause a destabilization on massive scale for both parties involved (Fergusson, 2016).

While the continued derogation by the CCP in relation to previously explained trade and financial commitments made in the WTO documents in order to participate within the international system is clear, many have questioned why through four presidential administrations, the United States Congress nor the Executive Department have acted in any

significant measure in order to work with China diplomatically or economically in order to remedy this crises. The above mentioned economic interrelationship explains one possible explanation, however there is another which is equally telling.

Monetary Influence

This in effect leads to a second key point in this equation, that being the heavy lobbying influence by the corporate and business community on the American Congress and the Executive Department. This is an issue of the first magnitude, for this lobbying influence is intricately interwoven within the international business sector, the American domestic economy, as well as the higher education sphere.

As stated previously, during the Cold War, corporate and financially based interest groups worked in a consonant alignment beneficial to both their own profits as well as the United States economic and foreign policy apparatus, as corporate and financial engagement with China was seen as a contrapose to the Soviet system, with the mutually beneficial humanitarian benefit of lifting millions of Chinese from poverty and hunger through the provision of new markets.

However with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, and the continued investment with a China who benefited from a free trade system under the WTO, yet in many ways utilized the WTO system to their advantage without playing by the rules, these same corporations were now in effect working in opposition to both American economic strength and American foreign policy interests (Spalding, 2019). This fact is an issue often neglected by a host of American based analysts and China specialists, yet is one of the taproots of the continued neglect to call an end to China's derogations of the terms of agreement within the WTO and a host of other international institutions. As explained earlier, this is a complicated issue, for these corporations

in many circumstances acted in legally sanctioned manner, and in accordance with their own existential and economic survival in a highly competitive international field.

However, there has been much criticism by many scholars both within the United States and Europe, of the so called globalized Davos Culture, and a newly emergent perspective held by many in the business and corporate arena that borders, sovereign rights, and other nationally based tenets developed within the post Westphalian creation of nation states, held less significance in relation to the postmodernist world in we now live (Huntington, 1996).

As corporations began to expand into the new economic vacuums that had opened up in Eastern Europe after the fall of the communist bloc, as well as in other developing nations around the world such as China, terms such as track two diplomacy in which multinational and transnational corporations made deals with national governments that had previously been monitored by their nation of origin and codified by treaties of their national elected officials increased in frequency (Stavridis, 2017).

In many respects, borders were perceived by many within the Davos Culture as more of an anachronism of a time gone by, an archaic Westphalian system of whose vestiges and rules were more of a hindrance than a necessity, as new international institutions emerged that would replace these previous systems (Huntington, 1996). Allegiance to a nation or a state while still held by many of this so termed Davos Culture as a core principle, was weakened as the perception of a globalized world and an international community became commonplace. Samuel Huntington, the previously mentioned University of Chicago based professor, describes the Davos Culture as thus:

Almost all these people hold university degrees...are universally fluent in English, are employed by governments, corporations and academic institutions with extensive international involvements, and travel frequently outside their own country. They generally share beliefs in individualism, market economics and political democracy, which are also common amongst people in Western civilization. Davos people control virtually all international institutions, many of the world's governments, and the bulk of the world's economic and military capabilities. (Huntington, 1996, p. 57)

Huntington (1996) posits that this globalized culture benefits these individuals immensely, as they repeatedly transition through a revolving door, from high placed governmental roles, to international institutions, to the corporate sector, and then back again (Huntington, 1996). Thus the perpetuation of this revolving door model and the international institutions to which these individuals firmly believed would be paramount to the sovereign based nation state, was a self-serving interest that would also benefit the greater good as the universal liberalization of the global commons came to fruition in due course. The perspective of a global community based on liberal values serves the purpose of continuous profits and immense monetary and institutional power for these individuals, and while altruistic in belief, it was reliant upon a model that was predicated upon the universalist global theory propagated by Francis Fukuyama in his end of history thesis.

Niall Fergusson, an Oxford trained professor at the Laurence A. Tisch School of History at New York University, makes a similar argument in his book on networks and economics, *The Square and the Tower* (2018), highlighting the importance of international and personal connections, "Today, the combination of technological innovation and international economic integration has created entirely new forms of networks – ranging from the criminal underworld

to the rarefied ‘overworld’ of Davos – that were scarcely dreamt of by Keynes Kennan or Trevor-Roper” (Fergusson, 2018, p. 419). Ferguson (2018) states that, “Those who mock the World Economic Forum underestimate the power of networks” (Fergusson, 2018, p. 419).

Another key issue is the proverbially though often misrepresented reality of the deep state, a concept that while often perceived as conspiratorial, is in reality a very real phenomenon, for a deep state is an institutionalized interest based movement towards a preservation of a given system (McFate, 2019).

Deep state interests can manifest themselves in the form of military, security, financial, corporate or even higher education institutions. Examples such as Iran’s Revolutionary Guard, and Pakistan’s ISI security services, are two examples institutional actors within a sovereign entity that seek self-preservation, often times pursuing goals and policies which may run in contravention to the given dictates of their own sovereign government’s policies and legal promulgations in order to protect their institutional survival (McFate, 2019).

Sean McFate, is a professor of strategy at Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, who has trained some of the top commanders within the United States military and security services, such as former Joint Special Operations Commander General Stanley McCrystal. McFate (2019) defines deep state institutions not as a group of individuals organizing a specific goal or plan, but rather a host of individuals, institutions or corporations that may have disparate interests or goals, yet are reliant upon certain systems, laws regulations or other factors that cause them to act in a non coordinated unity of purpose in order to protect their interest (McFate, 2019). McFate (2019) relates that:

Institutions that comprise the deep state do not plot their actions like participants in a conspiracy. Rather, they engage in passive synchronization. They cooperate because their institutional interests align, as in a Nash equilibrium, resulting in mutually reinforcing actions that protect their common goals. Gradually this tacit consensus congeals into a deep state that can control a nation. They can overrule, sabotage, and reverse legitimate government decisions with no accountability or even visibility. (McFate, 2019, p. 161)

In relation to China, a deep state could represent a conceptualization akin to the Davos corporate phenomenon, in which a group of elites have a broad common interest in a set of common values such as free trade, open borders, and internationally based institutions which prove beneficial to them all, yet may not align towards any specific strategy or goal and run contrary to the policies enacted by their sovereign country of origin. Such a deep state phenomenon could also be applied to many financial or corporate based interests heavily invested in China's economy, as any regulations to protect human and environmental rights, or implement stronger regulations to leverage China to practice fair trade within the framework of the WTO, could compromise their dividends and profits, thereby compromising an entity's existential survival.

Higher education institutes could also fall into this category, as many universities seek to protect their funding streams, even at the cost of potential Chinese soft power influences which could infringe upon the academic freedoms practiced within their academic research and pedagogy (Peterson, 2018). This issue will be explored in depth later within this paper and leads to the concept of agency capture, or the influence that many institutional interests wield over elected officials through monetary contributions and lobbying efforts.

Both Congress and the Executive Department have recognized that interest based politics have the ability to compromise the public trust and the greater good, with Congressional members speaking specifically to such issues. As the honorable Senator Sheldon Whitehouse testified to the Senate Sub-committee on Administrative oversight:

At bottom, agency capture is a threat to democratic Government. We the people pass laws through a democratic and open process. Powerful interests, nonetheless, want a second secret bite at the apple. They want to capture the regulatory agencies that enforce those laws so that they can blunt their effects, turning laws passed to protect the public interest into policies and procedures that protect industry interests. (Whitehouse, 2010, para. 10)

This revolving door permits a corporate investor the opportunity to contribute funds into an election campaign in order have a favored politician elected or reelected, thereby implicitly affecting their policy decisions to favor the campaign donors interests, whether it be institutional, individual or corporate. While perfectly legal in many cases, such influence is from many perspectives immoral, and has contributed to a significant portion of American citizens questioning whether the governmental elections, policies or the very information they receive from politicians has been influenced by monetary interests (McFate, 2019).

It is quite relevant to assert that campaign funding, lobbying influence and the appointment of industry executives to agency positions has occurred throughout the history of the American nation, and that there has always been an interplay between money and government, as well as a balance to be struck with the regulation of such activities. Indeed, the First Amendment strictly permits the freedom of speech, the petitioning of the government by

lobbying to redress any grievances, and the appointment of officials who are cognizant and experienced within the business world in which they must regulate (First, 2018).

Furthermore, the large corporatist infrastructure of capitalistic enterprise has propelled the United States into a powerhouse in the forum of world economics (Fergusson, 2016). However, there has also been a questioning of such influence by many ordinary Americans throughout the past century. As Senator Whitehouse related in his Congressional testimony:

This threat of agency capture is by no means a novel concept. As I have described previously on the floor, from Woodrow Wilson in 1913 through Marven Bernstein, the first dean of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton in 1955, to the Nobel Prize-winning economist George Stigler, to the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal this year, Americans from across the political spectrum have recognized the continuing danger of agency capture. (Whitehouse, 2010, para. 9)

From the research conducted, it is clear that monetary influence, economic considerations on both the domestic and international level, and the interconnectedness of the post Cold War globalized world presented a host of new issues in relation to Congressional and Executive decision making in order to deal with a rising China, that was not complying with the WTO and other globalized institutional agreements, nor moving towards a liberally based system of governance.

The reliance upon the liberal universalist model propounded by Francis Fukuyama and embraced by many elites within the institutional power structures, as well as previous economic models to forecast and predict current economic trends were not coming to fruition as predicted, for the majority of them were predicated on the fact that all participant nations would work

within a singular system, which many Chinese and even American policymakers and analysts view as being driven by a Western based model controlled in a large part by the United States (Spalding, 2019).

However, there are critics that claim many of these corporate and financial actors were not acting under a naïve assumption that China would begin to liberalize through free market interaction under the WTO, but rather that they knew full well that their actions would serve to strengthen the CCP on both the domestic and international level.

Ward (2019), cites an interview in which former U.S. Treasury Secretary and Goldman Sachs CEO, Henry Paulson stated that there was a myth that many of the United States corporations and governmental officials believed that that China would evolve into a Jeffersonian democracy, or liberalize its system. Paulson went on to state that they never had such beliefs, and knew that the CCP would retain control within China (Ward, 2019). Ward (2019) points out that, “Mr. Paulson knew that American engagement with China would bring about a globally empowered China and a globally empowered Chinese Communist Party” (Ward, 2019, p. xix), and questions whether he knew the consequences of those actions. However Ward (2019) does not point out the explicit link, a fact that many other foreign policy writers and authors also omit within their writings, that being that many government officials and corporate players may have acted from a self interested based stance, seeking to use the revolving door and heavy lobbying influences, to enrich their corporations and shareholders for short term monetary goals, at the expense of the long term benefit of human rights, and fair trade practices as stipulated under the WTO trading system.

Perhaps the real question is, did these individuals and corporations, even if in their actions, understanding full well that China was not going to liberalize, fathom that China would grow powerful enough to expand outwards and challenge the very international system under which they operated? This analysis posits from the research conducted, that many did not at the time. Robert Spalding the former Director for Strategic Planning to the White House at the National Security Council states that:

Blinded by our own greed and the dream of globalization, we've been convinced that free trade automatically unlocks the shackles of authoritarianism and paves the way to democracy. The promise of cheap labor, inexpensive goods, and soaring stock prices has been spellbinding, but by giving up our manufacturing expertise and dominance, we have given up our independence and sold out our own citizens by stripping them of work.

(Spalding, 2019, p. xvii)

In many respects, as Bruno Maques (2019) has stated, Western policymakers and corporate players, suffered from a lack of imagination, as they did not believe that a China guided by the CCP, could alter or challenge the international system which was in many respects controlled by Western based institutions and frameworks. Thus this lack of imagination that new models could be brought to the fore to alter the very frameworks which many of the Western powers had dominated for decades was a *faux pas*, and an underestimation of a very capable CCP, controlling China in a new era where many past models and expectations have fallen into the proverbial dustbin of history.

This analysis is not suggesting that historical economic models in relation to the new postmodernist age are obsolete – to the contrary, for Federal Chairman Ben Bernanke's historical

analysis of the Great Depression, and the policy mechanisms implemented under his guidance played a large part in lifting the United States out of the Great Recession of 2008 (Fergusson, 2016). However as evinced in the newly changing world of market finance, such as low inflation and high employment, a phenomenon which is paradoxical to past historical trends, and which Jerome Powel, the current Federal Chairman has remedied with current interest rate cuts, illuminates how structural and cyclical models of economic theory which were once thought to be standard fare, are not coming to fruition even through the predictions of the most prominent economic analysts expectations. There is a reason for this phenomenon which fits nicely with the analysis of this research dissertation.

In a 2012 article for Harvard's Belfer Center titled, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure," Michael Beckley, supports the viewpoint of traditional models of geopolitics, which argued against many declinists who posit that the United States will experience a significant decline over the next century in relation to China's rise, as the United States, can, in effect, leverage the international system as a global leader. Beckley (2012) asserts that:

Most obvious, the United States, as hegemon, possesses an array of tools with which to reward and punish. It can provide, restrict, or deny access to the U.S. market, technology, foreign aid, support for membership in international organizations, bribes, and White House visits. These tit-for-tat bargains with individual states, however, are not as consequential as the United States' power over aspects of the international system itself. In the alternative perspective, hegemony is not just preponderant power, it is 'structural power'...It is the power to set agendas, to shape the normative frameworks within which states relate to one another, and to change the range of choices open to others without

putting pressure directly on them. It is, at once, less visible and more profound than brute force. (Beckley, 2012, p. 37)

Beckley's (2012) article is not only interesting to analyze from a Chinese perspective, as it acknowledges the leverage the United States holds within the current system, which could in effect constrain China to a secondary position on the global stage, and thus work in an antithetical manner to its goals of rising to a great power status free from any interference on the sovereign or international fields, but also in the relation to the fact that both the arguments posited by the declinists within Beckley's (2012) article, as well Beckley's arguments which counter the declinist view, are premised and built within a narrow framework of interpretation, which does not consider alternative models of culturally oriented international systems. The entire thesis posited by Beckley (2012) therefore, and the rationales provided therein to argue against declinist viewpoints, are based upon a singular perceptual lens that does not expand into a wider focus of a newly emergent CCP based system whose technical, political, structural and cyclical orientations do not run consonant within the international system he analyzed. Bruno Maques (2018) posits that:

The whole is only a whole in relation to the parts, and the parts are only parts in relation to the whole. When it comes to world politics this means that what view we have of the whole will always color our understanding of the parts. (Maques, 2018, p. 65)

This analytical point is made to highlight not only why the CCP would seek to participate within the global WTO system in order to gain an edge, while not abiding by the rules contained therein, but would also seek to formulate a new system entirely disarticulated from the American and Western oriented international system, a fact that many international corporations and

policymakers did not imagine nor believe would come to fruition. For if China was ever to challenge the United States within a system in which the Americans held the levers of a multiplicity of global institutional powers, it could restrict the machinations on policy decisions of the CCP which ran contrary to the interests of the United States and other Western actors.

This analysis also supports the point that while formal political and economic models hold weight, they are not static in relation to newly disruptive technological and cultural systems, and their attenuated effects that make past models less accurate in predicting future trends. In effect, the predictions made by corporations, policymakers and economists while valid on many levels, will be altered by a no analog future, where baselines and norms are not representative of trends to a significant effect.

Thus while many corporate actors and policymakers knew full well that the CCP would not liberalize, they did not think China would be able to challenge them in a postmodernist and globalized world in which they controlled the levers of power. As the following pages will highlight, this tactical error, was a critical misjudgment and underestimation of the CCP's pragmatic policy prowess. Hubris often leads to nemesis.

The previous pages have shown how China successfully secured and strengthened its inner industrial, manufacturing and agricultural core under Mao Zedong, and, though at a great cost to its own citizens, formulated a vision in which China would once again regain its ancient historical status as a great power. Under Mao China 'stood up' (Ward, 2019).

This section further explored how under Deng Xiaoping China 'opened up' (Ward, 2019) to the West, gleaning key economic and technological models, holding out the promise of liberalization, yet tactfully, concealing its goals to create a new system of international relations

based upon the socialist and Confucian paradigm, all while successfully establishing major advances within their industrial complex.

This section has also illuminated how Chinese leaders Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, in a continuance of Deng's policies, gained entrance into the WTO, enhancing China's modernization in all sectors, while in many instances not adhering to the stipulations of the WTO treaty itself, thus creating an unfair advantage at the expense of many international firms and corporations (Gertz, 2019). As has been illustrated, Zemin's and Jintao's policies were successful, ushering forth a new era of prosperity in China through the integration of highly regulated privately owned businesses in addition to SOC's and NC's in order to boost Chinese Comprehensive Wealth Power through the Civil and Military Fusion doctrine.

This section also showcased how many international actors, continually engaged with China, some hoping for liberalization, others knowing that China would not liberalize but hedging that China would not be able to challenge the current international system.

This new infusion of private business, especially in the fields of finance, economics, and technology not only opened up new markets for foreign investment for both China's SOC's and backbone industries, but also vaulted China's standing as a leader in many of these core industries, as their state subsidies, state backed credit schemes and espionage techniques, gave Chinese firms an edge over foreign corporations and investors. Under Deng, Zheng and Jintao, China, 'grew wealthy' (Ward, 2019).

However through all of China's leaders, and through each advancing decade, a sense of continuity in relation to the CCP's ultimate goal of once again emerging as a civilizational power and fulfilling its rightful historical destiny remained its ultimate strategy (Ward, 2019). To many

in China, its rise was perceived as not a rise at all, but rather a return to a glorious past, real or imagined, that was intricately connected to China's ancient and storied civilization (Ward, 2019).

Yet in 2012, a new visionary leader would emerge, one who sought not to lead from behind the Western nations as his predecessors had once done when consolidating China's internal borders and domestic markets, but for the first time in its modern history, to project China as a world leader in itself. Under this new leader, China would 'grow powerful' (Ward, 2019), and seek to expand beyond its shores in an ever enlarging quest to secure international markets on a scale never before seen in the world history (Wheeler, 2018). This new leader was China's current President Xi Jinping.

The Rise of Xi Jinping and the China Dream

During the 19th Party Congress in 2017, Xi Jinping gave a speech that highlighted China's national and civilizational sense of self. President Xi Jinping stated thus:

Rooted in a land of more than 9.6 million square kilometers, nourished by a nation's culture of more than 5,000 years, and backed by the invisible force of more than 1.3 billion people, we have an infinitely vast stage of our era, a historical heritage of unmatched depth, and comparable resolve that enable us to forge ahead. (Xinhua, 2017, para. 1)

The stage to which President Xi is referring is the world (Ward, 2019), and under Xi, the idea of a new and modern China has taken shape, one expressed within Xi's ideological expression of the Chinese Dream, a goal which while in itself is vague in its outlines, seeks the 'great rejuvenation of the Chinese people' (Ward, 2019). The Chinese Dream is intimately tied not only to Chinese prosperity within its domestic shores, but also to its international economic

strength, a strength that is directly related to its military power projection on the global stage (Spalding, 2019).

President Xi is viewed by many in both China and the West, as perhaps the most powerful man in the world, enshrining Xi Jinping thoughts within the Chinese Constitution, as well as unlimited term limits for his tenure as the foremost leader of the CCP (Ward, 2019). Under President Xi's steady hand, a massive anti-corruption campaign has eliminated all rival challengers to leadership in the security, military, party and economic spheres. These actions have cemented his status at the apex of the CCP hierarchy, and provided him with an overarching authority over every element of China's governmental affairs, which includes the law, and every activity both domestic and foreign, ranging from the most powerful SOCs, to the everyday citizens residing both inside and outside China's borders (Ward, 2019).

As China's modernization has taken shape, many Western observers have questioned whether China's economy will continue its meteoric growth rates both domestically and internationally, citing a massive population which is slowly rising towards a middle income class status, which restricts the comparative manufacturing advantage which has drawn many international actors to invest within its shores due to cheaper labor costs (Maques, 2019). Others have questioned whether the massive infrastructure schemes such as China's much publicized ghost cities, where pharaonic city centers the size of New York and Philadelphia have been constructed, yet are empty and uninhabited, have been over leveraged by Chinese credit and debt allowances, and cite the risk of massive defaults and real estate bubbles as a result (Spalding, 2019).

The great environmental damage during China's modernization, and the possibility of public unrest and an aging population brought about by China's one child system during the CCP's previous leaders, are also cited as prime risk factors that China may face as its economy modernizes. Many expert predict these factors will slow if not stall China's growth (Holslag, 2019).

While this researcher has found many of these arguments to be compelling, the research conducted has come to the surprising result, that the CCP has found an answer to them all, in a complex, and unorthodox combination of techno authoritarian governance, innovative financial mechanisms, and long term strategic investment schemes, that while solid in their expressed goals and timelines, are fluid in relation to the evershifting geopolitical arena from which they are carried out. A recent white paper published by the PRC State Council on Information in 2019, stated that China's modernization has been successful, due to its own unique governance models and its socialism with Chinese characteristics policies:

It is a path based on China's actual conditions. Reflecting on its reality and history, and through experimentation, China has drawn wisdom from its own culture and learned from the strengths of other cultures, both Eastern and Western. China sticks to its choice of paths, but is never rigidly opposed to change; China borrows experience, but never copies unthinkingly. (PRC, 2019, p. 12)

The fact that all Chinese policies and initiatives are backed and controlled in a highly calibrated unity of action in which the Chinese state and the Chinese people work in a lock step fashion towards a vision in which China will once again regain its preeminence as a great civilizational actor, has given China a significant advantage. This is due to the fact that not only

does such concordant policy promulgation lead to the development and increase of China's Comprehensive Wealth Power, but also it also increases its military prowess, as the Civil and Military Fusion model has required all non state actors to contribute to the bolstering of China's military industrial complex (Ward, 2019). While many of the Chinese people might not agree with these policies, they are enforced through a variety of means which will be explored in further pages.

By pursuing long term strategic strategies which are vague in wording and meaning, the CCP is able to maintain its maneuverability in adjusting to both domestic and international events as they unfold (Wheeler, 2018). Five year plans are developed that achieve set goals at every party Congress, while yearlong assessments at the annual Party Plenums permit for the CCP to orchestrate flexible tactics to achieve these plans and to adjust them as necessary to current events on the ground. Thus, China's long term strategy is fluid and formless, while the more tangible plans to achieve a long term strategy on the tactical levels unfold within a branch like system that achieves the overarching strategies the party sets forth towards its goals (Maques, 2019).

The only difference however in President Xi's, and hence the CCP's vision of the Chinese Dream from those of its civilizational past, is that while China once maintained its hegemonic position within the Asian sphere, the CCP's new goals encapsulate the global commons. Indeed, in the post modernist world, the quest for resources from oil and gas, to rare earth and other minerals are essential to the continued growth of China, and the protection of these resources, is intimately related to the projection of Chinese military might both upon the land and seas. As the PRC states:

The dream of the Chinese people is closely connected with the dreams of peoples around the world. Peace, stability and prosperity in China present opportunities and benefits to the rest of the world. A strong military of China is a staunch force for world peace, stability and the building of a community with a shared future for mankind. (CDD, 2019, p. 10)

As Ward (2019) states, “Xi views this mission, as his forebears did, in keeping with the original goals of restoration. The China Dream, the New China, and the Great Rejuvenation, are all fundamentally military endeavors” (Ward, 2019, p. 42).

China’s strategies to protect both its internal and external interests are firmly rooted in its Two Centennial Goals, which are specifically stated as 2021 and 2049. The first centennial is set at one hundred years from the founding of the CCP, the projected date when China will achieve a parity on the international level with Western powers. The second centennial is the one hundredth anniversary of the modern Chinese nation, when China will achieve its century long ambition to attain preeminence upon the global stage (Ward, 2019).

The untranslatability of these goals from Chinese to English provides a dualistic interpretation of what China’s grand strategy to achieve the Two Centennials exactly is, and what the Chinese dream entails, as the term *shijie yiliu jundui* has multiple meanings, including, “a military that is first rate, top tier, world class, or essentially second to none” (Ward, 2019, p. 38), leaving the vexing question as to the overall intent of these goals firmly mired in speculation by analysts and policy makers around the world.

Security Concerns and Unrestricted Warfare

The PRC's 2019 white paper titled, "China's National Defense in the New Era," explicitly states that China is expanding both in the Indo-Pacific as well as the global commons, and facing an intense security competition with the United States in the region. Yet the PRC maintains that it seeks no global ambitions for hegemony, has downsized its military, and insists that China's rise both economically and military is benevolent in character and deed:

The development of China's national defense aims to meet its rightful security needs and contribute to the growth of the world's peaceful forces. History proves and will continue to prove that China will never follow the beaten track of big powers in seeking hegemony. No matter how it might develop, China will never threaten any other country or seek any sphere of influence. (CDD, 2019, p. 8)

There is no doubt of an emergent and intense security competition in great power politics between China and other global powers, nor the necessity for the CCP to secure their internal and external markets, as all emerging and current great powers have similar economic and military coordination. However the scale and practices of China's newfound strength and its power projection have alarmed many nations around the globe. This alarm is due to both the domestic and international methods by which China is achieving its rise in great power status.

The fact that while China has downsized its military, yet increased its spending by over one hundred percent since 2008 (Linter, 2019), focusing on a blue water navy and highly specialized military and security forces, has not allayed speculation by many defense analysts around the world, that whatever China's intentions, its rise will most certainly affect the current balance of power around the globe (Linter, 2019). Indeed, the construction of a string of pearls of

naval bases mirroring America's bases in the Indo-Pacific, the development of hypersonic glide vehicles that can evade United States radar and missile defense systems, and the development of thousands of underwater drones strategically placed on key sea based navigation routes, has aroused speculation within the highest echelons of America's government, that China seeks to undermine if not replace the United States as the dominant world power (Ward, 2019). In addition China's claim to nearly the entire South China Sea, a heavily contested body of water critical to trade and which also holds a massive amount of oil and gas reserves which some estimates place as high as those contained within Saudi Arabia, highlights that China most certainly seeks to establish spheres of influence as it projects its power outwards (Gertz, 2019).

However China's plans to dominate the 5G digital and telephonics markets as expressed within the Made in China 2025 plan, through both state sanctioned espionage and state owned subsidies (Gertz, 2019), is perhaps the most pressing issue for many American policymakers, as these systems will control the networks through which financial trading, information communications, energy infrastructure and a host of other critical services transit. This is a bipartisan concern for Congress, and many legislators have, "urged developing a 5G network that reflects American principles: rule of law, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and fair and reciprocal markets" (Gertz, 2019, p. 170).

This research has found that the soft power and propaganda techniques targeting the democratic and higher education sectors in America, are intricately related to the Two Centennial goals of the CCP, as well as China's earnest expansion beyond its borders as it seeks to increase its economic and hence military influence to new spheres of interest. In order to achieve its goals, the CCP's controlling of the narrative and of information in relation to China's expansion,

both domestically and on the international level, is of prime importance if the CCP is to realize the China Dream and the ‘great rejuvenation of the Chinese people’ (Ward, 2019).

The following pages therefore will explore how the CCP, under its current President Xi Jinping, is utilizing a host of philosophical, political, economic and military initiatives, harnessing the current international system of standards and norms from within, while focusing the benefits derived from such engagement, to create a parallel Sinocentric culturally driven model of international relations, a system the CCP dubs the Common Destiny for Mankind (PRC, 2019), in a Taoist like circular unification of oppositional complimentary.

A New Technological Paradigm

This new Confucian based model, has the potential to transform the current international world order and the values and norms under which it is practices, as well as adversely affect the academic freedoms within the American university system. Bruno Maques (2019) makes a cogent claim when he states:

History shows that there is no natural way for the parts of the world system to be organized. Neither has the system any inbuilt propensity to remain static, nor for the parts to settle in a particular pattern...It may be that one day human beings will have experimented with every possibility and their knowledge will be complete but that day is faraway in the future. (Maques, 2018, pp. 65-67)

Thus while previous theories of a clash of civilizations, or a new Cold War may be relevant, China’s rise is also directly related to a new system of standards and norms that are based on a Confucian model. It is these new standards and norms, and the impact they will have

both on the international community, as well as America's domestic sphere which the following pages will address.

As the PRC's white paper "China in the World in a New Era" (PRC, 2019) makes clear, "China's development path has unique Chinese characteristics, and a broad and farsighted global vision. It is dedicated to the interests of all of humanity" (PRC, 2019).

Under President Xi Jinping's firm governance, a host of new technological systems have been implemented which seek to exert absolute control and monitoring over the Chinese populace, in order to ensure that every one of its citizens follows the CCP's policies and dictates. Yet in the new era of highly technologically advanced monitoring systems, the ability of control and monitoring has reached a level never before seen by mankind. For example, China's new Social Credit System seeks to utilize sophisticated AI technology to monitor each of its 1.4 billion citizens, utilizing facial and gait recognition technology systems, and any digitized information collected within the governmental and corporate sphere to label individuals trustworthy or untrustworthy, through a point scoring system connected within its intranet and digital database systems (Ward, 2019).

Utilizing sophisticated camera monitoring through its Skynet and Smart Eyes programs, which in some cases have the ability to identify individuals from fifteen miles away through a snowstorm, these high tech monitoring systems, "will be able to monitor all of its citizens anytime anywhere" (Chen, 2018, para. 4). Skynet and Sharp Eyes have the ability to create Safe Cities where any violation, from jaywalking across a street, to not stopping at a red light, will automatically be connected within the Social Credit system to alter the credit score of Chinese citizens.

The Social Credit system is controlled by the National Development and Reform Commission, which is China's economic planning department, and while it has been utilized for positive means, such as halting fraudulent practices, preventing crime and other illicit activities, its reach has extended to include not only the perpetrators of 'untrustworthy' behavior, but also to associational relations of alleged violators, such as family members and close friends (Ward, 2019). Even the smallest infractions have led to the denial of not only travel privileges, but also of real estate, educational and health related services, with some Chinese citizens even having their pets removed from their households as punishments for disobeying the party line (Spalding, 2019).

While CCP party cadres have been sent out to monitor businesses, think tanks, universities and a host of other key sectors within China's domestic institutions, the AI driven deep learning systems, which are connected to every sector of China's economy through the telephonic and 5G systems run by companies such as ZTE and Huawei, have expanded the CCP's surveillance to as yet unforeseen levels. These new 5G systems permit the Chinese government to monitor and control all aspects of its citizen's lives, a control that will only increase with the advancement of new technologies in alignment with China's Civil and Military Fusion models. An errant comment at a dinner table, an email written and then erased, or a web search that is deemed 'untrustworthy,' have the potential to destroy a Chinese citizen's future.

Gertz (2019), reports that these technological monitoring systems are designed to create an Orwellian like existence, and cites a Canadian intelligence analysis in this assessment:

According to the Canadian intelligence report, the function of the social credit system is to automate what the Chinese call 'individual responsibility' that forces each citizen to

uphold stability and national security or face the full fury of the Communist Party-state apparatus. (Gertz, 2019, p. 87)

In addition, new predictive analytics systems much reminiscent of the film the “Minority Report,” are being developed to arrest and detain individuals before a crime is committed (Wagner & Furst, 2018). Wagner and Furst (2018) have termed this new system Digital Leninism, and its usage has been applied heavily in the far Western Xinxiang Province which abuts key border areas with the Central Asian States and Russia, where the CCP perceives a national security threat in the Uighur Muslim community.

China has made clear in its “White Paper on National Defense in a New Era” (2019), that some of its key security concerns are, “Resolutely Safeguarding China’s Sovereignty, Security and Development Interests” (CDD, 2010, p. 7). The CCP states that one of China’s national defense goals is, “to crack down on proponents of separatist movements such as Tibet Independence and the creation of ‘East Turkistan’” (CDD, 2010, p. 8).

Thus the digital surveillance techniques described above have been applied in earnest. For example, AI based facial recognition systems have been placed in Uighur prayer squares and mosques, and other public areas to identify and catalog all Muslim Uighurs living within these regions. The Uighur Human Rights Act (UHRA) of 2019 states that, “pervasive, high tech surveillance across the region, including arbitrary collection of biodata, including DNA samples from children, without their knowledge or consent” (UHRA, 2019, sect. 4), has become commonplace.

The biodata being collected by the CCP is directed under a program that the Chinese term the Universal Health Examination Program, with over 58.8 million Uighurs being subjected to health checks under this program (Gertz, 2019). Gertz (2019) states that:

The examinations involve taking blood samples, video scanning faces, recording voices for speech recognition and fingerprinting. Those examined do not get checkups for hearts or kidneys – the clearest indication the health check is in reality a massive biological surveillance program. (Gertz, 2019, p. 88)

While China’s protection of its sovereign borders is a valid concern, especially from violence, terrorism and foreign influence which seeks to undermine CCP authority in the region, massive human rights abuses have been perpetrated on innocent Chinese Muslims (UHRA, 2019). Muslims have been forced to host Han CCP members within their homes to monitor their families, and prayers and worship have been curtailed and monitored using, “QR codes outside homes to gather information on how frequently individuals pray” (UHRA, 2019, sect. 4), as well as, “facial and voice recognition software and ‘predictive policing’ databases” (UHRA, 2019, sect. 4). The destruction of ancient historical sites, as well as entire villages, where forced relocation to heavily digitally monitored newly built suburbs has been mandated, has been framed by the CCP as an effort to eliminate poverty and modernize the region.

The CCP has provided massive subsidies in housing and living privileges to the ethnic Han majority to demographically flood the region, much as they did within the Inner Mongolian and Manchurian regions. The CCP has also erected reeducation camps, where digital systems flag potential Uighurs or other suspect citizens who cross into nearby regions, or exhibit potential subversive behaviors, to be imprisoned within these camps (UHRA, 2019).

Suspect individuals from other nations have also been imprisoned. Some experts have estimated that over one million Uighurs have been imprisoned in these camps (UHRA, 2019). These camps are much akin to the Gulag Archipelago work camp system in the Soviet Union, where millions of innocent individuals were imprisoned based upon their ethnic or political leanings and quota systems (Smith, 1976). A host of experts have described the Xinjiang region as, “a police state to rival North Korea, with a formalized racism on the order of South African apartheid” (UHRA, 2019, sect. 4).

While China first denied, then justified the camps as training centers to coax Muslims away from extremism, the conditions of forced labor and other human rights abuses such as the forced eating of pork, self-criticism and struggle sessions, where individuals are forced to confess to peers of being wrong in their actions and deeds and then are ridiculed by their peers, have been reported *en masse* (Linter, 2019). Indeed, the forced eating of pork, an anathema to the Muslim religion, and humiliation meant to break the individual will, do not run in accordance with the UN Charter (2019) to which China is a signatory.

In the PRC’s 2019 white paper “China and the World in a New Era,” the document states, “China’s international position and influence have greatly improved. In 1971, China recovered its legitimate seat in the United Nations and began to play a more active role in international affairs” (PRC, 2019, p.7). The PRC (2019) white paper also states that China, “represents remarkable progress for human society, and above all, a significant contribution on China’s part to world peace and development” (PRC, 2019, p. 2). However the detention, imprisonment, and forced labor of millions of Muslim Uighurs, who committed no crime in violation with China’s previous domestic laws, and are being retroactively signaled out based upon newly promulgated

mandates, and then being held for periods of up to ten years or more, clearly runs in contravention to the UN Charter (2019).

The UN Declaration on Human Rights (2019) states succinctly, “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without any distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language religion, political or other opinion” (UN, 2019, sect. 2). The UN Declaration on Human Rights (2019) further stipulates that, “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude...No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (UN, 2019, sect. 4-5).

This assessment is clearly supported by the United States Congress in in the Uighur Human Rights Act of 2019 which states that:

The Government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) has a long history of repressing approximately 13,000,000 Turkic, moderate Sunni Muslims, particularly Uyghurs, in the nominally autonomous Xinjiang region. These actions are in contravention of the international human rights standards, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights...In recent decades, central and regional Chinese government policies have systematically discriminated against Uyghurs ethnic Kazakhs, and other Muslims in Xinjiang by denying them a range of civil and political rights including the freedom of expression, religion, movement, and a fair trial among others. (UHRA, 2019, sect. 4)

While China may legitimately argue that its sovereign laws have different legal *interpretations* on what constitutes the singling out of religious minorities, slavery or inhumane treatment, it is not only the use of digital systems, nor the imprisonment of human rights abuses

that are important within this research but also the use of China's seat as a permanent member of the UN.

International Institutional Failure

As stipulated in the UN Charter (2019), any dispute over alleged of human rights abuses, if challenged after it makes its way through the process of an UN tribunal, is brought before the permanent members of the UN Security Council, who hold a veto power over such allegations (UNC, 2019). As China is a permanent member, it can simply veto any human rights abuse claims it disagrees with. Therefore while the UN is an important institution to bring awareness to such issues on the global level, it contains no mechanisms to enforce nor deter such abuses by its permanent members on the UN Security Council.

Interestingly, the UN is even being utilized by China and Russia, with the support of many other nations who have been accused of human rights abuses, to pass statements that praise the human rights of China and Russia (Ward, 2019). In essence by controlling the narrative in international institutions, the CCP is able to project a benevolent public face on its human rights practices, while simultaneously violating them.

In his book, *The Great Delusion* (2014), John Mearshiemer highlights how often international institutions do not protect human rights or national security, as institutional charters often contain loopholes, such as the ones mentioned above. Mearshiemer (2014) states that, "Institutions are a set of rules that describe how states should cooperate and compete with each other...the rules are negotiated by states; they are not imposed...States themselves must choose to obey the rules they created" (Mearshiemer, 2014, p. 210).

The fact that China is heavily investing trillions of dollars in their new Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which will be discussed later in this dissertation, also provides an impetus for many nations to support China, as their national economic development plans and investments are heavily reliant upon China's credit streams and investments, thus creating a censorship incentive, for abstaining from criticism of CCP actions on issues such as the imprisonment and torture of millions of China's own citizens.

Thus, much like China's use of the WTO to secure economic and trading privileges within a liberal based free market trading regime, utilizing the system to benefit from it, while not practicing the agreements therein, the CCP has essentially subverted the UN system in much the same way. This subversion is utilized in order to increase their Comprehensive National Power both within China, and to project a soft power image of China as champion of free trade and human rights to the outside world.

Former Director for Strategic Planning at the United States Executive Office Robert Spalding (2019) highlights these phenomena in the difficulties he faced of bringing such practices to light in foreign policy and security circles, as he voiced criticism against such practices:

China uses money to influence governments and institutions around the world to shape political and economic outcomes to their advantage. But because those same institutions were already under the influence of that money, they were terrified of losing donations or business income if they helped me expose the CCP's strategy. (Spalding, 2019, p. 4)

While holding out the promise of liberal reforms, the CCP is able to utilize the WTO and the UN system not only to deny any human rights abuses or trade infractions on such issues, but

is actually and effectively able to use the WTO and UN system to promote its human rights successes and trade regimes while concomitantly violating them.

It is also important to mention that the United States Congress, has found that, “Several United States based companies, are conducting business with Xinjiang authorities without sufficient due diligence or safeguards to ensure their business operations do not create or contribute to human rights violations” (UHRA, 2019, sect. 4). One of these companies, who has recently divested from its corporate affiliational relationships is the Frontier Services group, formerly known as Blackwater (Maques, 2019), whose CEO and owner is Eric Prince. Interestingly, Prince is the brother in law to Education Secretary Betsey Devos. While such associational relationships are not indicative of any corruption they are telling in many ways. Spalding (2019) states that:

American power brokers just don't realize what getting rich off Chinese investments in the short term means for us in the long term... This alliance is non-partisan: major figures on the right and on the left have fallen for the short-term gains of involvement with China. (Spalding, 2019, p. 4)

In addition, the United Workers Front, an organization that oversees many of the Uighur concentration and reeducation camps also oversees a key student organization that has been projecting soft power on America's university systems, the Chinese Student and Scholar Association (CSSA). The Chinese Ministry of Public Security (MPS), “is the Chinese version of what has been called intelligent policing that seeks to preempt crime,” (Gertz, 2019, p.102), and works closely with the United Workers Front and the Chinese Ministry of State Security (MSS) through a system known as the Big Intelligence System.

The MPS also has a Golden Shield Program, that is intended to share informational and data intelligence throughout the Chinese state, “The system created a network of pathways designed to break through bureaucratic obstacles and link data. It involves automatic analysis and cloud computing for analyzing masses of data including computerized facial, voice, and gait recognition” (Gertz, 2019, p. 103).

While the MSS focuses on attaining information on internal Chinese citizens, “MPS agents are engaged in spying on Chinese dissidents in the United States” (Gertz, 2019, 103). These cooperative agreements showcase how the CCP’s internal AI and data policing and censorship, are being exported onto the United States to monitor and censor Chinese citizens within America through CCP agencies such as the MPS and the United Workers front, which is directly connected to the higher education system through their control over the CSSA’s. This issue which will also be explored in greater depth within the soft power section of this composition.

While this research has found that international institutions still have an important role to play within the global arena, it is important to highlight some of the potential failures these organizations experience in relation to sovereign national interest, and to point out how the control of the technology, manufacturing the narrative, and interest based censorship has been utilized on the international level to project a positive image of China, while it simultaneously violates human rights and expands its power on the global sphere.

The analysis being made here, is thus of a dualistic nature. The first point is that the CCP utilizes international institutions to their advantage by participating within their bodies and subverting the very goals which these institutions are supposed to uphold through a clever

manipulation of the organizational components of the system. The second, is that when this international institutional subversion is combined with the newly implemented digital systems such as the Social Credit system, the interconnected Skynet and Sharp Eyes monitoring systems, as well as the Big Intelligence System, the CCP has the potential to not only alter the behaviors of its citizens domestically, but also permits the CCP to alter the perceptions of the outside world. Considering what the CCP is willing to do to its own citizens in Xinjiang province, it begs the question, how far will the CCP go in order to protect its interests on the global level and to censor free speech in America?

Perception and Reality

In essence, China's internal AI and data surveillance systems are being utilized to further the CCP's goals, and to restrict speech and freedoms across the globe, including within America's higher education system. One prime example highlights this technological reach is very real. A recent *Inside Higher Education* article, cites a case where a, "University of Minnesota student was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in China for tweets he posted while studying at Minnesota" (Redden, 2020, para. 1). Apparently the student tweeted images that offended the CCP, and as Kevin Carrico, a senior lecturer in Chinese studies at Monash University in Australia points out, "It demonstrates all too clearly that the [People's Republic of China] government is not only monitoring students' speech abroad, but also actively investigating and prosecuting students for exercising free speech" (Redden, 2020, para. 3).

The CCP's seeks to control information both domestically and internationally through the alteration of perception and through the control over the digital conduits through which information is transferred (Spalding, 2019). It has accomplished this goal within China by

imposing strict controls over its intranet policy, and through all sectors of its governmental system, including the higher education sector.

By combining monitoring technology such as Skynet, Smart Eyes, and the Social Credit system, the CCP is creating new twists to old propaganda for the modern millennial generation. Xi is utilizing the digitized internet of things and the massive data it possesses to reach a whole new level of control on the individual lives of its citizens, reverse engineering social media posts to elicit certain responses within the population, and employing hundreds of thousands of workers to post social media comments favorable to the CCP (Spalding, 2019).

The ability to control the media as well as all information within China's intranet system, a system which China terms internet sovereignty, permits the CCP to control the perception of the populace through informational restriction and alteration, with the overarching fear that if they, or even anyone with who they are associated steps out of line, they could lose educational, health, investment privileges, or even worse find themselves incarcerated for untrustworthy behavior (Gertz, 2019). Many commentators have labeled this system, 'the Great Firewall of China' (Spalding, 2019). In effect, China has nailed Bill Clinton's proverbial Jello to the wall in gaining complete control over the internet (Gertz, 2019).

Such practices of controlling the public's perception through the media and other communicative devices were common within the Soviet Union, as Smith (1976) describes in his book, *The Russians*, where he cites an example of a massive wildfire burning just outside of Moscow, which threatened to spread towards the city proper, to which the official party newspaper Pravda, printed not a word of its existence. Smith (1976) commented:

The absence of such routine and obviously necessary information is typical. Russians take it as a fact of life that much of the information they need to know just to get along day by day does not appear in the press. (Smith, 1976, p. 461)

Smith (1976) also made the point that, “it takes a great leap of imagination for Westerners, especially Americans who are literally blitzed by information, to picture the poverty of information in Russia” (Smith, 1976, p. 463). Thus the information provided to the Russians during Soviet times themselves, much like the Chinese today, is heavily regulated, adversely affecting the perception of events as they unfold in real time.

China’s highly complex technology systems, which are light years ahead of the Russians during the Soviet period, also have the ability to project misinformation through its associational media and third party subsidiary media outlets onto the international sphere. By controlling perceptions such as downplaying China’s growth in high tech sectors, or even utilizing the Western models of capitalistic enterprise to showcase that China is still developing in certain areas where in reality are moving towards a parity or even superseding the West, the CCP can indirectly project propaganda and soft power initiatives to alter the international perception, and quell any speculation that the CCP may be a challenge to the current system of values and norms.

Gertz (2019) points out that *Xinhua*, one of China’s official media outlets, has paid massive amounts of money to American media organizations such as the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* to print ads and articles favorable to the CCP party line, and that the *Associated Press* has been investigated by the United States Justice Department for similar dealings.

Gertz (2019) highlights a memo that, “outlined how the army (PLA) is charged with styling the mind set of Chinese online netizens and then performs the work of being a party aligned internet

commentator” (Gertz, 2019, p. 98). Gertz (2019) highlights some of the points the PLA has advocated such as:

Use the bloody and tear stained history of a weak people [China] to stir up pro-Party and patriotic emotions...To the extent possible, choose various examples in Western countries of violence and unreasonable circumstances to explain how democracy is not well suited to capitalism. (Gertz, 2019, p. 98)

The CCP has even launched a Xi Jinping application for smartphones, in which citizens who take quizzes on Xi Jinping ‘thought’ receive favorable points for passing these tests on their Social Credit scores. Many in the West have compared the Xi application as analogous to Mao’s *Little Red Book*, where millions of Chinese were required to study Mao Zedong ‘thoughts’ during the Cultural Revolution (Gertz, 2019). The CCP is utilizing the digitized internet of things and the massive data potential it possesses to reach a whole new level of control on the individual lives of its citizens, and this includes both the elementary and the higher education sphere.

Perception and Education

Communist party members have been assigned to all of the major universities within China, in order to monitor the curriculum and actions of professors and administrators, ensuring that their policies, curriculums and readings reflect the CCP party line. With the unrolling of China’s Social Credit systems – and new AI technology which can monitor the lectures, discussions, and writings of the students in schools, and then link them with facial monitoring technology installed within classrooms, the ever present fear that any criticism might adversely

affect a professor's or students future is a very real concern for many within China's academic world (Ward, 2019).

It must be understood, that in China, with Xi's Jinping thoughts and unlimited term limits enshrined within the Constitution, that Xi Jinping and the CCP dictate the interpretation as well as the legally granted freedoms that emanate from the Constitution itself (Ward, 2019). Thus in many ways, the Chinese jurisprudential system does not practice the rule of law, but rather law by rule, and Xi Jinping is the ruler (Ward, 2019).

However, many Chinese scholars are critical of the Western systems of law and the judicial mechanics, or the preset predicates issued and enforced by their jurisprudential systems that may bear no relation to the actual facts at hand, and thus could adversely affect the greater good of the nation through the undermining of the governmental policies and long term goals of the national interest.

As Bruno Maques explains, Chinese leaders believe that, "History does not unfold naturally; it is created by 'leaders leading people'" (Maques, 2019, p. 183). Many Chinese scholars believe that permitting the freedom of speech within the humanities on ideas which could alter the perception that has been dictated and carefully formulated by the CCP party line, and thus work in contravention to the overall narrative which has been inculcated within the minds of students throughout China's elementary and secondary educational curricula, would be detrimental to the greater good. In the minds of the CCP therefore, independent thoughts, could adversely affect the new cultural, philosophical and governmentally created models that the government has enacted, and remit them to the traditional Western interpretation of a world view

of the humanities, which from the perspective of the CCP, is connected to the long tradition of imperialist policies forced upon their cultures and traditions throughout the past two centuries.

Chinese legal scholar Jiang Shigong explains why he thinks that Xi Jinping thought provides a proper system of governance which will permit for a new historical reality where China will once again attain its position at the center of the international world system. From his perspective, the Western legal system created a sense of adversity between the legal and governmental system, in which a societal unity of purpose was sacrificed based upon legal precedents that ran contrary to the best interests of the greater good (Maques, 2019).

Essentially, Jiang Shigong, as well as other Chinese scholars such as Zheng Weiwei, believe that the Western legal system and culture, including the higher education sector in academia, while permitting a freedom of expression to a degree, has in reality fallen victim to a form of group think mentality mired in political correctness, in which true creativity has been subverted to partisan and ideological lines which are based upon predicational foundations that do not explore the foundational and philosophical elements beyond the preset premises on which the theories are based.

As Maques (2019) posits, many in China feel that the West may have indeed reached the 'End of History,' as Francis Fukuyama posits, in relation to their cultural creativity, where China has just begun a new era towards the development of a new history that will shape the world in unforeseen ways. In this spirit of thought, Zhang Weiwei believes that the West has not been able to advance beyond these preconceived ideas, and has not been able to delineate truisms from actual factials as the world advances towards new models of governance and cultural realities (Maques, 2019). This analysis holds weight in many respects considering the failure of many

Western policy makers and economists who have not perceived the new political and financial models that have emerged within the post modernist world. Bruno Maques posits an interesting question in relation to Zhang's extrapolation, "Is this because democracy and the knowledge of reality have come into contradiction, because ideas that are acceptable to all have become more important than true ideas" (Maques, 2019, p. 184)? Maques comments that in many ways, the inability for Western culture to remove themselves from these preset foundational assumptions, may spell the end for the historic rise in their innovative and creative capacities, "Faced with the Western ban on truly creative human action and decisions, China sees itself as embracing the openness of history and the inception of a new age" (Maques, 2019, p. 184).

From President Xi Jinping's and the CCP's perspective then, in order to for the Chinese people to realize the China Dream, where China once again can realize its potential as a cultural leader on the world stage, all levels and sectors of the Chinese society, including the educational sector, must be controlled by CCP dictates, in order to create a harmonization of ideals, thoughts, perceptions and actions that reorient the Chinese people towards a new Sinicized model of reality that is free from the Western ideals and models that have been imposed upon them through the humiliation and oppression by imperialist powers.

This CCP perceptual viewpoint, has been expressed by many Chinese scholars and government officials as the elimination of a 'cultural poison' (Huntington, 1996), and has been referred to as 'Westoxification' (Huntington, 1996), where indigenous ideals and cultures have been destroyed and superseded by a Western oriented philosophical ideal which does not run in concordance with their traditional cultures, history or value norms. This viewpoint has been held by the CCP since the days of Mao Zedong by leaders such as Zhou Enlai, who when queried by

an observer what he thinks about Enlightenment, stated to effect, that it is too early to tell if they will last (Gertz, 2019).

Indeed, Following the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, and recognizing the potentially destabilizing risk that Western values might pose to the CCP, Deng Xiaoping took immediate action to reform China's educational sector. As McGregor relates:

His 'biggest mistake,' Deng said later, was failing to prescribe a political education to anchor the disruptions of the market economy; an error he believed stoked visceral antiparty sentiment. Put another way, the masses had become ignorant of their country's history, as Deng said, 'of what China was like in the old days.' (McGregor, 2018, p. 128)

Thus the CCP opened up a massive reorientation of their educational system, from the primary level up to the higher education sphere under Jiang Zemin. The 'great national humiliation' by the West and the Japanese was brought to the fore, and the great patriotic education campaign was launched. As McGregor states:

The campaign injected patriotic history into official documents, school textbooks, university entrance exams, and popular culture. ...the party was now aimed at developing a 'patriotic united front to the broadest extent possible, and directing and rallying the masses' patriotic passion to the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. (McGregor, 2018, p. 129)

Essentially the entire structure of the historical perception within the Chinese educational sector was revamped in order to comport with the CCP party line, with the goal of propagating and controlling the perception of the masses through the bureaucracy, the media and the

education system. Thus the arts and humanities have been heavily altered, especially in relation to the history wars with Japan and the United States, in which both are portrayed as enemies of the Chinese people who perpetrated great evils upon the Chinese society (Mosher, 2017).

While it is true that Western imperialism did perpetrate many unjust deeds in relation to the Chinese state during nineteenth and twentieth century, the obviation of the Qing governments own lack of institutional unity and technological development, as well as America's assistance during the Second World War and its subsequent technological, health, and economic assistance to aid China following President Nixon's reengagement with China during the Cold War and beyond, has created a false historical narrative within the Chinese humanities sphere (Pillsbury, 2017), which the majority of Chinese have been taught and in many instances believe, as no alternative viewpoints have provided within their educational system. By limiting the information, the CCP controls the perception. Thus from a young age, students are presented with a highly nationalistic foundation of humanities which often presents a heavily distorted viewpoint of the West and the United States and is constrained to a given set of parameters, in order to reorient the larger populous towards a different perceptual orientation and comprehension of the world.

It is interesting to question, as Zheng Weiwei posits, whether academic freedom from the Western perspective is a form of cultural bias imposed on the Chinese higher education sphere. Whether the search for the truth, which in many ways is constrained within a classical ideological viewpoint of democratic and enlightenment based legal and cultural values systems, and which do not take into account the full foundational predicates of other possible systems and

values and norms, is truly a philosophically based worldview which constrains the ability of China to break free from culturally based systems of thought and action.

From a pragmatic stance in relation to national goals and geopolitical aspirations of a rising China, and the authoritarian nature of the CCP governmental structure, the alteration of history and other humanities to alter the perceptions of the larger populace is a rational goal. For in readjusting the mass perceptual consciousness of a population towards an orientation that is commensurate with the CCP's larger goals and aspirations of reaching the Two Centennials goals, and achieving the China Dream, the people must believe in the values and norms in which they are working towards. However the limitation of information, in order to create a revisionist form of history, that does not contain the ability to access countervailing historical research, and thus remitting critical thought and a generation of new interpretations that might not run in alignment with state provided humanities related fields of inquiry, is an anathema to American cultural and legalistic forms of academic freedom, as democratic societies rely upon a well-informed populace with access to a variety of perspectives in order to elect their respective legislative and executive representatives. As China scholars Haig Patapan and Yi Wang (2017) make clear:

Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping, have all adopted a consistent view towards philosophy and social sciences, elevating their strategic significance in the process of Chinese socialist modernizations. Philosophy and social sciences are seen as 'theoretical weapons' to serve socialism, the stability of the regime and the political order. (Patapan & Wang, 2017, p. 36).

The sentiment of victimhood and humiliation by Western powers is echoed clearly in Xi's address to the 19th Party Congress in 2017, where he laid out his vision of the unlimited potential of the Chinese nation:

Our Party was deeply aware that, to achieve national rejuvenation, it was critical to topple the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism that were oppressing the Chinese people. (Jinping, 2017, para. 3)

Thus from a young age, students are presented with a highly nationalistic foundation of humanities which often presents a heavily distorted viewpoint of the West and the United States, in a carefully calibrated strategy crafted in order to create a limited field of knowledge on historic subjects.

This accomplishes the nationalistic goal of uniting a great mass of people to create a sense of belonging, creating an enemy, and galvanizing a strong patriotic fervor within the borders of the Chinese state. However distorted or one sided the historical record is presented however, the heavy focus on science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) education within China, has fostered a competitive base of potential students who excel in these subjects.

Technological Mastery

Indeed, much like the Soviet Union of the past, modern China has excelled within the STEM fields, as these fields do not run in discordance with official party narratives. Xi Jinping has highlighted the need for the Chinese nation to excel within the STEM fields with a particular

focus on AI, Quantum computing, and robotics, as China seeks to avoid the middle income trap.

Bruno Maques (2019) describes the middle income trap:

The term captures a situation where a country can no longer compete internationally in standardized labor-intensive commodities because wages are relatively too high, but neither can it compete in higher value added activities on a broad enough scale because productivity-constrained by structural factors-remains relatively too low. (Maques, 2019, pp. 75-76)

Maques posits that China is faced with a dilemma in relation to the middle income trap, for as its economy rapidly matures, leaving the space it previously occupied in a dualistically beneficial relationship with developed economies, in which it provided low manufacturing services in a complementarity to nations needing these services further down the supply chain, it finds itself seeking new markets which are often controlled by American and European firms. American and European firms not only control the most significant portions of the international systems of finance, but also control the standards and key streams of revenue generated from royalties and licensing fees (Maques, 2019). Maques (2019) posits that:

A trajectory of economic growth is not incompatible with taking a lower position in the hierarchical ladder...but contradictions between the needs of the system and those of some countries are bound to arise. In many cases, a country will be unable to change its economy in a particular direction without altering the way the world economy is organized. (Maques, 2019, p. 78)

Therefore, in order for China to continue its economic growth, the CCP is in a precarious position, as by abiding by the international standards and moving towards a form of economic

planning that is commensurate with the liberal capitalist based system, or by attempting to break into markets and supply chains already occupied by developed nations, it would conceivably remit itself to slower growth, and the inability to achieve its goals on the global stage. This slower growth – could, in effect, compromise the CCP’s survival, as well as prevent it from achieving its Centennial goals and the realization of the China Dream. Indeed, a massive labor force facing unemployment, or a loss of faith in the CCP’s leadership could foment revolution, or create a raft of social problems from which a declining Chinese economy would find difficulties in remedying.

The CCP has therefore opted towards leaping over the developed economies into new and emergent fields of advanced technological developments, as China can gain more by moving into higher value supply chains, than increasing its economy in an already occupied portion of the supply chain (Maques, 2019). This is directly related to China’s push towards a high proficiency in the upstream markets of next generation systems within the value chain, which requires an intense focus on the development of STEM fields by Chinese students within its primary, secondary and higher education sectors. As the PRC white paper, “China and the World in a New Era,” states:

In the field of high technology, China is catching up and getting ahead. Quantum communications, supercomputing, aerospace, artificial intelligence, fifth-generation mobile network technology (5G), mobile payment, new energy vehicles, high-speed rail, and financial technology are sectors in which China leads the world. (PRC, 2019, p. 15)

The fact that many of the patents and royalties derived by Western based leaders in the digital sphere force China to pay a significant portion of the profits derived by the usage of these

products for copyright and ownership fees, as well as China's reliance on foreign made microchips, of which said purchases equate to a coequal value of the monetary spending China makes on foreign based oil to supply its domestic based demand (Spalding 2019), has led CCP leaders to perceive the advance of its technology fields as an issue of existential survival (Ward, 2019).

The development of a host of new university research centers within China's top universities, have been reinforced by the CCP based Made in China 2025 plan as well as the Thousand Talents Plan, both of which have aroused suspicion of many Western based nations who are the current leaders within these fields of cutting edge technology (Gertz, 2019).

Johnathon Ward (2019) relates that this is due to the fact that:

Chinese firms especially those known as 'national champions,' are given priority over foreign firms inside the Chinese market, while befitting from unconventional methods such as state supported technology transfers, financing, and espionage – a practice that has lasted decades but which has begun to reach a tipping point towards something even larger. (Ward, 2019, p. 98)

Indeed a recent report by the United States Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, titled, "Threats to the U.S. Research Enterprise" states that:

Thousand Talent Plan members sign legally binding contracts with Chinese institutions, like universities and research institutions. The contracts can incentivize members to lie on grant applications to U.S. grant-making agencies, set up "shadow labs" in China working on research identical to their U.S. research, and, in some cases, transfer U.S. scientists' hard-earned intellectual capital. (TURE, 2019, p. 6)

These issues are not only related to the development of cutting edge research labs within China, but also to the open nature of many American university based research labs systems within the United States, a topic which will be explored in depth in relation to China's soft power projection within the American higher education sector. As the Senate (TURE, 2019) report states clearly, the CCP is utilizing both legal and illicit means to take advantage of the American higher education sector to further its goals:

The open nature of research in America is manifest; we encourage our researchers and scientists to "stand on the shoulders of giants." In turn, America attracts the best and brightest. Foreign researchers and scholars travel to the United States just to participate in the advancement of science and technology. Some countries, however, seek to exploit America's openness to advance their own national interests. The most aggressive of them has been China. (TURE, 2019, p. 5)

Therefore, China has a legitimate economic, and security interest in developing its technological sectors to avoid the middle income trap, as well to advance its own national interests in a global market where standards and norms are often controlled by Western based institutions and economic niches are already occupied by developed and Western based corporations who would seek to protect their interest.

The CCP based programs to acquire the state of the art technologies in order to advance to the largely unclaimed markets of next level of AI, robotics and quantum computing has caused major concerns within the United States not only in the security and corporate research spheres, but also in the fields of higher education, as all three are intimately interrelated. The One Thousand Talents program and the Made in 2025 program, as well as the technological

monitoring programs such Big Intelligence system and the accompanying Social Credit and Skynet systems, are therefore directly related to China's development of its higher education fields, in which it seek controls the narrative of the social sciences, while advancing the STEM fields in order for China to have the capacity to leap into new supply chains and escape the middle income trap. In order for the CCP to continue this modernization, it seeks not only to control the narrative inside China, but also in foreign nations through carefully calibrated soft power initiatives, which seek to project the CCP in a benevolent light. This is done through a myriad of ways, utilizing the regulatory, legal, cyber and economic measures advocated in the book *Unrestricted Warfare*, in order to censor any opposition that would seek to alter the perception of China in these foreign nations (Gertz 2019).

For example, the Chinese utilize media to downplay Chinese based Civil Military Fusion and human rights violations, and has launched litigation on Western reporters and dissidents who speak out on China (Gertz, 2019). Indeed the CCP has spent over three billion dollars alone, in its attempts to silence one high level dissident who has sought to reveal corruption at the highest levels of the Chinese government (Gertz, 2019). The CCP has also threatened lawsuits to Google, Facebook and Twitter for postings that detail corruption and human rights violations in China, citing terms of service violations as the basis for the threatened litigation. Thus, these technology firms have removed postings by dissidents, claiming that the information posted violated their terms of service agreements in order to avoid litigation (Gertz, 2019).

As Ward (2019) makes clear, the CCP has also launched a host of media organs to saturate both the internet and the media sphere. Ward (2019) states, "*The China Daily* in Europe, for example, studiously avoids military and security issues in Asia, instead using its columns to

invite European companies to come and surf the wave of Chinese mergers and acquisitions” (Ward, 2019, p. 175) .

The CCP also seeks to reinforce the polarization of American citizens, employing thousands of its own citizens, to make social media posts on American platforms that seek to divide the American public, so as to make it easier to continue with its acquisition both legally and illicitly of America’s intellectual property and technological research. As Ward (2019) elucidates, this soft power method has been quite effective:

In foreign policy and academic circles, American discourse paints polarizing categories about those who are ‘hawks,’ and those who are ‘doves,’.... this is meant to distort a country’s discourse on China and to constrain action against Beijing. (Ward, 2019, p. 171)

Therefore, the massive state planning initiatives advanced by the CCP, whether they are related to the development of the Social Credit system and its attendant monitoring technology, the ‘reeducation camps’ in Xinxiang province, the revision of history in China’s educational sector, or the development of top notch STEM research centers in its private and university sectors, are all based upon the idea of harmonizing the entire nation towards its economic and social goals. All of these goals incorporate a Civil and Military Fusion, in order to create Comprehensive National Power, which will advance China towards accomplishing its China Dream. In order to accomplish these goals, the CCP is systematically projecting propaganda within the international sphere, and utilizing a host of methods to censure individuals, corporations and institutions who do not follow the CCP narrative (Gertz, 2019). In order to have internal security, China seeks to control the external.

The internal methods utilized to accomplish the China Dream, are of key importance to this research, for as highlighted above, China has an existential interest not only in developing key technologies in order to escape the middle income so as to become a prosperous nation with a steady continuance of its stellar growth rates, but also to secure key resources to maintain social stability with its 1.4 billion citizens. These are legitimate needs, as are the steady development of its corporate, financial and military based sectors in order to support and secure key resources around the globe. However, the following research analyzes what the implications of China's meteoric expansion might mean in relation to human rights standards and the exportation of the internally based systems of monitoring and information based censorship to the outside world, as this outwards projection is directly related to China's soft power projection on the democratic institutions of the United States.

Cultural Divergences

The PRC's white paper, "China and the World in a New Era" (2019), poses some interesting questions. It states:

China has entered a new era of development. China now has an impact on the world that is ever more comprehensive, profound and long-lasting, and the world is paying ever greater attention to China. What path did China take? Where is China going? What are China's goals in shaping the world? How will the developing China interact with the rest of the world? (PRC, 2019, p. 3)

These questions are profound in nature, and the following research will seek to answer these questions from both Chinese and American perspectives, as well as those of key scholars,

leaders and researchers from around the globe, and relate the findings to answer the key question, why is China projecting soft power upon the university campuses of the United States.

The PRC white paper (PRC, 2019), states that China seeks a peaceful rapprochement with the world pursuing key goals to the benefit of all international actors with whom it deals:

China's development path has unique Chinese characteristics, and a broad and farsighted global vision. It is dedicated to the interests of all of humanity. Over the past 70 years, while working hard to realize their own development, the Chinese people have contributed to world peace and added momentum to the common development of all countries. (PRC, 2019, p. 9)

The PRC's, "National Defense in a New Era" (CDD, 2019), echoes such sentiment:

The development of China's national defense aims to meet its rightful security needs and contribute to the growth of the world's peaceful forces. History proves and will continue to prove that China will never follow the beaten track of big powers in seeking hegemony. No matter how it might develop, China will never threaten any other country or seek any sphere of influence. (CDD, 2019, p. 8)

The United States Department of Defense (MSD, 2019), takes an opposing stance:

China's leaders have benefited from what they view as a "period of strategic opportunity" during the initial two decades of the 21st century to develop domestically and expand China's "comprehensive national power." Over the coming decades, they are focused on realizing a powerful and prosperous China that is equipped with a "World Class"

military, securing China's status as a great power with the aim of emerging as the preeminent power in the Indo-Pacific region. (MSD, 2019, p. 5)

Clearly, there are two opposing narratives in relation as to what China's ultimate rise will entail within the great arena of global power politics, as China's economic and military expansion poses a challenge to the Western based system of international institutions, security agreements and military power. China's increased presence upon the world stage will also adversely affect America's primacy in relation to the control of freedom of navigation to protect key trade transit routes and intermodal services, as well as the financial mechanisms which run through the economic markets.

As Ward (2019) makes clear:

The United States retains enormous advantages in terms of economic and military power, a global alliance system, and the leadership in the innumerable institutions built under the Pax Americana....China's leaders prepare for military confrontation with America and its allies, while also working to complete an economic ascendancy of such proportions that the US may ultimately - if this strategy is successful - find itself outmaneuvered and ultimately surpassed and replaced in each realm in which power is built. (Ward, 2019, p. 171)

While many have labeled this new great power competition between the United States and China a new Cold War, which is based upon ideological divergences of thought (Maques, 2019), this research has found that there is a much more complicated interplay of factors at hand, which include nationalism, cultural belief systems and ancient philosophy.

While the new Cold War conceptualization may be easier for a large democratic populace to comprehend, as a past precedent of competition between the United States and the Soviet Union is well understood, this analysis has found that if anything, the increasing competition between the United States and China is based upon new and modernist interpretations of traditional and cultural values and norms. These values and norms vary significantly between the liberalist based policies of the West, and the traditionalist value norms and cultural philosophies of the East.

The current archetypes and models currently being implemented by the CCP emanated from Chairman Mao's interpretation of not only Marxist based systems, but also deeply rooted Chinese historical and philosophical paradigms, which utilize the ancient worldviews of China's rightful place at the center of the world, or the 'Middle Kingdom' (Ward, 2019). This was evinced by President Xi's first reference to the China Dream he made in a speech at the National Museum of China, where Xi linked the concepts of Confucian values, Maoist thought and China's future (Linter, 2019). China's ancient tributary system was based upon the concept of the "harmonization of internal and external order" (Ward, 2019, p. 182), and it is this system from which China interprets the outside world. Ward (2019), builds upon one of the foremost experts in China scholarship John K. Fairbanks' assessments of China, stating that China's view of the world was marked by a, "concept of Sinocentrism and an assumption of Chinese superiority" (Ward, 2019, p. 181), which was defined by three concentric zones in an order of stratified hierarchy, "the center, or the Sinic zone contained China and near based tributary states, the second was represented by the inner Asian zones, and the third were those of foreign lands or the *waiyi*, or translatable to barbarian, or non- Han people" (Ward, 2019, p. 181).

Maques (2019) writes that the tributary states were attracted by the magnificence of Chinese civilization, and voluntarily submitted and paid tribute to the Emperor. Maques (2019) writes that:

The system was a means of endowing the entire known world with a single political order. It was achieved by singling out a central state responsible for creating and maintaining order under the direct supervision of the highest deity, namely Heaven. (Maques, 2019, p. 34)

This deity was personified as the Emperor, which would ultimately transcend the borders between the center and the peripheries. As Maques (2019) makes clear, “The ambiguity of the system – its units were simultaneously part of a single order and left alone to govern their affairs – meant that ritual and symbol became more important than legal status” (Maques, 2019, p. 34).

The Maoist cult of personality, as well the cult of personality being created under President Xi, are the modern representation of the emperor, with the CCP party orthodoxy serving as the traditional cultural orthodoxy, which through its rule, creates a peaceful harmony through a tribute based system, under the concept of *Tianxia* (Mosher, 2017). The general idea of *Tianxia*, which means ‘All under-Heaven or World’ (Maques, 2019), was adopted by the CCP, “to frame a new political concept distinct from Western ideas of world order,” (Maques, 2019, p. 26) which many Chinese scholars view as a zone of political anarchy dominated by a liberalist based system (Maques, 2019, p. 27).

Mao’s interpretation of history, as well as those of Xi Jinping, are not Western in nature but rooted in the Confucian and Chinese paradigm. This Sinic based worldview – runs in

contraposition with many Western values and norms, which are perceived within many CCP circles, as a form of liberalist imperialism on former colonies and developing nations around the globe (Ward, 2019). The CCP compares the Western models of international relations to a form of cultural imperialism (Maques, 2019), utilizing economically based systems of values and norms which were inextricably linked within a system of thought that was Western in origin, which subverts other cultural norms within their paradigm.

This viewpoint is also held by Russian intellectuals, and is expressed by the Eurasianist thinker Alexandar Dugin, a former University of Moscow based professor, and a former informal advisor to Vladimir Putin, who earned the dubious sobriquet of ‘Putin’s Rasputin.’ Dugin explains the philosophical concepts of this viewpoint in relation to the Western based philosophical ideal of a liberal end to history as represented by Francis Fukuyama (Huntington, 1996). Dugin (2013) writes:

Having triumphed liberalism disappears and turns into a different entity – into post liberalism. It no longer has political dimensions, nor does it represent free choice, but instead becomes a kind of historically deterministic ‘destiny’... This is the source of the thesis about postindustrial society: ‘economics as destiny.’ A global world order can only be ruled by the laws of economics and the universal morality of ‘human rights.’ All political decisions are replaced by technical ones. Machinery and technology substitute for all else. (Dugin, 2013, p. 14)

Dugin (2013) argues that Western based understandings of human rights, such as free speech, as well as the market based system, has come at a cost to traditional and cultural ontologies. Dugin (2013) posits that diversity in effect destroys multiculturalism, and that in by

being particularly exclusive of all other conceptualizations of history, the West led by the Americans, have created a universally inclusive system, that is tolerant of all viewpoints, except of which are against its own. Dugin (2013) elucidates further that, “The idea contained in liberalism is that there can be no alternatives to it” (Dugin, 2013, p. 66). Dugin (2013) thus rejects Western liberal ideals, and asserts that Russia has deep cultural roots that can only be determined by the Russian people themselves.

Dugin (2013) continues:

Even more important is that the entirety of Russian history is a dialectical argument with the West and against Western culture, the struggle for upholding our own *Russian* truth, our own messianic idea and our own ‘end of history.’ (Dugin, 2013, p. 22)

Dugin’s viewpoint is pertinent, in that it expresses a Russian perspective of the global political system as perceived within a nationalistic Eurasionistic lens. Dugin’s thoughts on the Western conceptions of universality, and Eurasianism, are intimately linked to China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which has been enshrined within the Chinese constitution along with Xi’s China Dream (Maques, 2019). The BRI is the signature initiative supported by the Chinese state in projecting its economic and military strength on a global level, and is based upon the concept of the *Tianxia*, and China’s goals to achieve a Common Destiny for mankind that has, “unique Chinese characteristics, and a broad and farsighted global vision” (PRC, 2019, p. 9).

At the center of China’s global vision is Wang Huning, a philosopher and former academic, who is viewed by many to be the ‘Mandarin behind the Emperor’ (Patapan & Wang, 2017). Chinese scholars Patapang and Wang (2017) have explored how Wang Huning, a current member of the CCP Politburo, has been at the center of the creation of key economic policies

through the Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping administrations. Patapan and Wang (2017) cite that Wang Huning is what they term a ‘hidden ruler,’ or in western scholarly parlance, one who rules indirectly. Both Chinese and Western scholars, believe it is Wang Huning, who is the philosophical mastermind behind Xi’s China Dream and the BRI, which while economic in nature, constitutes a philosophical continuation of Chinese traditional concepts intertwined with modernist based policies (Maques, 2019). Patapang and Wang assert that, Wang Huning's conceptualizations are:

More than simple exercises in policy formulation or specific economic, financial or technocratic programs or initiatives, these conceptions are overarching visions of what China is and aspires to be. They are not strictly speaking ‘ideologies,’ to the extent that they do not seek the exactness or technical jargon...Indeed, in their generality and vagueness, they aspire more to overarching ‘narratives’ that seek to combine what is obviously in profound tension in contemporary China...As such, they represent attempts to define the regime: complex and ambitious articulations of what China is and aspires it to be. (Patapang & Wang, 2017, p. 13)

These deeply rooted philosophical articulations created by thought leaders such as Wang Huning, create a sense of continuity between China’s ancient cultural and traditional hierarchy and customs, which have been formulated into modern organizational, political, ideological and technocratic governance structures by the CCP. These Sinic based traditional ideals, form the bedrock from which China’s perception of how its own destiny and its outwards expansion will manifest itself in a unique system of international relations that is divergent from the value norms of the West, and form an undercurrent of continuity from Mao to Xi within the CCP ideological formulation of policy and practice (Maques, 2019).

It is interesting to note within this research analysis, that in both of the key white papers released on China's military and global goals, neither of these documents contains any lines that run in counterpose to the statements elicited above. It is also relevant to state here, that Alexander Dugin's books have been removed by Amazon under its terms of service agreements, as the company reserves the rights to remove unpopular or offensive texts. While texts may be offensive to some individuals, all perspectives should be permitted to be explored, as they are key tools for academic researchers to understand and analyze important and differing cultural worldviews.

Therefore, as expressed above, China's goal to formulate, 'a community with a shared future for mankind,' (PRC, 2019), is deeply rooted in history as well as the CCP's desire to reformulate the international system in alignment with Chinese values. In a meeting between Chairman Mao and India's then leader Nehru, in Zhongnanhai, Qinzhengdian in 1954, Mao stated that:

We are all under the influence of our different history. But we have a common experience, that is, we all have suffered from foreign rule. We have many things in common, and this is not just because of the connection of the past. This is also because we suffered from colonial rule in modern times, although we have had different developments in many aspects. Therefore, although we are under the influence of different conditions, we have many things in common since ancient times, and the problems we are facing now are also commonly shared by us. (Mao, 1954, p. 3)

The history of foreign imperialism by Western powers, where liberal economic and philosophical models were projected upon China and other developing nations, is thus directly related to China's current development of its own unique system of *Tianxia*. Therefore the

CCP's vision of connecting previously colonized nations towards a new internationally based system, or the Common Destiny for Mankind, is a vision in which each nation will be free to practice its own cultural and traditional models, yet work in consonance within this newly created system. However as Maques (2019) points out, this Chinese vision is based upon its own historical interpretation with China at the center, and the periphery nations working in confluence with this center, in a reflection of a model of the ancient tribute based system. Maques (2019) sheds light on this cultural *gestalt* and the fluidity of this conceptualization in relation to ancient customs and to the modern implementation of the BRI:

The Belt and Road is not an entity with fixed rules; rather it is deliberately intended to be informal unstructured and opaque. An obvious fear for many participants and observers is that the Belt and Road will reintroduce the former hierarchy of the tributary system, even though nothing in the initiative is explicitly intended as a return to that model. (Maques, 2019, p. 35)

Therefore, both the internal and external development of the Chinese state under the CCP is based upon far more than China's desire to escape the middle income trap, or to export complete control within its own domestic sphere and continue its economic rise as a world power. The CCP's strategies are also representative of a vision of a philosophical, cultural, historic and traditional aspiration, that provides a sense of continuity and perception of itself as a unique civilizational construct and one that is divergent from the current system of Western based liberal ideals. The CCP views the Western liberal order as an imposition of cultural imperialism and a great humiliation, which has manifested itself throughout the CCP's development of a grand strategy from Mao to Xi, towards the ultimate realization of the Two Centennials, or the great

rejuvenation of the Chinese people under their own culturally oriented interpretation of international affairs (Wheeler, 2018).

The PRC's white paper makes perfectly clear China's intent to establish the Sinocentric model of international relations:

Humanity urgently needs to establish new approaches to development, build a fairer and more equitable system and order, and open up brighter prospects for the future...It looks beyond zero-sum games to the idea of blazing a new path of development based on win-win cooperation, joint contribution and shared benefits, offering a new option to the international community. (PRC, 2019, p. 76)

This leads to the burning question, what is the BRI, and how is it related to the academic freedom of America's university system?

The Belt and Road Initiative

The BRI was announced in 2013 by President Xi Jinping in two separate speeches, delivered in Astana Kazakhstan and in Jakarta Indonesia, both evoking the historic connection of China to the ancient land and maritime trade routes of the Silk Road (Ward, 2019). In his Astana speech Xi spoke of the historic connections linking the Eurasian landmass to China, evoking images of wisps of smoke and camel caravans on the ancient trade routes, and spoke of the ancient Han dynasty's Chinese envoy Zhan Qian, who was sent on a mission to link China with Central Asia, and Europe, ushering forth the beginnings of the Silk Road (Wheeler, 2018). The symbolism of Xi's speech, creating a sense of continuity throughout Eurasia originating with the ancient Chinese Han Dynasty, was a foundational element which connected the present to the past and sought to project a Chinese brand on the BRI project.

Xi's Jakarta speech was also historically symbolic, linking the Indo-Pacific regions to China's ancient maritime trade routes, connecting South East Asia, the Middle East and Africa, and is the first instance where Xi referenced the 'community of a shared destiny,' (Maques, 2018).

Zheng He's vaunted treasure fleet, which sailed from China and traded with nations in the Indo-Pacific during the reign of the great Yongle Emperor, has also been utilized as the archetypal forerunner of trade between these regions, with museums being created to highlight Zheng He's achievements (Linter, 2019). Thus, in Xi's unveiling of the BRI, Xi provided an elision from the present to the past, of a world trading system initiated by China on the ancient Confucian based model of harmony and mutual benefit.

However Wheeler (2018) point out that the ancient trading routes of the Silk Road existed long before Zhan Quian's travels in the form of the Great Persian Road, and Lintz (2019) highlights that Zheng He's voyage was only a brief foray by China into the Indian Ocean, where Indian empires had been plying the waves for centuries. Historical accuracies aside, Xi's clever marketing of the BRI has created an international narrative that links together cultures, history and peoples across a wide expanse of the globe.

Yet the BRI proposed by Xi, is far more than a nexus between China's ancient history and the modern Chinese nation, it is a globalized vision on a pharaonic scale which the world has never before witnessed, which proposes to create a new economic, military and financially based system that will manifest its own Sinic oriented vision of globalized affairs.

The BRI has been enshrined within the Chinese Constitution, alongside Xi's China Dream (Ward, 2019). Thus, Xi has provided a vision long sought out from the beginnings of the CCP of

the present, linking the legacies of Mao's Five Principles of Coexistence, Deng Xiaoping's Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, and Jiang Zemin's and Hu Jintao's principles of Comprehensive National Power and Civil Military Fusion into a modern vision for a new Chinese future. This confluent CCP strategy culminates in the Two Centennials, which include China's restoration to its former glory and the creation of a New Community for the Destiny of Mankind (Ward, 2019).

Also enshrined within the Chinese Constitution under Article 51 – is the promulgation that all of China's citizens must never infringe upon any dictates from the CCP governed state or the societal collective (Ward, 2019). Thus the Belt and Road is an outwards projection of the China Dream, which seeks to create a Common Destiny for Mankind, directed by Xi Jinping as the General Secretary of modern state of China, whose Constitution requires that all individuals work in a collective manner towards the attainment of this vision of a remodeling of the international system. While many of the Chinese people may not agree with this vision, the CCP wields the overall authority over the people through its Constitutional mandate.

In many ways the China Dream and the Common Destiny for Mankind, is a Chinese formulation of the American Dream and the concept of Manifest Destiny, which themselves are rooted in deeply held traditional and cultural value norms based upon the Western interpretation of classical and enlightenment value systems, and while often ambiguous in their interpretation, create a vision of the world that differs vastly from the CCP's perception of the world. As Maques (2018) posits:

A new world map is being built before our eyes. The new Eurasian century is not one where different regions of the world converge towards a single model. For the first time in

many centuries we are forced to live with cultural contradictions without immediately explaining it away as a result of societies existing at different stages of historical development. (Maques, 2018, p. 4)

The PRC (2019) has stated that:

The Belt and Road Initiative is based on the principles of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits, and is guided by the Silk Road spirit characterized by peace, cooperation, openness, inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit. (PRC, 2019, p. 23)

The CCP further states that China will never seek hegemony, and will work in accordance with all international institutions and laws towards peace and prosperity for the benefit of mankind (PRC, 2019). However as many researchers have posited, it is the structure and governance of this system and the *interpretation* of what values and norms will prevail, that will determine and shape the world of the future and the forms of ideals which will be made manifest within it.

The BRI consists of six land routes and three sea routes which extend across Central Asia and outwards from China through the South China Sea. Three principle land routes emanate from the far western regions of the Xinxiang province, the current location of China's 'reeducation camps' and exemplify why this region is of such strategic importance to China. The other three land routes extend southwards towards South East Asia.

The three sea routes extend outwards from China proper, with one route running towards the Indo-Pacific region, another eastwards into the Pacific Oceania region, and the last running northwards through the new arctic route that has opened up over Russia. All three of the

Maritime Belt and Road segments, emanate through the South China Sea region, a major trade conduit which provides the bulk of South East Asia's global sea based transport (Wheeler, 2018).

Each of these economic corridors provide key intermodal transport links with dry and wet ports, designed for the extraction, transport and patriation off key resources such as agricultural products, mining derivatives, oil and gas (Wheeler, 2018). In addition, all of these land and sea belts work in a synergistic coordination with CCP policy initiatives and require the engagement of the highest tiers of the Chinese SOC's down to the individual business owner and citizen, and range from the bottom echelon of legacy based systems in manufacturing and procurement, to the highest stratum of China's next generation technology giants (Ward, 2019).

Each of the projects proposed within the BRI is accompanied by a PLA based military element in alignment with China's Civil Military Fusion model, and are geared towards strengthening China's Comprehensive National Power (Holslag, 2019). Thus whether it is the Chinese shipping industry, whose ships are manufactured to contain cargo holds for troop transport, the newly constructed ports and harbors constructed with BRI participant nations which contain potential docking facilities for submarines and naval cruisers (Holslag, 2019), or the technological layout of telephonic or 5G systems, whose data is funneled back to CCP controlled servers to enhance the digital AI and Quantum based systems of the future (Spalding, 2019), all serve to increase China's Comprehensive National Power and PLA military based proficiency (Ward, 2019).

A recent Chinese National Intelligence law requires that all Chinese citizens and corporations work in alignment with CCP based interests. It states that all Chinese organizations

and citizens, shall provide and support any national intelligence work the CCP stipulates and that the CCP will support and shield any individuals or organizations that partake in CCP mandated national intelligence work (Ward, 2019). The BRI is therefore an extension of China's sovereign based system, projected outwards on the global level in order to protect its key economic, financial, and resource based interests, which China deems as an existential necessity, in order to protect its nation and its people (Ward, 2019). The designations of oil and gas drilling rigs as sovereign territory, to be defended at all costs, is but one example of China's extension of its domestic security towards the international periphery (Ward, 2019), and bring into question the CCP's statements that it will not interfere in the internal relations of sovereign nations (PRC, 2019). This rationale is due to the fact that if a CCP based project is threatened in a foreign nation, it considers such a threat an internal security matter, and claims that it has a right to protect such interests by force if necessary (Ward, 2019).

While the United States and other nations protect their foreign interests in much the same way through an internationally based system of free trade and navigation protection through their navel and military power projection, the BRI is state controlled and aligned within the CCP mandated framework. Thus while many international firms operate independently under the protection of freedom of navigation, and the support of their respective nations, all of China's corporations are backed militarily and legally directed with Beijing's accent. As Ward (2019) states, "In essence, international corporations are in competition with a 12 trillion dollar authoritarian super-architect with global geopolitical objectives" (Ward, 2019, p. 113). Ward (2019) continues, "Just as branches of the Chinese military carry out China's military strategy, it is the dozens of state-owned super-companies that carry out China's economic strategy around the world" (Ward, 2019, p. 126).

Many scholars within the CCP support this supposition, as an article in the Communist Party journal titled, “Seeking truth, A New Chapter in National Security Guided by General Secretary Xi Jinping's Overall National Security Concepts,” links the Community for a Shared Destiny for Mankind with the internal national security concept, thus connecting China’s internal security and sovereignty with its outwards representation under the BRI (Ward, 2019).

Considering the CCP’s *interpretation* of human rights violations in relation to Xinjiang Province, as well as its surveillance and monitoring techniques as represented by its Social Credit System, the new international system being created within the BRI for a Community of a Common Destiny for Mankind, which extends its internal security concept and newly established Sinic based value system outwards on a global level, is of supreme importance when analyzing this new initiative. This is due to the fact that the CCP’s interpretation of international relations may run in dissonance with current internationally agreed upon standards and norms, alliances, treaties and protocols, and thus pose problems for participant BRI nations, who seek to protect their environmental and human rights guarantees as signatories to organizations such as the UN and the WTO.

The BRI’s strategic *logos*, is based upon China’s geopolitical situational location within the Eurasian landmass. Each of the BRI’s connectivity corridors are of key geostrategic interest to China, as in order to ensure the steady flow of critical resources, China seeks to avoid what Hu Jintao labeled the Malacca Dilemma, or the possibility that China could be cut off from these key resources by rival great powers such as the United States, who control the navigation routes emanating from the South China Sea, through a series of bases, treaty alliances, as well as through the strength of its blue water navy. The United States has provided the lion’s share of

this navigational security blanket with other nations since the end of World War Two in accordance with international treaties and security agreements (Stavridis, 2017).

The Chinese do not want to find themselves in the position of Japan previous to World War Two, in which these key choke points for trade were blocked by rival great powers such as the United States, when disagreement arose between the two nations over Japan's imposition of its Co-prosperity Sphere, in which it sought to attain hegemony over the South East Asian region (Stavridis, 2017).

The 1996 Taiwan Strait incident in which the United States sent an aircraft carrier strike group headed by the USS Nimitz under the Clinton Administration, in order to halt Chinese missile tests intended to send a warning to Taiwan's political establishment for shifting away from Chinn's geopolitical orbit, highlighted the need not only for China to build a blue water navy in order to protect its merchant marine fleet, but alerted the CCP to the need to development alternative land based trade corridors in order to ensure resources were not cut off in the instance of a naval blockade (McGregor, 2018).

The Chinese creation of what it terms 'blue water sovereignty,' or the designation of key maritime areas or corridors which it deems as essential to its own internal security, is a policy directive created to ensure China has access to outside maritime trade conduits (Ward, 2019). In addition, the two most critical nodes of China's land based corridors, those transiting through Myanmar and Pakistan to the Indian Ocean, where China is building two massive harbors and port facilities in Kyaukphyu and Gwadar, are strategic imperatives towards ensuring that a steady flow of resources can make its way through the Indian Ocean, and transit through only

one nation before reaching China. They are in essence, designed to avoid the Malacca Dilemma (Wheeler, 2018).

Geopolitical Considerations and the Eurasian Axis

It is important within this dissertation to point out the work of several geopolitical theorists within this analysis, as their work is directly related to Xi's vision of the BRI, the Indo-Pacific and the global balance of power as perceived by many within the American national security establishment.

The first is Alfred Thayer Mahan, who in his book, *The Influence of Sea Power on History* (1890), crafted a geopolitical thesis that was embraced by both Presidents McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt during America's expansion across the Pacific at the turn of the 19th century. Mahan's Sea Power thesis advocated a strong navy as critical to both a nation's economic strength and domestic security. Alfred Thayer Mahan (1890) expands upon this premise:

Under modern conditions, however, home trade is but a part of the business of a country bordering on the sea. The ships that thus sail to and fro must have secure ports to which to return, and must, as far as possible, be followed by the protection of their country throughout the voyage...The necessity of a navy, in the restricted sense of the word, springs, therefore, from the existence of a peaceful shipping, and disappears with it, except in the case of a nation which has aggressive tendencies, and keeps up a navy merely as a branch of the military establishment. (Mahan, 1890, p. 3)

Robert Kaplan in his work, *Asia's Cauldron* (2014), points out that Mahan's theories have been adopted by the PLA navy as China seeks to extend its maritime influence worldwide.

Kaplan (2014) states:

In a sign of how the power dynamics of the world are changing, Indian and Chinese strategists avidly read Mahan; they, much more than the Americans, are the Mahanians now: they are building fleets designed for armed encounters at sea, whereas European navies view sea power in terms of constabulary action. (Kaplan, 2014, p. 110)

Kaplan (2014) further points out the fact that American navies have begun to adopt a stance similar to the naval theories of Julian Corbett another geopolitical strategist of the early 20th century, whose naval theory promotes alliances with allied nations to prevent an overextension of naval resources. This was the stance the British Empire took as it found itself overextended on the global level during the late twentieth century, aligning itself with Japan and the United States, in order to check the rising power of Germany and Russia prior to World War One.

Kaplan posits in his book the *Revenge of Geography* (2012) that, “China will be primarily a naval power, owing to the geography of East Asia,” an assessment made due largely to Russia’s preeminence as a land power based nation within Central Asia. However in order to avoid the Malacca Dilemma, and to remove any single point of vulnerability to China’s key resources, Xi’s vision of the BRI has been to transform China into both a strong land and sea power nation.

This has led to great concerns in relation to China’s BRI, as its trading system, which seeks to encapsulate Southeast Asia, run across the Eurasian heartland and terminates within the African landmass. This transit route runs conterminously with the early twentieth century theorist Francis Mackinder’s Heartland thesis. Mackinder’s geopolitical dictum famously held that whatever nation controls the Eurasian landmass, will be able to exert control over Southeast Asia and Africa. Mackinder placed the pivot of world power in Central Asia, as this pivot was

theoretically impregnable from attacks from sea powers due to the massive landmass, populations and geopolitical obstacles which it poses (Kaplan, 2012).

Bruno Maques (2018), points out that while the center of national wealth was transferred to the United States following the decline of the British Empire after World War Two, and is steadily moving towards the Western Pacific region, the overall aggregate total of wealth has moved towards the Eurasian landmass. Thus the BRI which extends from Southeast Asia, through Eurasia, and exits through the Pontic breach of the Balkans of Eastern Europe and proceeds into Africa, was and continues to be, critical geopolitical space in relation to global great power politics dynamics. As Kaplan (2012) makes clear, it has become the natural center of gravity within the world system. The United States is viewed by many Eurasianists a sea power based nation, separate from this system, playing the role of an offshore balancer on the global level, much as Britain played a similar role in relation to Europe in past centuries.

However China's geopolitical goals are also coterminous with Nicholas Spykman's Rimland theory, which extended Mackinder's geopolitical sphere of interest in Eurasia to include the translatorial regions of Europe, the Middle East and Japan, extending outwards along the second island chains of the Pacific (Kaplan, 2012). The Indian Ocean which lies within the central locus of Eurasia in between Southeast Asia and Africa, where mineral resources transit from Africa, and oil and gas reserves are transported from the Middle East, is thus a key geostrategic focal point for naval and trade based geostrategic security.

Indeed as Linter (2019) points out, fourth fifths of maritime trade passes through the Indian Ocean, as well as three fifths of the maritime based transport of petroleum and natural gas. Thus China gaining geopolitical influence over both Eurasia and the Indian Ocean region is

perceived as an existential challenge to the critical energy and trade flows the United States relies upon for a strong domestic economy.

China's Maritime Silk Road, which seeks to extend outwards into the Indo-Pacific region through the South China Sea conduit, supported by its newly established blue water fleet in order to protect its merchant trade and nascent developing interests across the globe, has the potential to gain control of the Rimland. This has become a major concern for many global players in the international arena, especially the United States, as its dominant economic trade and naval presence since World War Two, has ensured its foreign markets were protected, and its domestic market demand fully supplied.

This *foci*, is due to the land power and sea power dichotomy, which Alexander Dugin (2013), asserts is the perennial battle between traditional land powers and sea powers to assert their interests on the global level, and is why the South China Sea is a of such a supreme interest to the CCP, as it is the outlet from which its maritime commerce and military projection must emanate, and is directly connected to the strait of Malacca, where one third of total maritime trade transits (Kaplan, 2014).

Since the nation of Russia extends across the Eurasian landmass, it has traditionally been viewed as the major dominant land power in the Central Asian sphere, and has been at constant odds with traditionally based sea power states and such as Great Britain and the United States, who controlled the maritime trade routes and translatorial regions encircling the Eurasian landmass. The historical offshore balancing power that Great Britain practiced historically on the European continent against any major European power gaining control of Eurasia, and hence threatening its maritime dominance, was the strategic rationale in the Great Game with

Russia, which sought to extend its influence across the Eurasian continent, gain access to warm water ports and thus gain control an overland trade route that transited from India and the Far East (Hopkins, 1992).

The modern interpretation of Mackinder's and Spykman's theories – can be found during the Cold War, with the United States acting as the dominant sea power, replacing Britain following the Second World War, where the Soviet Union in an effort to expand beyond its landmass, sought warm water ports on the global level. Kaplan (2012) asserts that the American containment strategy and defense of Western Europe, the Middle East, as well as the Vietnam War, were all based on the strategy of preventing the Soviet Union from extending control over Eurasia and the Rimland.

Therefore, China's rise and its implementation of the land and sea based BRI, which extends its influence both across the heartland of Eurasia, and the Rimland is deemed as a matter of existential security to the United States. The alliance between China and Russia in creating this land bridge is also deemed a security threat, as both seek to undermine the United States through economic, diplomatic, cyber and a host of other means (Gertz, 2019).

The United States thus perceives the rise of China and its potential control over Eurasia and the Indo-Pacific as a threat to its existence, while China, perceives the maritime power of the United States as a threat. Russia and China perceive the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, and the series of treaties the United States has signed with South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan amongst others, as attempts to contain their expansion and to curtail their domestic needs and international goals. These mutual security based perceptions are also at odds due to historic events, philosophical ideals and value systems. This situation is termed the crisis of room

(Kaplan, 2012), as where once geographical barriers and distances prevented the extension of one nation or state across the global sphere, limiting its reach to regionally based trading centers, this barrier has been eliminated in the post modernist era due to supersonic flight and information superhighways. As Robert Kaplan (2012) posits, the world is becoming claustrophobic. This is the last key geopolitical point, for while both the United States and China's hard power and physical facilities are at play in this new iteration of the classical Great Game, the BRI is as much about digital and technological control of information, data, and the conduits through which it travels as it is about physical infrastructure and hard power.

As Wagner and Furst (2018) posit, the Fourth Industrialization Revolution is different from the third, because of the fact that the physical has become merged with the digital, and the digital with the biological. Thus control of the digital platforms and conduits, as well as the AI and 5G systems on which information will transit, is a keystone within the geopolitical arena. Russian President Vladimir Putin has stated succinctly that whichever country becomes the leader in AI and 5G, has the potential to rule the world (Wagner & Furst, 2018).

While it might not be possible to militarily conquer or control key regions due to geospatial and weaponry based considerations, control over the digital sphere, financial transactions and systems, all undergirded by physical security and economic belts in key geostrategic locales such as the Rimland and the Heartland, could possibly lead to a singular system of global dominance. In a play on Mackinder's thesis, whomever commands the digital platforms, controls the systems, whomever controls the systems controls the world. In essence, the physical will give way to the digital.

Therefore, the development of China into both a land and sea power, which has the potential to control the Eurasian landmass as well as the sea routes traditionally dominated by the United States, has been perceived by the American foreign policy community as a direct threat to the balance of power and the orientation of the global system. The center and axis of this maritime gravity is the Indo-Pacific.

Interconnectivity Belts

Bruno Maques (2019) posits, that while traditional trade concepts were often tendered between two disparate points, nations or corporations with transport links, cities and manufacturing centers developing organically over time between those two locations, China seeks to construct and direct these intermediary links across the entire spectrum of the value chain. This is due to the fact that if China succeeds in occupying a specific value chain in its effort to escape the middle income trap, then the complementarity with other nations must be established throughout this entire economic belt. Maques (2019) posits that:

These will develop only if the right transportation and communications infrastructures have been put in place and if those countries adopt the right economic policy decisions. Essentially, the Belt and Road is attempting to create a transnational industrial policy, a goal that was abandoned by many Western nations, as the past economic system was exercised under free market and trade conditions. (Maques, 2019, p. 83)

The new BRI economic policy model, is highly intertwined with China's foreign policy and economic security:

The concept of economic security defines China's foreign policy. What shapes external economic relations, the reasoning goes is not the self-regulating force of the free market,

but the ability of the government to build competitive firms. Exposure to competition is good only if it makes national industries stronger. (Maques, 2019, p. 67)

Thus, while in the past international leading firms were often able to control the value chains through economic leverage, with these leading firms operating freely from the political and foreign policy of their states of origin, China's closed market system comprised of SOC's and NC's financed and controlled by the Chinese state, can exercise control over the full extension of the value chain as it increases the value at each stage to displace the positions that other international companies once occupied.

Andre Wheeler (2018) highlights the massive scale of the BRI:

When considering this ambitious plan of links, it becomes clearly visible that the BRI covers over sixty five countries and 65% of the world's population. It also embraces one third of the Global GDP....Furthermore trade value along BRI countries amounted to US\$1.3 trillion in 2017. (Wheeler, 2018, p. 22)

Therefore the geostrategic *raison d'être* of the BRI, is to secure multiple pathways of transit for the resources necessary to sustain modern China, and the development of its new system of international relations, and are an effort to avoid the hindrance and outside interference by any rival foreign powers, on the economic, financial, technological or military level, of any of China's goals as it seek to rise in the arena of great power politics.

Many foreign policy analysts assert that the CCP seeks to implement and brand this Sinocentric model as an alternative to European and Western based systems (Ward, 2018).

Indeed, the PRC State Council of Information believes that it is China's time to advance its own Sinocentrically culturally based model of international affairs:

There is no such thing as one single path or model that is universally applicable.

Countries can learn from each other. But modernization is not equal to Westernization, and cannot be mechanically carried out or achieved through the same model. (PRC, 2019, p. 27)

China firmly denies such claims of seeking global hegemony through its ideals of creating a Common Destiny for Mankind, and a new international system based upon Socialism with Chinese characteristics:

Some people worry that China will fulfill the outdated expectation that a country will invariably seek hegemony when it grows strong, so they have created what they call the ‘China threat’ theory. The causes of this theory include cognitive misunderstanding, deep-rooted prejudice, a psychological imbalance brought about by the prospect of falling power, and deliberate distortions by vested interests. (PRC, 2019, p. 14)

However the actions taken by Beijing have elicited concerns of developing nations in Africa, Southeast Asia and Central Asia as well as within Europe. While the BRI does contain the promise to lift millions out of poverty, and could lead to the key development of financial and technical knowledge within participant nations, many of the BRI’s trade and business tenders contain within them certain caveats, that place these participant nations in a precarious financial position in relation to debt service payments, and reorient many of the critical technological and financial industries within these nations towards highly complex forms of financial and technological control.

For example, Wheeler (2018), a supporter of the BRI project, cites the fact that, “Out of the sixty eight countries financing projects linked or related to the Belt and Road Initiative,

twenty four are at risk of debt distress” (Wheeler, 2018, pp. 49 - 50). Wheeler states concerns that:

These risks are worrying, given that China’s debt distress management has been problematic and that, unlike other government creditors, China has not signed onto a binding set of rules when it comes to sustainable lending and addressing debt problems. (Wheeler, 2018, p. 50)

Therefore, while there are benefits to participating nations, these benefits often come at the cost of loss of sovereign control over their own national industries and institutional systems. Thus with the expressed intent to provide developmental funding to participant nations, many scholars and government officials believe that China seeks to exert control over economic and financial systems, by creating concessionary deals that saddle nations with near untenable debt levels, so as to acquire leverage over their sovereign actions, which can then be integrated into the CCP controlled BRI system (Wheeler, 2018). It is this system of *Tianxia*, as represented by the BRI, that many security analysts assert, lies at the heart of China’s goals to seek global hegemony, and which has elicited the near unanimous belief by China scholars and experts that the CCP seeks to undermine the current international system towards its own Sino-centrally based strategies and goals (Gertz, 2019).

Secretary of Defense James Mattis stated the importance of protecting the maintenance of the current international models during a hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee in October of 2017, not only to protect human rights and developing nations from non-transparent lending schemes which are unsanctioned under international law, but also to permit the free flows of information, commerce and finance on which the global economic system

depends. Secretary Mattis commented that, that in the globalized world there should not just be one nation dictating one belt and one road and that it should belong to all nations (Maques, 2019).

French President Manuel Macron echoed the concerns of Secretary Mattis in a speech at the Daming Palace in Xian, stating that the BRI should not be those of hegemonic design, which would turn all of the nations it crosses into vassal states (Maques, 2019).

It is thus through a highly complex matrix of economic, financial, trade and military based projects, that many scholars believe Beijing seeks to create a network of new institutions, new legal frameworks and new economic policies based upon the CCP model, officially denying such claims, while slowly eroding the Western based systems from within (Holslag, 2019).

The creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization between China, Russia and a host of other Eurasian based states, which contains within its signatory nations over half of the world's population, is viewed by many experts to be a rival to NATO (Wheeler, 2018). Other systems such as the Baidu satellite system, the Boao Forum, China's new Star trading system amongst a host of other financial institutes and banking clearinghouses, have been perceived by outside observers as CCP led replacements to current international institutions.

As Maques (2019) explains, "The ideological question as opposed to the economic one is inevitably zero-sum because to accept a certain way to organize social relations is to discard different concepts and principles" (Maques, 2019, p. 33). Therefore Maques (2019) asserts that in creating a particularly exclusive BRI system, which is based on new standards and norms, the old standards and norms are gradually and incrementally replaced and superseded, and as the

Chinese system expands, its particularly exclusive nature transforms into a universally inclusive one, as all previous systems are subverted under this new system.

Many within China take issue with the liberal and democratic principles espoused by the West and the United States, which they perceive as a form of cultural and economic imperialism, that infringes upon their own sovereignty to decide the systems of governance that work within their own hermeneutical, traditional and perceptual conceptualization of the world (Ward, 2019). Indeed, a great majority of Chinese top tier analysts, scholars, and governmental officials assert that the current global system is a modern form of colonialism exercised through economic and financial control of internationally based institutions and systems.

Therefore, the BRI's Community of Shared Destiny promoted by President Xi Jinping under the concept of *Tianxia* and symbolized in Xi's China Dream, is believed by the majority of foreign policy experts, to essentially be a vision of a Chinese controlled world system, which through incremental transformation, seeks to replace the current international institutional models and structures established by the West, and is largely related to a cultural interpretation of the world which differs vastly from the current globalized system of standards and norms (Diamond, 2019).

Scholars assert that China believes that in order for the chaos of an anarchic international system to be reduced, a single system must gain hegemonic control, so as to create a single complementary system where all periphery states work in a coterminous alignment with the center of power. Chinese scholars such as Xu Jin and Gu Chu, support such suppositions, stating that, China is a fate community, and it must reflect the characteristic of China's cultural role and arbitrar of its own fate (Maques, 2019). While the PRC refutes such claims of hegemony, the

perception by foreign policy analysts is important, as these perceptions provide the impetus for legislative and governmental action by concerned nations. Thus while speculative in nature as to China's ultimate intent, these perceptions are relevant towards the actions that are taken in relation to China's rise.

Many scholars claim that the China Dream and the BRI is utilizing the ancient stratagems of Sun Tzu, who in his classical treatise, *The Art of War*, states:

The skillful leader subdues the enemy's troops without any fighting; he captures their cities without laying siege to them; he overthrows their kingdom without lengthy operations in the field. (Tzu, 2019, Sect. 3)

Others, including the PRC, contend that the BRI is a beneficent development policy, aimed at lifting the Chinese out of poverty, and improving the betterment of not only the Chinese people, but also the greater good on a global level (PRC, 2019). Yet there are significant doubts by many foreign leaders as to the validity of such claims based upon China's actions.

Whether China seeks to create a new Chinese based world order is unclear, however the compelling statements of those both within China and without, leads this analyses towards the conclusion that there is no doubt that China seeks to implement a new model of governance that is based upon the Socialism with Chinese characteristics modality. This is of key importance, for as China advances to achieve success within the BRI and their new Sinocentric international model, the CCP has invested billions of dollars in an effort to control the narrative and project a positive image of China to the world and is the root cause of China's soft power campaign of censorship, influence, intimidation and espionage on America's higher education institutions.

Maques (2019) posits that there are four possible outcomes to China's rise in the international field of global great power competition; that being that the United States maintains its supremacy in the international field, that global supremacy is shared with China, that China gains primacy in the field, or that China creates an entirely new and separate model of international relations. In the conclusion of this dissertation, this writer posits a fifth option.

Interest Based Politics and Clarity of Message

However one might ask, if China's ultimate goal in creating a new model of international relations is one which has the potential to replace or destabilize the current globalized commons, why is there not a widespread consensus on what is occurring or press coverage on this issue? Why is this possibility of a new model of global governance and the adverse effects it is having on the domestic institutions of America not being clearly articulated by the majority of public figures within the United States?

This analysis posits that this lack of dialogue, press coverage and public awareness is due to interest based politics and the massive amount of leverage the CCP has been asserting through a monetary influence, legal leverage, regulatory influence and a host of other soft power methods which will be explained in detail within the next section of this dissertation.

Many prominent political personalities, economists and business leaders within the United States who have significant monetary and investment interests within China have made questionable statements in relation to China. The fact that many of these individuals hold positions that heavily influence the media and academic perceptions of CCP policies, and are backed by large corporate and financial interests that hold considerable lobbying influence within Washington D.C. is disconcerting, as such involvement has the potential to alter the

perception of the general public to a significant degree, and as will be explored within the soft power section of this composition, is directly connected the CCP's ability to censor and alter information and restrict academic freedom within the American university system.

For example Michael Bloomberg stated in his new Economy Forum in Beijing that Xi Jinping was not a dictator and that, "he had to satisfy his citizens, or he will not survive" (Wu, 2019, para. 8). Bloomberg makes no mention of President Xi's unlimited term limits, or the fact that if Chinese citizens do speak out, they have the potential to be imprisoned or docked points on their Social Credit Score. Bloomberg was also dismissive of the Hong Kong protests (Wu, 2019). Larry Summers, former Treasury Secretary under President Bill Clinton, and former President of Harvard University, has also made misleading statements claiming that China's technological advancements were not the result of theft. Summers further stated that:

You ask me where China's technological progress is coming from. It's coming from terrific entrepreneurs who are getting the benefit of huge government investments in basic science. It's coming from an educational system that's privileging excellence, concentrating on science and technology...That's where their leadership is coming from, not from taking a stake in some U.S. company. (Belvadere, 2019, para. 2)

While it is true that the Chinese entrepreneurs and governmental investments within China are top rate, and the Chinese education system runs on a highly skilled merit based system, the claim that the Chinese government does not steal proprietary information, nor promote or enforce forced technology transfers leads to a false perception that such intellectual property theft is not taking place. Indeed, China's own governmental policies and organizations within its bureaucratic system promote and reward the theft of intellectual property (Gertz, 2019). The

2019 United States Trade Report has also cited China's illicit acquisition of intellectual property (Spalding, 2019), and many experts have posited that China's espionage and technological theft is the largest transfer of intellectual wealth in America's history (Gertz, 2019).

Many prominent American Congressional legislators, members of the United States Executive Department, as well as Presidential candidates have also voiced concerns and opposition to the unfair trading and intellectual property theft practiced by China, as Democratic Presidential candidate Joe Biden recently stated:

China – the problem isn't the trade deficit, the problem is they're stealing our intellectual property. The problem is they're violating the WTO. They're dumping steal on us... And that's why you need to organize the world to take on China, to stop the corrupt practices that are under way. (Gibson, 2019, para. 18)

However, such widespread action may not be feasible. The projection of mixed messages through the mass media and social media spheres, from which the majority of Americans glean their daily news, are often controlled by financial, technological and corporate leaders who are heavily invested in China (Spalding, 2019). Google, Facebook, Apple and Amazon, the latter of which owns the *Washington Post*, all have major investments within China (Gertz, 2019). The fact that the CCP will prohibit investments from CEO's and corporations who speak out against China, as well as deny travel and visa privileges, leads to many corporations downplaying or avoiding the CCP's egregious human rights violations and illicit espionage and trade practices (Spalding, 2019).

One of China's main propagandist goals – is to create division and sow discord within the United States populace (Ward, 2019). Thus, when major business leaders make false or

misleading statements in relation to China, if enough citizens hear divided messages, then the CCP achieves a soft power victory, as such divided opinions often make it more difficult for the Congressional and Executive branches of the government to pass significant legislation to curb the CCP's espionage, unfair trade practices and research theft. In essence, this analysis finds that if the public narrative is diluted beyond a certain degree, then the results oriented effect to counter adverse impacts to America's democratic institutions could be watered down to a significant extent.

When mass influencers such as Michael Bloomberg and Larry Summers, whose experience and depth of knowledge are highly respected within the American populace, make misleading statements, one could argue that they are trading their integrity for monetary gain, for Xi Jinping is clearly an authoritarian leader, and China has repeatedly stolen proprietary information from American corporations (Spalding, 2019). While thought leaders and prominent figures have the right to freedom of expression within the United States, the general public, who might perceive these highly influential individuals as experts on their subject, and perceive their statements as truth without knowledge of their heavy monetary interest in relation to China further propagates the CCP's based narrative. This phenomenon proves as a detriment to the greater good of many Americans who work hard to develop research and proprietary technologies that are stolen and then utilized against the American public and the Chinese citizens themselves.

Former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, who was appointed under former President Jimmy Carter, and also served under Ronald Reagan, made comments that bear resemblance to Samuel Huntington's perceptions of the Davos Crowd of internationalist minded

individuals, and the idea of the revolving door of government and industry which does not benefit the public welfare. Former Chairman Volcker stated:

The central issue is we're developing into a plutocracy... We've got an enormous number of enormously rich people that have convinced themselves that their rich because they're smart and constructive. And they don't like government and they don't like to pay taxes. (Trotta, 2019, para. 4)

Volcker continues:

There is no force on earth that can stand up effectively, year after year, against the thousands of individuals and hundreds of millions of dollars in the Washington swamp aimed at influencing the legislative and electoral process. (Lane, 2018, para. 6)

The monetary inducements that the CCP is offering to many corporate leaders and former government officials who seek access to the markets of China for speaking positively about its government and projects such as the BRI, not only alters public opinion, but also drives heavy lobbying to Congress, to withhold or water down statutory and regulatory rules which would curb the CCP's ongoing psychological operations campaign to adversely influence and censure democratic institutions within the United States. Gertz (2019) makes the point that monetary influence and the revolving door of government to corporate positions has prevented significant action on the Federal level to recognize that China was engaged in, "an undeclared war – played out in the economic, technological, and cyber realms" (Gertz, 2019, p. 5). Gertz continues:

Why was the American government so wrong? The failure was due to rigid groupthink that demanded strict adherence to government engagement and appeasement policies backed by business, trade, and financial investment in the communist system. The hope

for results of a free and open society in China never materialized, however. (Gertz, 2019, p. 5)

This issue is directly related to the higher education sector, for as American universities seek out additional financing streams from an ever dwindling supply of state and federal funding, they have sought out not only foreign based donors and partnerships, but also partnerships with large corporations and technology firms that have a direct interest to sustain or break into the Chinese markets.

In order to have access to these CCP controlled markets, American corporations and technology firms are required to censure information and data that is any way adverse to the CCP party line or risk losing their investments. Thus the geopolitical sphere and great power competition, is intimately related to the international business environment, which is directly related to the domestic sphere of Congressional legislation through lobbying and campaign funding, and also the partnerships of democratic institutions including the academic sphere.

A Chronicle of Higher Education report cites how monetary influence has adversely influenced academia:

Over the past 30 years, the economics profession – in economics departments and in business, public policy, and law schools – has become so compromised by conflicts of interest that it now functions almost as a support group for financial services and other industries whose profits depend heavily on government policy. (Ferguson, 2010, para. 12)

The report details former Harvard President Larry Summers' connections to Wall Street investment, the government and the higher education sector, and how many universities do not require domestic conflict of interest disclosure, even though the funding relationship between these higher education institutions benefit greatly from the corporate relationships. The *Chronicle of Higher Education* report further states:

Prominent academic economists (and sometimes also professors of law and public policy) are paid by companies and interest groups to testify before Congress, to write papers, to give speeches, to participate in conferences...and of course, to lobby. This is now, literally, a billion-dollar industry. (Ferguson, 2010, para 13)

The fact that higher education institutions are heavily reliant on partnerships with American investment firms, business corporations and the technology industry, many of which hold significant investments within China, could permit the CCP to indirectly control information and perception within academia. For example a publishing corporation with investments in China could opt not to print academic papers critical of China, or even more subtly, a technological corporation could alter the metrics or information within their systems, to omit or distort the parameters of given research searches, or to limit access to specific research sources.

As more and more systems are linked into the digital sphere, the potential to alter the course of academic writing or the research conducted therein is a very real concern, as all information is transmitted through the servers and systems which the technology corporations provide. Considering that Google and Facebook have already been accused of altering search queries along partisan lines (Wagner & Furst, 2019), and that both corporations have significant

investments in both China and the American higher education sector, such risk analysis in relation to academic freedom and research access are not without merit. A system is only as good as the biases that are created within it (Furst & Ward, 2019).

The fact that the CCP is exporting its internal models of government and educational standards outwards through the BRI and its new system of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, is not only relevant in relation to international institutions and geopolitics, it is equally relevant in relation to the American higher education system. For example, the CCP is currently extending its internal technology based Social Credit System, which seeks to censure information, free speech, and any expression or association which might run contrary to the CCP party line or its worldwide interests, onto the sovereign shores of the United States in direct contravention of America's Constitutional precepts. This is being carried out by the CCP's unrolling of the Corporate Social Credit System. As a bi-partisan senate letter to the United States Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer makes clear:

Equally if not more concerning, penalties under the Chinese Corporate SCS could extend to the employees of American firms, including U.S. nationals. As a punishment for individuals representing companies deemed 'untrustworthy,' the Chinese government envisions levying travel restrictions, tax discrimination, personal sanctions, and other retributions. (Gardner, 2019, para. 6)

The overall point being made in this analysis, is that China's goals of achieving the China Dream and creating a Common Destiny of Mankind through a new system of international relations based on the concept of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, is being carried through the implementation of the BRI, which holds out the promise of lucrative profits to

American investors, corporations and technology firms who follow the CCP party line and do not discuss issues that are highly sensitive to the Chinese government. In restricting their speech, expression or actions in accordance with the CCP in order to increase their corporate market shares, build profits, or personally benefit from Chinese investments, corporate self-censorship within the public domain creates a false perception to the general public, and could also potentially alter the information within American technology and information systems to align with CCP dictates. This would directly affect the higher education sector, which is reliant upon accurate research and information.

The fact that the CCP's strategic plans outline a vision where Chinese technology and telecommunication firms will control over eighty percent of the worldwide market with their new 5G technology by 2025 (Gertz, 2019), from which all information within these systems will be available to the CCP as mandated by Chinese law, is especially disconcerting. Indeed, Huawei and ZTE have already pushed the majority of competing firms out of the competitive market through heavy subsidies granted by the Chinese government (Gertz, 2019).

Corporate influence also heavily influences Congress through lobbying campaign funding contributions and other means on the actions the government takes on protecting key issues such as freedom of speech, and academic freedom. These corporations also have a direct influence within the University system themselves, through affiliational corporate partnerships, adversely effecting quality of scholarship and contributing to a host of conflicts of interest which have the potential to adversely affect academic freedom within these universities. Thus the geopolitical sphere and great power competition, international institutions and corporations, are directly related to the domestic corporate sphere and legislative implementation, as well as the

institutions of higher education themselves and the policies and research that is conducted therein.

As will be showcased within the soft power section of this composition, the Corporate Social Credit system is but one among many, of the ever evolving and sophisticated soft power methods that the CCP is implementing under the Three Warfare strategy to alter the perceptions of the American public, and to limit free speech and academic freedom within the university systems of the United States. The following section of this dissertation will seek to showcase how these methods are being implemented.

Conclusion

As the United States Defense Department stated to Congress:

China conducts influence operations against media, cultural, business, academic, and policy communities of the United States, other countries, and international institutions to achieve outcomes favorable to its security and military strategy objectives. The Chinese Communist Party seeks to condition foreign and multilateral political establishments and public opinion to accept China's narrative surrounding its priorities like One Belt One Road and South China Sea territorial and maritime claims. (MDS, 2018, p. 5)

While the United States Defense Department is a peer competitor to the Chinese government, and may hold its own interests in its interpretation of the CCP's ultimate goals and intent, this research has been based on a dualistic analysis of both American and Chinese governmental and analytical reports, books, and media sources. This research has also been analyzed by the actions taken by the CCP within the international sphere, and not simply upon

the formal statements, theories or analysis of either of the two competing nations. For it is not necessarily the statements of governments or officials that showcase the true intent of nations but rather their actions.

One of the central tenets of international realism is that it is the unknown intent of another nation, that drives great power competition (Mearshiemer, 2014). For it is a fundamental rational deduction of logic which poses the question, why would another nation that is intending upon taking economic, military and actions within the global anarchic global commons reveal its true intent to another potential competitor, if this revelation could prevent that nation from achieving its goal? It is this unknown factor that lies at the heart of great power competition and the rivalry between the government of China and the government of the United States.

This research has found that the CCP has valid and reasonable concerns for the development of its Civil and Military Fusion and Comprehensive National Power goals as it seeks to avoid the Malacca Dilemma, in order to ensure the provision of resources to sustain and feed its massive population or risk its existential survival if such resources were blocked or compromised by competing state entities (Ward, 2019).

This research has also found that the CCP views the collective goals of the state as paramount over those of the individual, and implements policies which subvert the rights of individuals in order to further the goals of the greater good of the state. In order to maintain China's rise and to preserve the CCP's authority and survival, the CCP has subverted the human rights of millions of its own citizens and has not brokered any opposition to its stated policies and goals.

Furthermore, the CCP has instituted new systems of state mandated indoctrination within its educational system, utilizing its AI oriented Social Credit system as well as the Skynet and Sharp Eyes programs, to create an institutionalized mutual fear of constant surveillance and associational based fear in order to keep its population in alignment with its goals (Gertz, 2019). While such technological systems provide stability and security within the mainland, they come at a great cost to the individuality and free thought of the Chinese people.

These systems have been supplemented by the Made in China 2025 plan and the One Thousand Talents campaign, which through the expropriation by both legal and illegal means, and through the ingenuity and innovative capacity of China's citizens and its merit based system, has vaunted China to the top tier of cutting edge technology such as AI and Smart based systems (Spalding, 2019).

With the ascension of Xi Jinping to the presidency, and the enshrining of Xi Jinping Thought, the China Dream, and the Belt and Road Initiative into the Chinese Constitution, China seeks to achieve its goals to reach the Two Centennials, and to create a New Destiny for Mankind through a new international model utilizing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. This goal is deeply rooted in ancient Chinese philosophy, history and tradition, which the CCP perceives as necessary in order to freely operate in the international commons and foment its continued development.

This has led to enhanced geopolitical competition on the global level, coupling nations such as China and Russia towards the creation of a new multi-polar world, against the United States which seeks to protect its interests and the current international system (CDD, 2019). The geopolitical center of gravity lies in the Eurasian heartland, and the Indo-Pacific, and the Belt

and Road Initiative is perceived by the West as a potential destabilizer to the global security environment, as all of China's development projects entail a PLA based element relying on the internal external security model, in which its interest will be protected at all costs (Ward, 2019).

As all the corporate, market and economic elements of China, from the SOC's down to the individual businessman, are controlled by the CCP under China's Constitutional and National Security laws, all Chinese corporate interests can be considered as a projection of CCP power (Ward, 2019).

China's new model of international relations relies upon new standards and norms, and has caused consternation among many within the international community of unfair practices, and a subversion of the current models of human rights, environmental protections and a level playing field of trade and corporate competition granted under the WTO agreements to which China is a signatory (Ward, 2019). In order to achieve the goal of the Two Centennials and a new model of international relations based upon Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, China has projected its internal methods of control through a complex matrix of soft power influence including economic, legal, and regulatory and cyberwarfare (Gertz, 2019).

This soft power is being projected upon the democratic institutions of the United States, as well as the higher education sector, and is constructed to control the narrative, divide public opinion, instill fear, and utilize monetary influence so as to permit China to reach its geopolitical goal of achieving a Common Destiny for Mankind (Gertz, 2019).

The end goals of the Common Destiny for Mankind are unknown, however this analysis has found that the CCP is determined to accomplish its new system looking to the ends rather

than the means, and is willing to accomplish its goals to reach the Two Centennials at all costs. Considering the practices to which China has resorted on its own citizens in order to accomplish its internal goals, this analysis questions what adverse impacts a CCP controlled system of international relations might entail if projected upon the global level.

While President Xi Jinping is a highly capable leader, and the CCP has implemented policies that have lifted millions its own citizens out of poverty, the expansion of the CCP's internal policies outwards into the international arena, has the potential to facilitate an international projection of similar CCP based policies of technological, economic and fear based repression on a global scale (Ward, 2010). This CCP power projection has and will continue to attempt to censure American democratic institutions, and to restrict academic freedom on the higher education campuses of the United States.

A recent report by *Reuters Press* stated the recent removal of freedom of thought from the Fudan University Charter in China. *Reuters* reported that, "The new charter said the university would 'weaponise the minds of teachers and students using Xi Jinping's socialism ideology with characteristics of China in the new era'" (World, 2019, para. 16). While such a ban seems impossible, new technologies such as hands free keyboards that work through neural networks are already in development (Wagner & Furst, 2018).

With the new era of 5G digital networks coming online, and the massive monetary influence the CCP has on corporations that are heavily invested in both China and the American higher education sector, the importance of the rise of China and the protection of academic freedom is directly linked, as all higher education institutions rely upon the digital sphere and

technology based corporations to provide services, information and research sources to facilitate their daily operations.

The China Dream, The BRI and the Common Destiny for Mankind, are the platforms for which China seeks to attain its national pride and place by the one hundredth anniversary of the PRC in 2049. The United States is the primary geopolitical competitor and as the dominant military and naval force since the fall of the Cold War, America is the main impediment to China's goals as it seeks to attain military dominance and freedom of navigation in the strategic Indo-Pacific region (Ward, 2019). This research has found that the CCP soft power campaign on the United States is a direct result of this great power competition.

Bruno Maques (2019) has posited that China's rise is much akin to a thriller novel, with espionage, shadowy figures, global plans and a cast of characters that are playing out upon the international stage. Jonathon Ward (2019) has stated that the rise of China is the most important story of our century. Yet while both statements from the above authors contain truisms, perhaps the most prescient and accurate analysis comes from Peter Hopkins the Oxford trained scholar on Central Asia and author of, *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (1992), who wrote that perhaps the Great Game for the global commons never ended. Hopkins (1992) writes:

A new struggle is under way as rival outside powers compete to fill the political and economic void left by Moscow's abrupt departure. Already political analysts and headline writers are calling this maneuvering for long term advantage 'the new Great Game'. For while the stakes are far higher and the players mostly new, they see it today as a continuation of the age old struggle... It is impossible to guess, at the time of writing,

how things will work out...and which of the rival players in today's Great Game will triumph. (Hopkins, 1992, pp. xv – xviii)

There is no doubt in this writers mind that Peter Hopkins (1992) was right, a new Great Game is afoot, yet while Central Asia and the Indo-Pacific is at the heart of this new Great Game, the geopolitical chessboard now encompasses the world, consisting not just of military and economic power projection, but of digital equity and informational control.

The soft power methods of propaganda by which the CCP seeks to control the narrative and the outcome of this intense geopolitical rivalry will be explored within the next section of this dissertation. Indeed great power competition and the race for geopolitical supremacy is proceeding in earnest, and while its scope is global, its outcome will have a direct impact upon the Ivory Towers of the American university systems, as well as academic freedoms which are enshrined within them.

CHAPTER SIX: CCP SOFT POWER PROJECTION

Introduction

The recent pages have highlighted the rise of China into a formidable peer competitor to the United States within the anarchic arena of great power politics, ushering forth a new era of multi-polarity, where American economic and military primacy is being challenged at every turn. With the ascension of President Xi Jinping, the Chinese Dream of the, ‘great rejuvenation of the Chinese people’ (Maques, 2019), is becoming a reality, and China is once again reclaiming its historical stature as the leader of the Confucian Ideal.

The Belt and Road Initiative with its traditional conceptualization of *Tianxia*, has spread a new system of values and norms that, while questionable in relation to their overall goals or ethical considerations, have a wide appeal to both developed and developing nations alike. The massive offers of credit, trade and economic largesse that the Chinese government has extended to participants within this continuously unfolding policy initiative, has extended China’s influence far beyond its sovereign borders, and will inevitably continue into the foreseeable future.

There is no doubt that many Western policymakers and academics have failed to grasp the potential for China’s new state-controlled models of financial, socioeconomic and cultural systems to be an effective and efficient alternative to the traditional capitalist based post Cold War system (Maques, 2019). This underestimation has both been nurtured and cultivated by the CCP in an ingenious and carefully calibrated strategy, which has vaunted its status as a nation

riven by poverty, to one of ever increasing prosperity and strength (Spalding, 2019). While many in the West are opposed to the heavy handed methods utilized by the CCP to achieve these goals, the effectiveness of these achievements towards comprehensive wealth generation and power projection is acknowledged by even the most critical of scholars (Ward, 2019). Even if China's governmental system is not in alignment with international norms as codified by the UN and the WTO, it is by no means an ineffective model. That being said, China's rise has come at a great price to many of its own citizens, with environmental degradation, suppression of thoughts with newly emerging neural network programs, and an ever increasing technologically advanced security state monitoring every act and deed of the populace within its borders. Imprisonment, humiliation, torture and even death for practicing one's religion or speaking out against oppressive CCP policies are often the fate for those that oppose Beijing's hardline dictates (UHRA, 2019).

The re-orientation of China's educational system, where nationalist historical narratives have taken the fore, have shaped the minds of millions of Chinese youth – and the ever increasing ability of the CCP to force a strict adherence to the party line within all sectors of the economy. Indeed, the recent national security laws enacted by the CCP on the corporate, financial and media spheres have led to human rights abuses and a host of policies which are an anathema to many of the moral and ethical principles of democratic rights, human rights and the freedom of expression, all of which are held as essential by the many in the global community (McGregor, 2018).

The unveiling of a series of mirror based systems and institutions to counter the post Cold War institutional frameworks, with differing standards and norms and governmental models, has created a dilemma for governments around the globe, for which there are no easy solutions

(Maques, 2019). However, it is the extension of these value systems beyond China's shores, and projected onto the United States through a host of soft power initiatives that is the focus of this chapter of the dissertation, as these psychological operations campaigns are not only a threat to the Constitutional liberties protected under American sovereign law, but also to the higher education system and the academic freedoms which are the foundational precepts of America's universities and institutions of higher learning (Dayton , 2015).

While the Chinese government as well as other nations around the globe possess the right, under international law, to practice their own forms of government and enact their own policies, the adherence to the UN Charter and a host of other international institutions of which China is a signatory, has been violated on a multiplicity of fronts, (UHRA, 2019). Thus, the protection of America's Constitutionally based system of government is *sine qua non* to the preservation of democratic institutions of the United States, for any erosion of these institutions, could have severe implications not only for the freedom of expression, but also for the global balance of power and the future maintenance of peace, security and stability worldwide (Spalding, 2019).

The strategy employed by the CCP to project psychological influence campaigns on the democratic institutions of the United States is much akin to the twines of a rope, each separate sinew, while seemingly innocuous in itself, is distributed and focused on a different portion of America's corporate, media, think tank and educational fields. Each of these twines, whether implemented directly or subversively, is an ongoing threat to the national security and democratic integrity of the American nation (Spalding, 2019). When combined, these threads form a clear line of attenuation leading directly to the CCP and its subsidiary agency branches.

Ian Easton, a think tank analyst for the Center for Naval Analysis, comments on the often veiled soft power projection into the United States:

Many Americans experience the effects of it only indirectly. There are reportedly a considerable number of Chinese agents in the United States who pose as diplomats, reporters, scholars, language instructors, lobbyists and entrepreneurs. Their job, in part, is to shape forcing perceptions about China and Taiwan... These hostile influence operations are particularly noticeable in Washington and on university campuses across the country. (Easton, 2017, p. 9)

Many of these more subversive influence operations receive minimal press reportage directed at the issue, and are often diffuse and difficult to piece together by the average individual observer who might focus on one piece of news or informational sector, and thereby become intellectually siloed on the broader schema of the CCP's psychologically based propagandist strategy. However when utilizing a systems based combinatory approach, viewing the entire spectrum from multiple fields of observation, and triangulating the various prolegomena into a cohesive picture, the twines of the CCP's propagandist strategy to control the perception of the average American's viewpoints towards a particular perceptual interpretation become quite clear. The rope becomes visible, the picture becomes coherent.

The CCP is well aware that the United States is a democracy, that information and monetary influence can lead to control of the narrative, and that a storyline matters (Easton, 2017). Indeed former PLA Colonels Quao Liang and Wang Xiangsui state succinctly in their book *Unrestricted Warfare*, a text that advocates exploiting any weakness in a potential opponent, that:

There is nothing in the world today that cannot become a weapon...As we see it, a single man-made stock market crash, a single computer virus invasion, or a single rumor or scandal that results in a fluctuation in the enemy country's exchange rates or exposes the leaders of an enemy country on the Internet...What must be made clear is that the new concept of weapons is in the process of creating weapons that are closely linked to the lives of the common people. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 13)

The CCP also understands quite clearly, that by controlling the means of this information, it can perhaps not gain control over all the hearts and minds of the American citizenry, but that it can surely shape, direct, and guide the overall bent of decision making and perception towards a favorable viewpoint as conceived by the CCP (Spalding, 2019).

The Three Warfares strategy that the CCP is deploying onto American shores, falls under the purview of the CCP's political warfare operations strategy, with one internal guidance document highlighting the deployment of these types of stratagems onto Taiwan. It reads:

Utilize legal warfare and public opinion warfare together with psychological warfare to divide and erode the islands solid willpower...Of these, utilize legal warfare against the enemy's political groups and their so-called 'allies' as a form of psychological attack...Use the Internet media heavily against non-governmental groups on the island and the masses as a form of psychological attack. (Easton, 2017, p. 63)

While this internal CCP document is directed at Taiwan, the United States has been a concerted target of similar campaigns on a much wider scale (Spalding, 2019).

Maques (2018), a Senior Fellow at Renmin and Beijing University, concurs with this postulation and posits the importance of soft power in China's economic expansion as key in their developmental financial and military projection stating that:

A more direct and forceful use of state power would carry enormous risks of disrupting, or maybe even severing, the external ties supporting Chinese economic growth and stability...Economic power, by contrast is embedded within the world of economy, and provides Chinese authorities with a very high degree of ambiguity and deniability...State control over economic agents allows the Chinese state to marshal the private sector in the service of its own strategic goals. (Maques, 2018, p. 41)

Thus China's SOC's, NC's, private firms and other backbone capital industries, which are mandated by the CCP to cooperate under China's national security laws, are key economic and financial tools utilized for soft power purposes to intimidate and influence the perceptions of corporations, leaders and the citizens of nations outside of China proper.

The conceptualization that economic power can translate into political influence may at first seem to be overemphasized and nationalistic to the average reader unacquainted with such methods and tactics. However, its efficacy and usage can be evinced through a host of examples, and is not limited to the United States.

Economic and Soft Power on the International Level

Maques (2018) cites an example where Nicolas Sarkozy, the former President of France was going to host the Dalai Lama in December 2008, the same year as the Beijing Olympics. In an effort to control the narrative in alignment with the CCP party line which seeks to delegitimize Tibet as a sovereign entity, France was quickly crossed off of the travel list of two

high level Chinese trade delegations to Europe, with Premier Wen Jiabao publicly stating before his tour of Europe, “I looked at a map of Europe on the plane. My trip goes around France. We all know why” (Maques, 2018, p. 41).

Such examples are rife on the international level, especially with developing nations who rely upon the political largesse and increasingly important trade deals with the CCP, whether through the Belt and Road Initiative or other bilateral trade agreements, as their economies are still extremely fragile and can easily be destabilized by Chinese financial leverage (Holslag, 2018). Therefore the avoidance of any politically controversial language that Beijing may consider antagonistic, especially in regards to border disputes in relation to sovereign authority over contested pieces of land such as Tibet, the Xinxiang autonomous region of China, or the South China Sea, all of which hold not only nationalistic clout but geostrategic importance in relation to water, hydrocarbons, resource extraction and trade, are protected by China at all costs.

The CCP has not only utilized diplomatic leverage to silence its critics on the international level, but has also launched litigation against individuals within Europe and the United States who speak out against China’s human rights abuses. This strategy, which many experts term as lawfare, is utilized to silence what the CCP perceives as ‘dissent’ outside of China’s borders, for even if the CCP does not prevail within the court of law, the legal costs to defend the litigation are often debilitating to the firm or individual faced with the tort. (Pillsbury, 2017)

France is but one example illustrated by Maques (2018) on how China projects soft power to leverage major World Powers, and the United States is no exception. This propagandist intent is well planned and orchestrated in alignment with the CCP’s long term strategies in

relation to its state economic and military planning, and is directed to work in strict concordance with the Belt and Road Initiative and other economic ventures (Ward, 2019).

Each directive or political stance issued by the Chinese controlled media, or intimated by any member of the CCP, from the very top of the bureaucratic hierarchy down to its lowest tier, is carefully vetted, calibrated and controlled to elicit a specific effect on the minds of the listener (Pillsbury, 2017). President Xi's directives are relayed to the Propaganda Department, which rests on an equal footing to the two other key departments of the CCP, the Organization Department and the Discipline Department, and it is from this Propaganda Department that all informational guidance is delineated.

It must be pointed out that this system is very different than the governmental and media system within the United States, where individuals may express varying opinions. Thus in the United States, a statement elicited by the Executive Department may have a conflicting message than one issued by a Congressional member, or by the same token, a media reporter or an independent observer. However in China, all official edicts as well as media statements must run in accordance with the CCP party line as stipulated by Article 51 of the Chinese Constitution (Ward, 2019), which presents a perception of a unity of purpose, even though many Chinese officials and individuals may have differing personal opinions.

Michael Pillsbury, a former State Department China hand, and current Director of the Center of Chinese Strategy at the Hudson Institute, compares the Chinese Propaganda Department to an extremely highly functioning marketing corporation, with strategically honed goals to control consumer consumption. Pillsbury (2017) explains how each facet of China's

economy, whether it is within the business, digital, or media sphere, must work in synchronicity to project the party line in accordance with the dictates and mandates of the CCP.

Massive armies of internet trolls are hired by the CCP to alter perceptions on social media, as are automatic internet bots with pretabulated messages and AI intelligence to pose as real individuals. The CCP has also reverse engineered social media posts, to analyze which posts gain the most favorable responses, and then repackages these posts in alignment with CCP oriented perceptual goals in order to orchestrate an unconscious and favorable view of China's governmental policies (Spalding, 2019). When adverse reactions occur, the Propaganda Department reassesses their line and then repackages it in order to garner the perception and reaction it desires (Pillsbury, 2017).

This assessment is quite salient as Richard McGregor, an Asia expert and current Bureau Chief of *Financial Times* in Washington D.C., tells the story of Shi Yinhong, who McGregor describes as, "an amiable, chain-smoking professor at Peoples University and an informal advisor to the State Council and Foreign Ministry, (who) praised the idea of a rethinking on Japan" (McGregor, 2018, p. 170). McGregor states that, "Shi believed that stirring up animosity against Japan was not just dangerous for China but counterproductive as well, because it would strengthen Washington's hand in its mission to box Beijing in in Asia" (McGregor, 2018, p. 170). As has been explained earlier in this dissertation, any sensitive issues, especially historical and foreign relations, are prime targets sure to raise the ire of the CCP if not in coterminous alignment with the projected propagandist narrative of the day. On the internet Mr. Shi was attacked as a traitor to his country, and was censured by his university (McGregor, 2018).

In another example provided by McGregor (2018), Ma Licheng, a reporter who worked for the *People's Daily*, was heavily sanctioned for not towing the party line. Mr. Licheng had stated that, “we need the generosity of a great and victorious nation and do not need to be excessively harsh with Japan” (McGregor, 2018, p. 170). Mr. Licheng was labeled as a traitor, and as McGregor (2018) elucidates, threats were made against him and guards were posted at his home, “At the *People's Daily*, the colleagues who supported him didn't dare speak up on his behalf” (McGregor, 2018, p. 171).

McGregor (2018) highlights how the Propaganda Department within China controls every aspect of Chinese media projection:

Even with the rise of the Internet and the fragmenting of the dominant state media, the Propaganda Department ruled supreme over the Chinese press...officials used their position to send out daily and sometimes hourly missives about how stories should be handled, down to their length, placement and shelf life. They also dictated which issues were to be ignored altogether. The department could, and did, turn the temperature up and down on issues like Japan, depending on the Politburo's mood. (McGregor, 2018, p. 173)

Therefore examples on the importance of soft power projection both internally within the borders of China and externally on international perceptions are well evidenced and supported by a host of experts, highlighting the fact that concerns over this propaganda is not limited to American policymakers alone. Not only are Chinese citizens speaking freely directly affected by these soft power techniques, but also Southeast Asian nations such as Taiwan, and European nations such as France. China's unique form of soft power projection is global in scope, and

entails billions upon billions of dollars spent in order to carry out its CCP oriented propagandist goals, which places its efforts in a class all its own in relation to the size and scale of its efforts and undertakings (Gertz, 2019).

Indeed, Michael Pillsbury's example of this soft power projection is extremely telling and relevant in relation to the United States, which is a prime target of the CCP's concerted and highly complex soft power offensive. This propagandist focus by the CCP, is due not only to America's strong economic and military influence on the global level, but is also due to its high profile in regards to being a staunch defender of human rights and a strong supporter of a value system which works in accord with those advanced by the United Nations and other international bodies.

Controlling the Perception in America

Thus controlling, or shaping the narratives and the perceptions of the American people towards a more favorable view of key initiatives which the CCP regards with a high level of importance, is the prime goal of the CCP's Propaganda Department, which it executes with a deft and well practiced hand through a myriad of different avenues.

These postulations may appear at first glance to be unfounded, or perhaps something straight out of a Hollywood movie. However it may be of significant interest that Hollywood, or to a larger degree, the film industry, is a prime target of the CCP's soft power energies. The CCP recognizes with celerity of vision, that artistic and entertainment based perceptual control is presently, and has historically been, a critical piece of propagandist projection. Indeed, during the Cold War, a host of communist sympathizers infiltrated Hollywood, led by a man named Herb Sorell, a labor union leader who had joined the communist party, and was secretly funded

by the Soviet Union, receiving money from the National Executive Council of the Communist Party (Schweizer, 2002). Sorell stated in the party newspaper the *Peoples' Daily World* that, “Hollywood is often called the land of Make-Believe, but there is nothing make believe about the Battle of Hollywood being waged today...The prize will be the complete control of the greatest medium of communication in history” (Schweizer, 2002, p. 7). Thus it should be of significant interest that the CCP has directed the highly regulated film industry in China – to construct massive new state backed film studios and to offer Hollywood and American based companies, filmmakers and directors, highly subsidized funding to conduct their film operations at these studios. The one caveat being that the participating companies comply with all CCP censored materials in the creation of these films as all corporations are required to adhere to the party line (Ward, 2019).

With the steady decline in box office revenues in the United States, China’s ever burgeoning middle class has created a massive new market for the American based film and entertainment corporations. Furthermore, even though there is a steady decline in box-office sales as more and more American’s opt for in home entertainment such as Netflix, the content produced by the traditional film companies are still a heavy influence on the average American’s movie based viewership.

Chinese corporations are also buying studios and cinemas within the United States, with China’s Dalian Wanda Group recently acquiring American Movie Classics, thereby utilizing a name that appears patently American in relation to the average viewers perceptions, in order to then potentially censor films and viewership in relation to CCP dictates, as running afoul of these dictates would not be sanctioned within China proper, and would inevitably lead to sanctions on Dalian Wanda Group (Ward, 2019). This tactic is employed frequently across a wide spectrum of

foreign investments and acquisitions, and it is interesting to note, that the owner of Dalian Wanda Group has close ties and involvement with the PLA (Ward, 2019). Therefore any references within CCP backed films which do not run in clear comportment with the CCP's party line are censored or removed, and the Chinese government is often projected in a positive light, with the villains often represented by traditional enemies such as Russia. These scenarios are evinced in movies such as, "Space," where Sandra Bullock and George Clooney are stranded in space due to a collision with satellite debris caused by a Russian missile, and are only rescued at the last moment by a Chinese crew (Pillsbury, 2017). Ironically, the only nation that has actually fired a missile into space to destroy a satellite and create a litany of space debris in its wake, is China itself (Gertz, 2019).

Furthermore, the CCP is also highly active in utilizing cyber, economic, and what experts such as Pillsbury term, lawfare (Pillsbury, 2017). Indeed the CCP has launched litigation on American based companies which oppose CCP investments or place information which runs contrary to the CCP party line, costing these companies an enormous amount of money, time, effort and labor to defend (Spalding, 2019).

In one instance, an American company that prevailed legally in a federal court against a CCP state backed firm for unfair business practices was then sued by the Chinese company in two separate states for twice the damages it was awarded in the original suit. While many United States firms pay enormous legal costs to defend such litigation, many Chinese corporations are subsidized by the CCP, thus incur little loss (Spalding, 2019). This type of lawfare is meant to dissuade 'dissent' by American based corporations, and also to place Chinese firms in key positions through partnerships and investments which will strengthen the CCP's Comprehensive National Power, and facilitate its goals of reaching the Two Centennials.

Furthermore, the Chinese government's usage of regulatory controls to prohibit investment by American firms that defend human rights is well documented, and runs in concord with what Pillsbury (2017) terms as mapfare. Mapfare is the use of CCP state issued maps designating certain contested areas such as Taiwan and the South China Sea as Chinese sovereign territory, and if represented by a foreign corporation in deviation of the CCP designated maps, a corporation could incur the prohibition of operations, investments, and trading privileges with China. This form of soft power has been utilized to the hilt on many recent occasions, one of whose targets is United Airlines, who covets a share of the massive market China provides in avionic services. When United Airlines listed Taiwan on its airline destinations list without referencing mainland China, the CCP immediately took action and wrote a:

Strongly worded letter (that) demands that all public-facing content, across the world, must follow 'Chinese law.' It gives the airlines a set timeline to comply with the demands, threatening that if not obeyed, the matter will be referred to, 'the relevant cyber-security authorities' for punishment. (Palmer & Allen, 2019, para 2)

The reference to the 'relevant cyber-security authorities,' is an obtuse, yet clear threat for cyberwarfare punishments such as a potential hack of the United Airlines systems to steal user data and cause a security breach for which United Airlines can be fined under United States law for not utilizing proper security measures. CCP state sanctioned hacking, which is often carried out by the cyber wing of the PLA's Third Department (Gertz, 2019), could disrupt air travel by the company, a scenario not only economically damaging to United Airlines, but could also present a potential safety hazard to worldwide travelers (Palmer & Allen, 2019).

Such foreign interference is not only a threat to American based corporations, but also poses a potential threat to American national security. The utilization of cyberwar also prevents the source of the attack from being clear, as the PLA cyber wing often uses a ‘skipping’ technique transiting through the digital servers of several nations, thereby blurring a clear trail of linkage to the direct hacking source. Thus the use of mapfare and cyber warfare provides a potent tactic of leverage and soft power by China to induce corporations to comply with the CCP’s party line, which then alters the perception of the American populace.

Similar disconcerting scenarios have occurred with financial service agencies, the banking industry as well as media outlet companies who have inadvertently referenced what China deems as sensitive materials, such as a map which shows Tibet or Taiwan as separate nations:

Within China, producing material deemed ‘separatist,’ even accidentally — such as by using a map that shows Taiwan in a different color than China – can result in serious legal and political consequences, including fines, public castigation, and even potential jail time. (Palmer & Allen, 2019, para. 5)

An incident recently occurred when the Marriot Hotels website was shut down for a week, “after the hotel company included Taiwan and Tibet in a pull-down list of countries in an online survey sent to Chinese consumers” (Palmer & Allen, 2019, para. 7). Marriot subsequently apologized, as have a great many other corporations of all stripes, as the potential loss of not only future business, but also heavily invested manufacturing facilities, infrastructure, real estate and complex financial and technology based investments, could all be potentially compromised,

frozen or seized by the CCP if the related businesses do not comply with the CCP's soft power and propagandist initiatives (Spalding, 2019).

The recent protests in Hong Kong over the denial of legally granted democratic rights and the backlash against Houston Rockets general manager Daryl Morey, who tweeted an image that stated, "Fight for Freedom. Stand for Hong Kong" (Pramuk, 2019, para. 2), by the Chinese government and its citizens, provides a telling example of how monetary influence and soft power can adversely affect the freedom of speech within the United States. Considering the number of NBA viewers in China is more than the entire population of the United States, this is a real concern for corporations affiliated with the NBA (Pramuk, 2019). Realizing the economic repercussions of his statement, Morey quickly backed off his tweet due to heavy pressure by the owners of the Houston Rockets, with the NBA spokesman Michael Bass stating that Morey's comments, "have deeply offended many of our friends and fans in China, which is regrettable" (Pramuk, 2019, para 3).

Many politicians within the United States swiftly decried the backlash on freedom of expression on Hong Kong's guaranteed Constitutional rights, with Democratic Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer stating:

No one should implement a gag rule on Americans speaking out for freedom...I stand with the people of Hong Kong in their pursuit of democratic rights. I stand with Americans who want to voice their support for the people of Hong Kong. Unacceptable. (Pramuk, 2019, para. 4)

The policy calculus made by the CCP on this issue is compellingly logical, as permitting freedom of expression within Hong Kong – could weaken the overall stability of CCP rule, as

democratic protests could possibly spread to the mainland, thereby precipitating a crisis that could slow China's growth, and stymie or even prevent its potential rise to great power preeminence. Historical echoes of Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* provide a telling tale to China's ruling party of the potential cascading effect of permitting such liberties within an authoritarian system. In addition, as the CCP begins to technologically and financially integrate Macau, Hong Kong and Shenzhen into what is termed in China as the larger Bay Area, the CCP is most likely looking with an eye to the future, when Hong Kong will eventually be subsumed into the single Chinese economy as stipulated within the expiry of the treaty China signed with Great Britain in 1997 (McGregor, 2018).

As illustrated in the previous pages, China does not follow the rule of law, but rather practices law by rule (Ward, 2019). While an anathema to outside observers, the CCP's dictates are not without reason or method. However the highly publicized incident of the NBA and free speech rights within the United States, highlights the influence that the massive Chinese market has on the actions and practices of the American corporate sector, as well as those of freedom of expression within the United States.

CCP Soft Power on the American Higher Education Sector

These soft power issues take on a particular salience in relation to the higher education community and the protection of academic freedom, as the Chinese government increasingly asserts its desire for corporations and other entities, including universities, to follow lockstep in accordance with Chinese law, which in effect is controlled by President Jinping, the CCP and the Propaganda Department of the PRC (Ward, 2019).

It is important to recognize the fact that American universities are considered institutional corporations in themselves, and have a dual mandate both to provide an education as well as remain economically solvent through business dealings and corporate affiliations (Dayton, 2015). While universities receive funding from the federal and state government, they also reap massive dividends from their business relationships with other corporate entities such as banks, technology companies, publishing companies and foreign entities.

American student associations, which are the organizations which often issue guidance on moral and ethical issues in relation to higher education, also fall into the same category as universities in relation to corporate funding, though the funding they receive is far less transparent due to protections accorded under statutory corporate provisions and protections (Kelchen, 2018).

The point being made here is that indirect corporate influences that provide significant funding to universities and student associations, are one of the main targets of the CCP soft power campaign, and are vulnerable to such undue influence on a myriad of different fronts. The potential for many of these academic institutions, who have found themselves fiscally underfunded by diminished federal and state grants and subsidies, are a prime target for the soft power influences of the CCP both directly and indirectly through their corporate affiliations.

While the main focus within this section of the dissertation will be on the evidence based analysis of CCP soft power efforts to infiltrate and control the spectrum of thought through governmental organs such as the CI's, as well as through monetary influence within academic publishing circles, the focus on student associations, as well as other corporate and academically affiliated partners is key to this policy analysis.

This is due to the fact that sound policy analysis is based upon proactive risk management techniques, which entails due diligence by academic officials to avoid liability and to protect key revenue streams from potential disruption. As Henry Kissinger has intimated, empiricism is the adversary of sound policy (Kaplan, 2019), as an adept administrator does not wait for an adverse event to occur, but rather seeks to prevent such an occurrence before it comes to fruition. Thus, exploring key points of vulnerability within the higher education system is a pertinent and cogent portion of the following policy analysis.

The CCP has recognized the various points of vulnerability within the academic fields as well as America's democratic institutions, and has been extremely effective in utilizing its cyber, economic, regulatory and lawfare techniques to alter the social perception of the average American, as well as the institutions who American citizens view as the symbolic fountainheads of free speech, expression and the search for the truth (Diamond, 2018). This is due to the fact that many universities and student associations, in order to hold stable corporate and business relationships with nonacademic business partners, inadvertently come into compliance with the standards and norms of nonacademic corporate statutory guidance and are in effect, being shaped by the CCP in relation to sensitive topics that the Propaganda Department has deemed unacceptable and subject to punishment if not complied with accordingly.

Thus, as large corporations comply with the CCP party line to maintain market shares within China or to avoid other putative measures applied by the CCP, they indirectly influence higher education institutions. In a great many cases, this reality is a matter of simple market based economics. While this concept seems disarticulated at first blush, the following examples should clarify this subtle yet effective soft power technique.

Standardization of Perception

Bruno Maques, the former Portuguese Foreign Minister and current financial advisor explains that:

Most companies will prefer to standardize their production process rather than have different process for different jurisdictions. This may be due to the scale economies associated with a single global production process or, in many cases with legal or technical indivisibility of their operations; a global merger between two companies, for example, is valid for every jurisdiction. (Maques, 2018, p. 42)

Essentially, what Maques (2018) is explicating, is that if the Chinese government creates stringent regulations that comport with the CCP party line, and requires American corporations to abide by these standards in order to conduct business within China, then the corporations have not only a monetary interest to comply with these standards due to the size of the market, but also to create duplicate standards along the supply chain in order to save costs and bring these standards to scale, as creating a host of different standards for each jurisdiction in which they do business impinges on their capital margins. Thus many corporate and associational relationships with universities could thereby fall under the standards of the Chinese government, as the services rendered by these corporations are based upon a financial incentive to comport with the CCP party line in an effort to prevent duplicative services and standards.

Such deductions become strikingly clear in the recent spate of cases in which the CCP has been limiting the publication in China of certain academic journals and articles from traditional and long respected academic publishing companies such as *Cambridge Press* and *Springer Nature Press*. In a highly sensationalized case over academic freedom which sparked

outries from the academic community as well as the Association of University Presses, *Cambridge Press*:

Briefly blocked access in mainland China to more than 1000 Journal articles in the prestigious journal *The China Quarterly* before reversing course and restoring access to the articles, which dealt with sensitive topics in China like the Cultural Revolution, Tibet, Tiananmen Square, pro-democracy movements, and the Xinjiang region” (Redden, 2019, para. 12).

Springer Nature Press however, has continued to limit certain content in China in order to preserve the wider access to the other articles it publishes. This is where business interests and market based policies intersect with academic freedom, as *Cambridge Press* may have had more to lose monetarily in its institutional prestige and branding, and hence future profits by restricting the articles it publishes, even though there is a grey area as to whether removing certain articles is ethical and in comportment with preserving academic freedom. *Springer Nature Press* on the other hand, decided that restricting certain articles in order to maintain market shares with China, superseded the public outcry over the state ordered censorship.

The argument could be made by *Springer Nature Press*, however, that by permitting certain articles to be published within China, a current of cultural and academic exchange could be maintained between China and Western academic research based publications, however such postulations and precedents could lead to a slippery slope where censorship becomes normalized.

Considering that publishers are businesses, and that each nation creates its own sovereign legal definitions in relation to free speech and academic freedom, the legal definitions and

designations of academic freedom will inevitably vary between Western nations, thus creating a blurring of what the appropriate ethical action of a publisher is in relation to a given situation.

The fact that many academics want to make their content and publications available to as wide as an audience as possible, in order to increase their own prestige and marketability in the highly competitive academic research fields, could lead to self censorship or the acceptance that certain writings may be removed under CCP party dictates, regardless of the academic integrity or restriction of academic freedoms that may be incurred. This creates an incentive for the academic writer to censor their writing in alignment with the CCP's dictates on appropriate terminology in order to have their works included in larger journal publications and readership. This issue also plays into the steadily declining number of tenured professors within academia as has been referenced in the earlier sections of this dissertation.

With American universities relying increasingly on adjunct positions within the higher education sphere to cut costs on dwindling budgets, non-tenured faculty facing the publish or perish dichotomy, are even more likely to self-censure their publications in order to ensure that their *curriculum vitae* is impressive to university hiring committees for tenure track positions. In his book, *The Russians*, Hedrick Smith (1976) relates how self censorship during Secretary Brezhnev's era of detente slowly crept into a writers consciousness by the lure of material goods and opportunity for complying with the Soviet party line, "Not long before I left Moscow, Yevgeny Yevtushenko caught the mood in a little poem that mocked the way that liberal writers were being tamed [by]... That internal villain of self censorship, *Kompromis Kompromisovich*" (Smith, 1976, p. 667). Yevtushenko's poem reads thus:

Whispers from within:

“Well, don’t you be too choosy
Alter a line a bit.”
Calculating everything with an abacus,
This recruiter of compromises
Buys us off with things,
Like big children –
He buys us off with flats,
Furniture, showy fashions,
And we’re no longer belligerent,
We raise a noise – only when we’re drinking. (Smith, 1976, p. 668)

In another interesting aside, CCP controlled Chinese publishing companies have been purchasing controlling shares in traditional academic publishing companies, as well creating corporate affiliate relationships with these companies in order to facilitate and leverage policies and decisions within the corporate press boardrooms themselves. Many of these Chinese companies are difficult to trace to the CCP directly, and thus easily gain access within the American financial and business markets where legal oversight is lax in relation to such issues (Spalding, 2019). These methods are utilized frequently and effectively to induce publishing companies to come into compliance with the CCP’s propagandist party line.

The fact that many CCP affiliated corporations provide massive bonuses, rolling concessions and other financial incentives to CEO’s of American corporations for towing the CCP party line (Spalding, 2019), also has the potential to create CCP based stringency standards along the supply chain that could directly affect the quality of publications, and restrict academic freedom within the American university system. For example, cases have recently come to light

in which entire portions of articles have been removed from peer reviewed academic publications by prestigious academic publishers such as *Brill Press*, which on its editorial board, “lists scholars from major American and international universities – including Cornell University, Duke University, [and] Harvard University...its editor in chief is based at New York University” (Redden, 2019, para. 3).

Brill discloses the fact that it is associated with China’s Ministry of Education, however this disclosure is mentioned in Chinese and not in English, leading many academics to publish their papers unknowingly thinking that the academic freedom to have their writings represented in their entirety would be a given, considering the traditional course of trade and past publishing practices in academia. Lorraine Wong and Jacob Edmond, both professors at the University of Otago in New Zealand, had their academic publications edited by *Brill Press*, removing key excerpts composing major portions of their work that was deemed unsuitable by China’s Ministry of Education. Wong and Edmond wrote that:

In subsequent correspondence, we have discovered from senior colleagues that others, particularly colleagues in junior and vulnerable positions, have also been caught in the unexpected application of censorship to a journal that, at a casual glance, might appear to sit outside the boundaries of Chinese government control... We believe that it is precisely the blurring of boundaries between publication inside and outside Mainland China that makes the precedent particularly worrying and insidious... what happens when it is no longer obvious where something was published and according to which rules? Moreover, in these straitened times, dependence on editorial and financial support may well lead other editors, academics and publishing houses outside China to add their stamp of legitimacy to such censorship. (Redden, 2019, para. 14)

Considering the legal confidentiality of business relationships and other contractual matters mandated within the American legal system, the controlling shares of major textbook companies such as Pearson Group and McGraw Hill, the two largest producers of textbooks for universities across America, have the potential to be captured to a certain extent by Chinese corporate influence. This potential soft power capture is extremely cogent, as both of these companies are expanding their corporate investments and ventures to foreign markets with an exclusive focus on electronic textbooks. As one expert stated in relation to the recent Cengage and McGraw textbook merger:

Both Cengage and McGraw-Hill have weathered a difficult decade in a rapidly changing textbook industry. Both publishers have moved away from traditional textbook models. Rather than selling print textbooks, the publishers now have [e-book] rental programs to reduce the number of books that can be resold in the used book market. (McKenzie, 2019, para. 11)

Considering the highly competitive textbook market, falling revenues, and the tantalizingly lucrative markets of China, with its vast population and swiftly rising middle class eager to acquire educational materials, many textbook companies may be highly vulnerable to soft power influence by the CCP. This is due to the fact, that by simply removing certain subjects or specific terminology so as to comport with the party line of the CCP – will lead to the facilitation of access to millions of potential students and business ventures in China which would otherwise be out of reach. This consideration is not very farfetched considering the CCP's implementation of the Corporate Social Credit System which will utilize AI and other methods within the Big Intelligence System to censure and sanction foreign corporations and their

affiliates if such companies in any way offend the CCP or step askew of its propagated narrative (Gertz, 2019).

The standard to scale model profitability incentive, as discussed earlier, which standardizes various systems according to the most stringent standards in the market sectors in which a company operates in order to produce a continuity between a variety of legal and economic standards, thereby provides an economic incentive to frame textbook materials whether they be historical, political, or economic within the stringent standards expressed by the CCP. Thus the CCP's censorship may very well find its way into the very educational books utilized and distributed throughout the American educational system, both through traditional economic incentives as well as indirect foreign investment. This is not to suggest that history or other subjects will be revised *per se* due to this influence, but rather that key events, phraseology, maps or chosen narratives could be removed or altered so as to fall into alignment with prescribed CCP party doctrines.

The fact that many standards and norms within the higher education sector are often dictated by educational association groups, such as the American Association for University Administrators (AAUP), which sets the benchmarks for moral and ethical conduct in student affairs as well as the policy foundations from which many university charters and operational plans are based (Kelchen, 2018), is another major point of vulnerability to the CCP within the higher education sector. Many of these student associations, are in effect funded in a large part by educational corporations such as Pearson and McGraw Hill through confidential contracts which protect disclosure of opaque funding streams and associational business relationships. This leads to the logical deduction, that there is a very real risk to the overall academic integrity of the entire academic system within the United States. The rolling out of China's new Corporate

Social Credit System which punishes any corporation that portrays China in an adverse light as dictated by the CCP party line will only increase this risk (Gardner, 2019).

Thus through the undisclosed relationships of contractual confidentiality, third party subsidiary agreements, various forms of shareholder controls, and limited investment in the corporations that fund these associations, it is very possible, that Chinese state backed corporations and individuals can implement subversive soft power campaigns through such tactics, all within a legally permitted corporate based sphere, in order to further the interests of the CCP's propagandist campaigns.

As stated earlier within this dissertation, all Chinese based corporations as mandated by the Chinese Constitution (Ward, 2019) must comply with the CCP's party dictates. Corporations or individuals that do not comply with the CCP party line could face penalties under the Social Credit System or other CCP jurisprudential bodies. The fact that many Chinese corporations are reliant upon China's state subsidies, or loans from China's national banks, which could be cut if these corporations fall out of line, provides an impetus for China's corporate business leaders and firms to advance policies that follow the prescribed party narrative.

The fact American companies routinely print the books that student affairs professionals are required to read in administrative graduate programs as prescribed by these educational associations, which could themselves be influenced by indirect CCP control, is a telling example of the often shrouded corporate contractual relationships which could permit the CCP to shape and influence the higher education sector in ever more discreet and subversive ways. Thus the very education that university administrative officials receive relating to ethical standards and administrative conduct, such as business negotiations, contractual agreements and a slew of other

key administrative and policy related curricula, is in effect a reflection of corporate standards that could include the subversive interest of foreign entities such as China.

This is not to say that all student associations are captured by foreign interests, but rather highlights the ironic fact that these seemingly unbiased associational groups, which set moral standards for our university systems, could lead to a form of university capture, and may possess a set of standards orchestrated in alignment with a foreign government such as China.

The fact that higher education accreditation is regulated by sectional associations overseen by the Council on Higher Education Accreditation, itself an association, and legally appointed by the Department of Education to regulate the sectional associations which provide accreditation to colleges and universities nationwide (Kelchen, 2018), is also alarming considering the ramifications of monetary influence highlighted above in relation to student associations.

While many of these postulations are seemingly speculative in nature, these potentialities are a real phenomenon, and many examples abound which support the suppositions and deductions highlighted above. For example, Pearson Group, which also specializes in standardized tests and curriculum creation, aside from its top tier textbook branch, has been recently investigated by New York State's attorney general for financing a host of trips to various educational officials both inside and outside the United States with the goal of securing deals through its lobbying largesse, with China being amongst its top clients. The *New York Times* reported that the former New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman, had issued subpoenas on the Pearson Foundation, investigating whether the foundation violated state law through the non-disclosure of foreign monetary donations, as the Pearson Foundation could have

used its nonprofit tax exempt status, to benefit Pearson Education, which is for a for profit entity (Winerip, 2012). The report further highlights the fact that some of Pearson's potentially illicit lobbying trips to China were sponsored by educational associations. The link between major corporations, the funding provided to university associations by corporations such as Pearson, as well as the direct investments and contractual business relationships universities engage in with a host of foreign entities, should arouse critical thoughts within American's academic community.

Considering the hard and fast examples provided above in relation to China's censorship on publishing, as well as the wider domestic based corporate influence as evinced in the NBA's swift backtracking on comments on the freedom of democracy in order to maintain market profitability in China, it is posited that higher educational associational affiliates will logically protect their interests in order to protect their corporate shareholders, which in effect could have severe implications for academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

Thus, the CCP can potentially redirect and censor academics through publishing companies, textbook corporations, student associations as well as accreditation associations, due to the attenuated linkage of monetary interest. This influence has the potential to trickle down into the academic sphere of universities in a multiplicity of ways. The perverse incentive for professors or academic researchers to self-censor their publications or arguments so as ensure a given article is published, a necessity to gain tenure as well as to maintain status within the university system, especially in the ever more competitive realm of higher education which has seen a major reduction in full paying tenured jobs, is just one example of a very real phenomenon. Such censorship is not only detrimental to the students whom they teach, but also to the wider public and professional sectors. This is due to the fact that the key foundational elements and on which students form their world views and on which the public receives its

information, are interrelated to the decisions voters make in deciding upon issues and political candidates, and which professionals base their policy decisions. In effect, by controlling the narrative, the CCP can indirectly alter perception.

Direct Acquisition of American Universities

The soft power influence that China projects to limit academic freedom and to alter social perceptions in the United States – is not always as complex and indirect as the concessions based acquisition of publishing companies, nor the associational capture by educational corporations, but in some cases is quite explicit and direct. For example, China has recently been acquiring a host of universities across America both through state backed corporations as well as private investors. As explicated earlier, the CCP controls and monitors all business transactions from its SOC's down the market chain to small businesses and individual investments.

In a recent article by *Inside Higher Education*, the threats to academic freedom posed by the Chinese acquisition of university campuses are brought to the fore, when a Chinese company named Kaiwen Education Technology Company sought to buy a Princeton based college. Kaiwen Education Technology's actual controlling party is Haidian People's Government State Owned Supervision and Administration Commission (Redden, 2018). Many in the academic community were concerned with the implications of such a purchase, not only on national security grounds, as Princeton holds affiliational relationships with the American defense sector, but also on concerns to academic freedom. Thus litigation was launched to defend the sale. Attorney Bruce Afran, stated the sale was unprecedented in nature:

This American college will be taken over by a corporation that is owned and controlled by the government of China, which does not recognize any degree of academic freedom

and which has a state policy subordinating colleges to governmental and Communist Party principles. It is diametrically contrary to the understanding of an American institution of higher education. (Redden, 2018, para. 7)

While litigation is ongoing, Afran's claim that the sale is unprecedented is unfortunately not the case as *Forbes Magazine* highlights that, "Chinese companies already have purchased Bay State College in Boston, Dowling College in New York, Daniel Webster College in New Hampshire, and Chester College of New England" (Moody, 2018, para. 4). *Forbes Magazine* reports that many of these purchases – are a result of many American universities not being able to attain the necessary funding to remain open, and hence is another direct link between dwindling funding reserves and the potential for the CCP to utilize its monetary largesse to potentially influence the higher education sector. While these purchases may seem innocuous, the influence of direct purchases of American based universities poses severe implications on the academic freedom of these recently acquired universities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has also raised concerns of the theft of sensitive materials and research from universities by PLA based agents, with Assistant Director John Brown of the FBI's Counterintelligence Division stating in a recent investigation that, "The FBI recognizes the immense benefit of academic freedom in our open society, and we will investigate those who break our laws in an effort to take advantage of that freedom" (Magnier, 2019, para. 12).

The fact that the digital servers of a university purchased by a CCP associated entity, which contain e-mails, research and personal information of professors and students, could be easily be accessed by university officials, as all such information is available to high level administrative staff (Dayton, 2015), and lead not only to sensitive material being lifted from these databases, but also the sanctioning of professors writing on subjects the CCP deems to be

sensitive. This could in effect, lead to the blacklisting of publications, the banning of travel visas, the reduction or elimination intercultural exchanges, as well as sanctions and punishments for Chinese based professors, students and their families residing in China. Considering that many professors are non tenured due to the fiscal savings many American universities incur by not providing benefits to these adjunct staff, and are hired on annual or multi-year contracts which require no given rationale for the cancelations of their contracts, the threats to the academic freedom of these non tenured staff for taking positions on issues such as humans rights violations by the CCP, could be put in severe jeopardy. Thus the direct purchase of American universities by Chinese SOC's could have a chilling effect on free speech.

Denial of Access

However, the direct CCP projection of soft power is not limited to university acquisitions alone, and has also extended towards limiting the free expression of American academics and researchers in universities and think tanks across the United States. Indeed, the CCP seeks to extend their version of CCP based educational and policy narrative through the leverage of denying travel access to China, as well as limiting the cooperation between Chinese sanctioned research centers and United States based think tanks.

Michael Pillsbury, the current director of the Hudson Institute, highlights how the Chinese government has implemented a program termed the 'Friends of China,' which is essentially a list of scholars, writers, groups and universities, who have written positive reports, reviews and publications favorable to the Chinese government (Pillsbury, 2017). These individuals are given the greenlight to consult, travel and work with sanctioned Chinese academics and scholars. However conversely, there is also a sanctioned individuals list, which

denies such privileges as access and travel to individuals who voice objections to the policies Beijing might be implementing, such as the repression of Tibetan Monks, the quelling of free speech, or the imprisonment of attorneys, artists and other intellectuals within China for such unlawful deviations from state authority. Thus the prospect of avoiding references and research that may be controversial or considered inflammatory to the CCP in order to maintain access to Chinese intellectuals residing within the mainland, proves a key pressure point of Chinese soft power. Considering the additional fact that many researchers and scholars depend upon revenue streams and matching funds from Chinese based institutions to keep their programs and organizations fiscally solvent, provides another point of leverage well known to the CCP, in the fact that many administrators or directors of a program dependent upon such monies, will presumably dictate, edit and direct the subjects and works of the researchers themselves, impinging upon their freedom of expression, through the pressure exerted on a continued financial relationship with a CCP based funding source.

Gertz (2019) posits that censorship by university and think tank administrators furthers the goals of the CCP, and is in effect trading democratic integrity for dollars:

These China hands do not care as long as they can make money from China and they are free to travel to Beijing and not be shunned as ‘special’ category persons deemed unfriendly to the Communist Party, or worse – an out right enemy of the state. (Gertz, 2019, p. 41)

While university and think tank administrators have a tough balancing act in relation to CCP monetary pressure, there is no doubt that the potential soft power influence on corporations, publishing companies, textbook marketers, academic associational groups, universities and think

tanks is immense. The fact that such soft power methods are being carried out through a variety of complex financial, contractual, direct and indirect investments and involvements, highlights how the CCP's Three Warfare strategy is being carried on in earnest and to great effect. As the United States National Defense Strategy makes clear in their assessment of Chinese soft power projection, "Three Warfare is comprised of psychological warfare, public opinion warfare, and legal warfare... Three Warfare strategy [is designed] to undermine an adversary's resolve in a contingency or conflict" (NDS, 2017, p. 124).

These are the twines, diffuse in action, yet concerted in effort, which are all part of a single rope leading to one source, the CCP. However there are three direct and critically important soft power methods that the CCP is utilizing, each funded and supported by a specific branch of the Chinese government tasked with organizing and projecting soft power on the United States that deserve to be studied in greater depth. These are: the – Hanban backed Confucius Institutes (CI's), the United Front backed Chinese Student and Scholar Associations (CSSA's), and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) backed Picking Flowers to make Honey Campaign.

Confucius Institutes and the Façade of Benevolence

The official website of the Hanban, the CCP controlled organization tasked with overseeing the operation of the CI's states that, "The Confucius Institute U.S. Center, is a not for profit education institution in Washington D.C. with the mission of strengthening educational and cultural exchanges and fostering people to people interactions between China and the United States" (Hanban, 2019, para. 1).

Hanban officials maintain that recent recriminations about the CI's restricting academic freedoms has adversely affected the public's understanding of the CI's, and is largely driven by political pressures. The Hanban also claims that the alleged misunderstandings and misinformation stems from accusations from a host of different higher education organizations such as the American Association for University Professors (AAUP). The AAUP has stated in a recent report that the CI's are controlled by the CCP and directly compromise the academic freedom of American universities:

Academic activities are under the supervision of Hanban, a Chinese state agency which is chaired by a member of the Politburo and the vice-premier of the People's Republic of China...Specifically, North American universities permit Confucius Institutes to advance a state agenda in the recruitment and control of academic staff, in the choice of curriculum, and in the restriction of debate. ...Allowing any third-party control of academic matters is inconsistent with principles of academic freedom, shared governance, and the institutional autonomy of colleges and universities. (AAUP, 2014, para. 2)

There are also reports of censorship by the CI's on university campuses in controlling the information and perception of students, faculty and professors alike in order to shape the narrative in favor of CCP policies. As a report by the United States Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations relates:

Confucius Institute funding comes with strings that can compromise academic freedom. The Chinese government approves all teachers, events, and speakers. Some U.S. schools contractually agree that both Chinese and U.S. laws will apply. The Chinese teachers sign

contracts with the Chinese government pledging they will not damage the national interests of China. Such limitations attempt to export China's censorship of political debate and prevent discussion of potentially politically sensitive topics. Indeed, U.S. school officials told the Subcommittee that Confucius Institutes were not the place to discuss controversial topics like the independence of Taiwan or the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989. (Portman, 2019, p. 4)

While employing professors to shape the narrative is one example of CCP influence within CI's, there is a very real fear by many Chinese students that the CI institutes may compromise their future careers and their safety if they mistakenly write or say something that is deemed as contrary to the CCP party line and are reported on to Chinese authorities by fellow students or CI based professors. International Chinese students studying abroad, have been reported to CCP authorities on many occasions for speaking freely, and not 'showing gratitude,' to the CCP (Lintner, 2019).

While such restrictions on free expression may seem farfetched, take, for example, an account – by a Chinese student at Duke University named Ms. Lee – who was photographed holding her hands with a time out symbol as she attempted to mediate a protest between a pro-Tibet group and a much larger pro-China group. Her picture was posted and was placed upon a Chinese student internet forum with a title that labeled her a traitor to her country, and also contained her contact information as well as the address to her parent's residence in Qinqdao (Shalia, 2008). Threats against Ms. Lee and her family forced her parents to go into hiding, and even went so far as to suggest that, if she were to return to China, her corpse would be chopped into thousands of pieces (Shalia, 2008). Other Chinese students studying in the United States have been imprisoned for speaking freely, and high ranking CCP officials have been observed on

campuses such as UC Berkeley meeting with Chinese students to inform them that they must be loyal to their country, with the implicit undertones given that there would be punishments if they showed any disloyalty (Spalding, 2019).

Indeed, the CCP has not only initiated cyber campaigns to block such expressions of speech by Chinese students studying abroad, but it has also begun kidnapping Chinese citizens who have run afoul of the party line, drugging them, and then renditioning them back to China:

In 2014, Beijing formally announced that it was expanding its anti-corruption campaign, known as Skynet or Fox Hunt, to target officials living broad. As part of this and other efforts, China claims to have repatriated more than 3,000 individuals since late 2012. The use of kidnapping and illegal detention has become such a standard part of the Communist Party's disciplinary procedures that it even has a name, *shuanggui*. In order to isolate suspects in corruption cases — which are often intertwined with fights among party factions — security officials seize them, hold them in undisclosed locations, and torture them to extract quick confessions. (Dorfman, 2018, para. 14)

Surprisingly many administrators, professors and students have little knowledge that a culture of fear is being propagated on their campuses, or that a Chinese exchange student sitting next to them, could fear that a CI contracted professor might report them to CCP authorities or post them online for speaking freely. Such fears and the reality of severe punishment by the CCP, moves far beyond the lessons and information being withheld from a young American mind on such issues as human rights violations that the Chinese government makes so much effort to conceal.

Much like the facial recognition systems and audio recording equipment placed in classrooms in mainland China which can be linked to the Big Intelligence System and then applied to an individual's Social Credit Score, or the CCP supervisors monitoring a Chinese professors every move, textbook assignment, and lecture, the CI's are transferring the educational culture of the CCP's surveillance and fear based curricula to the shores of America. This is not the traditional culture of Confucius, nor the good hearted will of the Chinese people as has been represented by the CCP, but rather a method of perceptual control aimed at the heart of the American academic system.

This is an age old practice, an essential organ of fear based censorship and suppression. It is a term deemed institutionalized mutual suspicion, where each individual in seeking to protect their own welfare, self-censors themselves for fear that another individual will report them to the relevant authorities and ruin their lives or career. Institutionalized mutual suspicion in an authoritarian based system is described by Oxford Historian Alan Bullock:

Informing and denunciation were an essential part of the system...many saw denunciation as a way to divert attention from themselves and win the favor of those in power. The corrosive effect of this was to destroy that minimum of mutual trust on which human relations depend and leave individual human beings isolated from one another. (Bullock, 1991, p. 506)

There is a popular non attributable anecdote that Secretary Khrushchev was making a speech after he had risen to power in the Politburo after the death of Stalin that bears relation to the institutionalized mutual suspicion practiced by the CCP on American campuses. In the speech Secretary Khrushchev was denouncing Stalin and the terrible purges that had occurred

during his reign. While making the speech a note was handed to him. It read, "Mr. Secretary, if you knew all the evils which Mr. Stalin had committed why did you stand by and do nothing?" Secretary Khrushchev paused for a moment, and then looked out at the crowd and said, "Will the person who wrote this note please stand up." There was a hushed silence, nobody moved. "There is your answer," replied Khrushchev.

The anecdote illustrates a simple point, that being the power of propagated fear with the express goal of make human beings distrust one another and to fall into line with a prescribed authoritarian goal mandated by the CCP. Such institutionalized based fear has no place in the halls of American universities, as the United States is an open society based upon freedom of expression and Constitutional protections. While such institutionalized fear may be practiced within the United States to various degrees, such practices are unlawful, while under the CCP it is a mandated and state sanctioned practice. Thus while the difference is subtle, there is a clear bright line of differentiation to be made here.

The infringement of United States sovereignty by the CI's onto the campuses of the American universities nationwide is without a doubt a major threat to the academic freedom of both professors as well as students, and must given serious consideration. To provide validity to the previous claims consider perhaps the most seminal report on the CI's by the National Association of Scholars (NAS). In Rachel Peterson's groundbreaking National Association of Scholars (NAS) report on the CI's (Peterson, 2018), the NAS provides a comprehensive and evidence based case study on the significant threat the CI's pose to academic freedom on American campuses. Peter Wood, the President of the NAS makes his support of the report as well as its findings quite clear, stating that:

Confucius Institutes have nothing to do with the ancient Chinese sage. They are ostensibly centers for teaching American student's Chinese language and teaching courses on Chinese arts. In reality, they are instruments of what Harvard University professor Joseph Nye calls 'soft power.' That is, they attempt to persuade people towards a compliant attitude, rather than coerce conformity. (Peterson, 2018, p. 12)

While many academic administrators possess knowledge of the CI's and their well-documented attempts to quell free speech and expression on American campuses, it has proven exceedingly difficult to motivate these university leaders towards a concerted policy oriented action in order to remedy this ongoing crisis. Peter Wood queries:

Are they naïve about the appearance of putting the credibility of their institutions at risk by making them subject to the whims of a foreign government that summarily rejects the freedom of expression and open inquiry that are bedrock principles of American higher education? Are they indifferent to the possible abuse of the rights of the Chinese students studying in the United States? (Peterson, 2018, p. 12)

There is indeed not a simple answer to these relevant questions, as the complexity and diversity of individuals and academic cultures is varied and copious beyond measure. However beyond the funding and monetary benefits accrued by the host institutions in engaging in contractive agreements with the CI's, administrators also have to consider the massive amounts of funding that Chinese students bring to university campuses that have faced scarce federal and state funding streams.

It is estimated that Chinese students studying in America contribute over twenty billion dollars in added revenue to universities nationwide (Spalding, 2019). Thus, if administrators

Speak openly about the CI's or CCP censorship, they may be faced with the prospect of being labeled as anti-Chinese by the CCP, and face declining enrollment of their institutions. In addition, many American universities have research related contracts with Chinese based firms which might also be adversely affected if they speak out against the CI's directly. Faced with dwindling budgets, and also the need to provide access and opportunity to American students, university administrators are put in a difficult position when faced with CCP based censorship.

The University of South Florida (USF) provides a case in point on upper level administrators not speaking out on the potential censorship and restrictions to academic freedom that the CI's pose to both American and Chinese professors and students. In a recent article in the *Tampa Bay Times* on the USF's decision to shutter the CI's on its campus, USF Provost Ralph Wilcox stated that the decision to end its CI program, "had more to do with declining enrollment than national security concerns" (Altman, 2019, para. 3). However the administration did concede that the National Defense Authorization Act, which will be discussed in further detail below, did play a role in USF's decision to close its CI program as the university did not want to potentially lose vital national defense funding for its participation with the CI's (Altman, 2019).

A professor at Georgetown University who specializes on China's interest in the American higher education sector was interviewed by the *Tampa Bay Times*, and commented that, "the institutes are 'cogs in a larger wheel' of effort by China to increase its global influence through the acquisition of science and technology" (Altman, 2019, para. 15). The professor further elucidated that the CI's pose a risk to sensitive research and intellectual property citing USF's close relations with Special Operations Command at MacDill Air Force Base. The *Tampa Bay Times* built upon this premise stating, "In theory, the Confucius Institutes could serve as a

resource to place Chinese agents in positions where they could obtain information from a variety of government, military, academic and business institutions” (Altman, 2019, para. 16).

While both the Georgetown professor and Provost Wilcox acknowledged that there was no evidence of such theft, nor espionage taking place on the USF campus in relation to the CI’s, there is a growing body of evidence, detailed below in the PLA section of this dissertation, to suggest that the CCP has made a concerted effort to steal intellectual property and research on a massive scale.

What is interesting about the *Tampa Bay Times* reportage on USF and its severing of contractual relations with the CI’s on its campus, is that academic freedom and censorship is only mentioned in passing in the article, and not even commented upon by the USF administration, whereas the main focus is related to funding, intellectual property theft and potential espionage related activities.

The *Tampa Bay Times* article highlights that the decision to close the CI’s was spurred by Florida Senator Marco Rubio’s letter to Florida State University system leaders, which focused exclusively on the restrictions of freedom of expression, academic freedom and censorship in relation to the CI’s on Florida’s university campuses. Senator Rubio’s letter reads:

There is mounting concern about the Chinese government’s increasingly aggressive attempts to use ‘Confucius Institutes’ and other means to influence foreign academic institutions and critical analysis of China’s past history and present policies. Additionally, the PRC continues its efforts to interfere in multilateral institutions, threaten and intimidate rights of defenders and their families, and impose censorship mechanisms on foreign publishers and social media companies. (Rubio, 2018, para. 1)

Considering the implications of the CI's and other CCP state sponsored entities operating within the USF campus and other universities across the United States, it is telling that the USF administration did not comment upon such potential restrictions and intimidation Chinese students studying at USF could face if they were reported on by CI staff for speaking freely.

Senator Rubio comments, "Much more difficult to measure but no less insidious, however, is the self censorship that often takes place in academic settings where there is a Chinese government presence in the form of a Confucius Institute" (Rubio, 2018, para. 6).

The decision not to comment nor mention the potential restrictions to academic freedom by USF administrators in ending relations with the CI's was politic, in the sense that by focusing on funding related matters, they could avoid an issue that could evolve into a larger politicized debate, maintain a healthy stream of tuition based revenue by Chinese based students, and continue fiscally lucrative contractual relations on other research initiatives with CCP backed entities.

However considering that the USF administrators most certainly read Senator Rubio's letter, and understood the methods the CCP is utilizing to intimidate and punish dissenting students and faculty, the ethical and moral decision not to bring such issues to the fore, gives the appearance that while administrators are placed in a difficult position, they are indeed trading academic freedom for dollars (Peterson, 2018).

Thus NAS President Peter Wood's comments about the naiveté of administrators is misplaced, at least in relation to administrators on the highest levels, as this writer speculates that the issue is not that these administrators are uninformed of the CCP's restrictions on academic

freedom and other fear based practices through the CI's, but rather that a policy decision has been made which places monetary concerns over those of ethical ones.

However NAS President Wood's comments that administrators are perhaps, "indifferent to the possible abuse of the rights of the Chinese students studying in the United States" (Peterson, 2018, p. 12), is an accurate one in that by looking over their shoulders, and keeping the issue *sotto voce*, these administrators could compromise the future and safety of a Chinese student seeking to improve their lives while studying upon campuses across the United States.

However there is also an underlying ideological and hermeneutical perspective that university administrators often face, for in singling out a specific government or nation in a report, such as China or the CCP, they might be perceived as participating in xenophobic actions or a politics of partisanship. If such issues become hyper-politicized as often happens within the currently divisive media realm, then administrators could face losing their jobs, or damaging the institutional prestige of the university. Recognizing the highly partisan divisions within the United States, these divisions are intentionally propagated and fanned by CCP who equate opposition to its policies as rooted in the China threat theory, which the CCP claims is based on prejudice and a Cold War mentality (CDD, 2019).

Utilizing its governmental organs, media presence and other public outlets, all controlled by the CCP based Propaganda Department, the CCP has the ability to portray any valid and reasonable concerns by university administrators as rooted in prejudice or cultural bias. The irony being that if an administrator actually spoke out against the CCP based repression of academic freedom to protect American and Chinese students, that they could be labeled and accused of being Sinophobic. This CCP based propagandist strategy seeks to divide the academic

community who are often uninformed of the critical threats to academic freedom that the CI's pose to academic institutions, as well as the larger psychological operations campaigns that the CCP is practicing on the democratic institutions of the United States (Easton, 2017). Further findings confirm the NAS assessment of the CCP's intent to project soft power and propagandist material in American universities, as the head of the Department of Propaganda, Li Changchun, stated that CI's, "were a valuable part of China's propaganda setup" (Portman, 2019, p. 23).

While many administrators and academics who have not studied this issue closely might posit that the CI's are no different from overseas programs such as the Rhodes Scholarship and the Fulbright Scholarship programs, which also seek to project soft power principles overseas in order to promote Western values of democracy and human rights, the differences between these Western programs and the CI's are clear and definitive.

This clear bright line of differentiation, lies in the subtle restrictions in the contractual relations stipulated by the CCP with host universities, to limit the scope of the curriculum and topics of discussion, thereby imposing restrictions on a sovereign nation in lieu of funding (Portman, 2018). However, these subtle differentiations are often lost on the larger academic community, and with many of the difficulties facing upper level university administrators provided above in addressing CCP based influence, many governmental officials believe that in order to remedy the problem of the CI's and other CCP based elements, that an international and domestic policy would be most effective. As FBI Director Chris Wray has stated:

And I think the level of naïveté on the part of the academic sector about this creates its own issues. They're [CCP] exploiting the very open research and development environment that we have, which we all revere, but they're taking advantage of it. So one

of the things we're trying to do is view the China threat as not just a whole of government threat but a whole of society threat on their end, and I think it's going to take a whole of society response by us. (Portman, 2019, p. 23)

For many in the academic community, this subject may be seen as taboo, but it is argued that any subject in academia should be up for a healthy and robust debate not only in the spirit of academic freedom, but also to analyze the merit of the topic at issue. This point is especially salient when a professor's curriculum and the subjects students choose to study and discuss are under threat of being banned and stifled.

It is often times quite difficult to disagree on an issue with colleagues, students and administrators, as it is far easier to find common ground and far more pleasurable upon the soul, however it is posited, that all good things do not always go together. Indeed, sometimes an issue must be brought to the fore which creates friction and resistance, in order to accomplish a just change in the status quo. In *summa*, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee as well as the NAS has provided a comprehensive report on the CI's wide ranging adverse influence on the freedom of expression within the higher education system in the United States. Other reports on the CI's adverse impact on academic freedom by the media and other governmental sources are as numerous as the stars.

The importance to maintain freedom of thought within the market place of ideas is a fundamental issue, as the Supreme Court has stated, "The Nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth 'out of a multitude of tongues,' [rather] than through any kind of authoritative selection" (*United States v. Associated Press*, 1945, p. 372). Protecting the freedom to speak and think freely from foreign

influence is a hallmark of democracy. Thus, those who choose to speak and write what they believe in academia, even against the resistance of the majority, must be permitted to do so if there is truly a fairness to be found in the equitable system in which the universities seek to promote and practice.

Robert F. Kennedy once made an uplifting address to those who chose to think freely and bravely, even in the face of condemnation by their peers and associates. Senator Kennedy stated thus:

Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, and the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe. (Kennedy, 1966, para. 8)

Chinese Student Scholar Associations and Diplomatic Subterfuge

While Robert Kennedy's speech may hold relevance in relation to China's ever emboldened attempts to project psychological operations campaigns on America's higher education system, and give courage for those who choose to express themselves freely, it has not stopped the CCP from utilizing its diplomatic embassies based within the United States, to support subversion campaigns through an organization known as the Chinese Student Scholar Association (CSSA).

The CSSA's are controlled directly by Chinese Embassies located throughout the United States, and are orchestrated by an organization known as the United Front Work Department of

the CCP. The United Front bureau's mission is the projection of soft power and propaganda in order to influence CCP interests both domestically abroad and to gather information for the benefit of the Party. President Xi has made clear that, "winning hearts and minds at home and abroad through United Front work is crucial to realizing the 'great rejuvenation of the Chinese people'" (Kainz, 2019, para. 3).

The intent of the United Front is illuminated in its official handbook which states that, "The United Front...is a big magic weapon which can rid us of 10,000 problems in order to seize victory" (Kainz, 2019, para. 8). The executive vice minister of the organization and former politburo member of the CCP Zhang Yijiong commented that, "If the Chinese want to be powerful and realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, then under the leadership of the Communist Party we need to fully and better understand the use of this 'magic weapon'" (Kainz, 2019, para 9).

The United Front originated during the Cold War period, where its various agents were trained by the Soviet Comintern, in order to sow internal divisions within target enemy governments and organizations in order to achieve worldwide revolution (Lintner, 2019). These agents were instructed to form various alliances with secondary adversaries, in order to isolate and destroy a designated enemy. While the United Front originated during the Cold War this Leninist based system was incorporated and bureaucratized within the CCP, and is a now a major department within China tasked with both domestic and international subversion activities (Lintner, 2019).

A recent report by the Stanford associated Hoover Institute recognizes the clear and present danger of organizations such as the CSSA and the potential soft power influence they

exert within the United States and on the higher education community at large. With this consideration in mind, the Hoover Institute gathered a large group of highly respectable Chinese scholars and CCP party specialists from across the United States in order to conduct a report on the influences of CCP propagandist organizations such as the United Front and subsidiary groups such as the CSSA's. The report comments that it was:

Written and endorsed by a group of this country's leading China specialists and students of one-party systems this report is the result of more than a year of research and represents an attempt to document the extent of China's expanding influence operations inside the United States. (Diamond, 2018, para. 12)

The report found that the CCP has mounted a large scale soft power and propaganda based offensive utilizing a multiplicity of methods to:

Penetrate and sway – through various methods that former Australian prime minister Malcolm Turnbull summarized as 'covert, coercive or corrupting' – a range of groups and institutions, including the Chinese American community, Chinese students in the United States, and American civil society organizations, academic institutions, think tanks, and media. (Diamond, 2018, para. 2)

The Hoover Institution further elaborates that:

Some of these efforts fall into the category of normal public diplomacy as pursued by many other countries. But others involve the use of coercive or corrupting methods to pressure individuals and groups and thereby interfere in the functioning of American civil and political life. (Diamond, 2018, para. 3)

The report continues, “there is also a growing body of evidence that the Chinese Communist Party views the American ideals of freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, and association as direct challenges to its defense of its own form of one-party rule” (Diamond, 2018, para. 4). Furthermore, Diamond (2018) highlights the fact that the United Front Work Department, has become synonymous with the CCP’s influence activities, and that a host of other branches of the CCP such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council were merged with the United Front Work Department (Diamond, 2018). This increasing power is also relevant in that as stated earlier in the rise of China section of this dissertation, the United Front works synergistically with the CCP Ministry of State Security and Ministry of Public Security, which utilize the Big Intelligence System to coordinate and utilize AI based information to maintain order and stability both domestically and internationally (Gertz, 2019). The Big Intelligence System, is directly connected to the Social Credit System, which can then be utilized to monitor and hence quell what the CCP considers ‘untrustworthy’ behavior both domestically and abroad.

The Hoover Institution found that the CSSA’s which are controlled by the CCP through the United Work Department and the diplomatic branches of the CCP have resorted to a host of methods to export CCP based control over students and professors within the United States:

With the direct support of the Chinese embassy and consulates, Chinese Students and Scholars Associations (CSSA’s) sometimes report on and compromise the academic freedom of other Chinese students and American faculty on American campuses. American universities that host events deemed politically offensive by the Chinese Communist Party and government have been subject to increasing pressure, and

sometimes even to retaliation, by diplomats in the Chinese embassy and its six consulates as well as by CSSA branches. (Diamond, 2018, para. 4)

These suppressions include any discussion of the liberation of Tibet and the repression exerted upon the Xinxiang Province and the Muslim population of Chinese residents living within its bounds. Considering the newly unrolling technological applications of the Social Credit System, it is important to note – that these pressures will become increasingly easy to exert on both dissenting and thus ‘untrustworthy’ students studying within the United States, as well as their families and associates living within China proper.

Indeed the United Front organization has two departments exclusively dedicated to Tibet and Xinxiang Province respectively, which highlights the importance of these two issues, and explains the lengths to which CCP embassies and CSSA authorities will go to in order to unduly and illegally influence the perceptions of American citizens and students on these issues, so as to advance China’s economic and military prowess worldwide. The Tibet Bureau of the United Front, is tasked with controlling and suppressing separatism in Tibet and works to undermine the Dalai Lama. The CCP maintains there is no repression in Tibet, and the people of China have been inculcated with this belief as both their primary schools and universities are required by law to hold the party line:

At a gathering...of university chiefs, including the heads of Peking and Tsinghua universities, Education Minister Yuan Guiren urged the institutions to exert tighter control over the use of imported textbooks ‘that spread western values’...universities were urged to keep classrooms clear of remarks that ‘defame the rule of the Communist

Party, smear socialism or violate the constitution and the laws.’ Teachers must also not grumble in class. (Chen, 2015, para. 3)

Any opposition to the CCP by students, even in praising Maoist principles which might be at odds the President Xi’s new propagandist drive of thought control, face forced abductions, disappearance and death:

Qui Zhanxuan, head of the Peking University Marxist Society, was grabbed and forced into a black car outside the east gate of Peking University Marxist Society by a group of heavy-set men who identified themselves as police...Qui was on the way to attend a memorial for the 125th anniversary of Mao Zedong’s birthday that he organized and had already been warned by a school advisor. (Shepard, 2018, para. 2)

While it might appear contradictory that President Xi is suppressing Maoist thoughts and principles to many Western readers, such repression is a concerted effort to inculcate a new frame of reference in coterminous alignment with the revision of CCP history carried out under former Party Secretary Jiang Zemin. This historical revision is meant to reorient the Chinese public’s perceptions to the century of humiliation by Western powers, and to support the new stance the Chinese government has taken in relation to the China Dream and the Belt and Road Initiative (McGregor, 2018).

Control of thought and information by the CCP is critical to maintain order and obedience, and the mass inculcation of the party line creates a group thought mentality, with any opposition being seen as incorrect and a jarring dissonance to the great majority. This method of thought control has the potential to create a sense of intellectual groupthink and in which any individual who thinks critically, or speaks contrary to the dictates of the party will be sanctioned

by the majority of their peers. Through the United Front organization and the CSSA's, the CCP has orchestrated an attempt to export their system of educational controls onto the shores of sovereign international nations such as the United States.

This well orchestrated thought control, lends even more credence for the necessity of Chinese exchange students in the United States to be able to think and express themselves freely in American universities, and to explore alternative narratives to those to which they have been taught within CCP state controlled schools and universities. It is recommended that the organs of repression and fear directed at these students by the CCP and the United Front be resisted by policymakers, administrators and professors from becoming a common practice, lest such tactics become normalized and take a hold on American campuses nationwide. However the CSSA's as directed by the United Front have, and are continuing to utilize, a host of manipulative methods in order to countenance the party line far from the sovereign shores of China.

For example, in addition to the indoctrinated tenants forced upon Chinese children and students by the CCP, the Tibetan people are not permitted to have any photographs of the Dali Llama, as the CCP deems the Buddhist leader as a threat to the authority and stability of the current government. When protests erupted during the 2008 Olympics, with many suggesting dialogue with the Dali Llama:

Chinese officials aggressively attacked all critics – especially other Chinese ...these were pilloried as traitors to the race...Chinese overseas student organizations were only too happy to comply, taking to the streets *en masse* in an effort to silence critics by sheer force of numbers. (Mosher, 2017, p. 211)

An Australian Professor at the University of Canberra explained this method of suppression commonly utilized by the CCP and the CSSA on its overseas students:

Rather than wondering why Tibetans would protest Beijing's rule, many Han Chinese, at home and abroad, rallied against the 'bias' of westerners, who they felt had unfairly criticized their homeland. The Tibetan unrest was thus transformed from being a serious domestic issue of racial politics, into an international issue of pride and humiliation that pits China against the West. (Mosher, 2017, p. 211)

This tact was a common practice in the Soviet Union where the United Front originated (Smith, 1976), and has morphed into a wide ranging and highly sophisticated technological operation utilizing the new surveillance and monitoring techniques such as the Big Intelligence System, to force individuals residing both within and without China to march in lockstep with CCP dictates.

The CSSA's in the United States have gone so far as to pay Chinese students to protest against Tibetan policies, setting up cheering crowds for visiting dignitaries in order to sway the public perception of CCP policies. Indeed as has been elucidated earlier within this dissertation, the CCP even threatened to remove funding from the University of California San Diego and to revoke the recognition of degrees earned at the institution by Chinese students for supporting the Dali Llama, therefore punishing both institutions and innocent Chinese citizens in order to achieve the CCP and the United Front's propagandist designs.

In a letter by Senator Ted Cruz – to the University of Texas at Austin President, the senator highlights the methods practiced by the United Front on ethnic minorities such as the Tibetans in urging the university president to halt association with the foreign association:

The United Front, is the external face of the CCP's internal authoritarianism, manifesting itself in the systematic human rights violations, including the harvesting of organs of religious minorities, intimidating and imprisoning prominent human rights activists, artists, and authors, and effectively murdering Nobel Peace Prize laureates...I express concern over potential Chinese government control and access to UT Austin's education system. (Cruz, 2018, para. 3)

The awareness that the Hoover Institute brings to light – of the issues of human rights violations against the Tibetan and Uighur minorities, and the soft power that the United Front seeks to advance across the United States and in the American university system through organizations such as the CSSA's are of vital importance. This importance is due not only to public awareness of the issue, which can generate Congressional members to enact laws and sanctions on entities participating in such inhumane practices, but also within the higher education policy sphere for, in academia it must be remembered, that prestige is built not bought.

While many administrators might be adverse to public criticism in relation to banning organization such as the CSSA for fear of adverse public relations, the exposure through academic discourse of the human rights issues highlighted above could have the possible effect to shift the narrative towards action to arrest the activities of the United Front and their subsidiary student organizations. For with the loss of prestige a university might face for working with CCP controlled entities such as the CSSA's, could very well tarnish the institutional branding of the university, adversely affecting donations, attendance, funding, and the overall ratings and status of the university for years to come. Prestige much like reputations, can take years to build, but can be destroyed in an instant.

The lengths to which universities will go to in order to maintain rankings amongst U.S. News World Reports, including millions in marketing their institutional brand (Kelchen, 2018), lends credence to this fact, as a long history of success and tradition for a university is often unequalled in marketing largesse, and once an institutional brand is blemished in the public eye, it is quite possibly irreparable. Prestige matters because respect matters. Respect matters because credibility matters. Many institutions and administrators recognize this reality, thus the leverage imposed by adverse publicity, which will steadily increase as the knowledge of the humanitarian rights violations in which the CSSA's are practicing, should be well recognized by academic administrators. Such realizations by politically savvy administrators could serve as an engine in order to effectuate real change in administrative behavior. Fueled by increasing scrutiny, press coverage and overall public awareness, university administrators will most likely be forced to make changes to their policies, and divest themselves from future dealings with CCP sponsored entities such as the CSSA's. Interest based policies, leverage, recognizing that universities are institutional corporations and have a dual mandate to educate and to profit, are key points in order to effectuate a real alteration in the recurring practices of permitting foreign based entities affiliated with the CCP to remain present on university campuses across the United States.

Thus once again, the education of the public as well as policymakers is key here, and the institutions of higher education are often the drivers of public debate. There is a phrase oft used in business parlance, that if you want to know what is truly important to a company, don't look to their mission statement, look to their budgets. Money talks.

By drawing upon evidence collected from official documents, well substantiated news reports, and a host of other archival materials, the Hoover Institute elucidates and analyzes

clearly the very real undue influence the United Front organization and its subsequent branches such as the CSSA's pose to the preservation of academic freedom.

While each nation has the right to form its own system of government, promulgate its own laws, interpret those laws, dictate its own policies, and act in accordance with the cultural and traditional customs it has historically practiced, there is arguably a limit to the methods which are exerted in order to maintain and run such systems under UN conventions. However it is incontrovertible, that any attempts to limit the free expression and speech within the borders of the United States by any foreign agents is contrary to the not only to the law, but to the traditions and customs of the American people. Repression of thoughts, arbitrary detention, intellectual humiliation, physical torture and religious repression are not party in the pharmacopeia of American Constitutional law, and all such instances are unbridled representations of injustice as stipulated by UN conventions of which China is a signatory.

American Congressional Legislation on CI's and CSSA's

It has been established that the CI's incontrovertibly violate academic freedom within a host of higher education institutions through the appointment and control of professors, curriculum and materials, as well as through contracts that prohibit, upon threat of termination, specific issues adverse to the CCP from being taught and discussed by CI professors. All of these practices are conducted under the auspices of the CCP regulated Hanban (Portman, 2019).

It has also been determined that both domestic and international students are being denied the basic rights accorded to them under the Constitution of the United States, and are having these rights subverted by a well-orchestrated and highly calibrated campaign carried out by the United Front Workers Party, under the guise of the CSSA's. These facts are clear and

beyond a reasonable doubt. The question remains, what is being done to remedy the issue of the CI's and the CSSA on the federal level?

Previous federally based legislation has been proposed by Senator Ted Cruz of Texas – which seeks to prevent CCP based organizations such as the CI's and the CSSA's from targeting the American higher education sector and restricting academic freedom. Senator Cruz posits a clear eyed view of the CI's, “The Confucius Institutes are the velvet glove around the iron fist of their campaigns on our campuses. The American government needs new tools to protect the integrity of our universities and research, and to block academic espionage” (Cruz, 2018, para. 3). Senator Cruz's proposed legislation titled the Stop Higher Education Espionage and Theft Act of 2018, was designed to provide a pathway for the FBI to indicate a foreign intelligence threat to American university campuses and to facilitate corrective actions through a variety of means. However Senator Cruz's legislation did not pass, as it was most likely too broad and sweeping, did not have the political momentum necessary by public awareness, and faced opposition by powerful higher education lobbying groups intent on protecting institutional autonomy. This counterintuitive interplay between institutional autonomy, academic freedom, and national defense will be discussed further at the end of this section.

In addition, current legislation has been enacted under the auspices of the National Defense Authorization Act of 2018, which will prohibit all universities participating with CI's to receive federal defense funding as stipulated under Section 1091 (b), unless they are granted a waiver by the Defense Department (NDAA, (2018). The section reads:

None of the funds authorized to be appropriated by this Act or otherwise made available for the Department of Defense may be obligated or expended to support a Chinese

Language program at an institution of higher education that hosts a Confucius Institute.
(NDAA, 2018, Sect. 1091)

The waiver section, makes clear that three stipulations must be met to satisfy the statutory requirement; that no CI employees will provide support for the program, that no foreign entity will have any authority over curriculum or activities and that, “the institution has made available to the Department of Defense all memoranda of understanding, contracts, and other agreements between the institution and the CI” (NDAA, 2018, Sect. 1091). The Act expands the purview of the legislation by stating, “or between the institution and any agency of or organization affiliated with the government of the People’s Republic of China” (NDAA, 2018, Sect. 1091). As the CSSA’s are an organization affiliated with the CCP, they would ostensibly fall within this statutory classification.

The significant loophole within this legislation however, is that it does not ban the CI’s from being based within American universities in their entirety, and only bans defense related funds from being expended upon the CI’s or organizations such as the CSSA’s. This permits CI’s to continue their activities on a university as long as Defense Department related funds are not supporting CI’s or other CCP affiliated entities. Considering that the CSSA’s are often funded by United Front, and supported by the diplomatic wings of the PRC, the NDAA (2018) legislation is important, yet will not significantly curb CSSA influence. The CI’s also fall into a similar category, as they are funded by the Hanban, and actually provide funding to American universities to host the organization.

Thus a cogent analysis and considered reflection would question whether the legislation enacted is more a show of acknowledgement of CCP soft power influence for the public or

media, yet an empty vessel in relation to overall efficacy and outcomes based solutions to protect academic freedom on American university campuses. However this legislation might also serve as a bowshot so to speak, warning university officials that more stringent legislation is on the horizon, and that it might be in the best interest for American universities to slowly divest from CCP based funding sources before this occurs. This tact would serve to prevent lobbying by universities against further legislation, and would also permit ample time for universities to secure more stable domestic based funding sources without compromising the educational services they provide.

At the time of this writing, there has also been a push by a host bi-partisan group of Congressional members, intent upon creating a requirement for the CI's to be designated as Foreign Agents, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) which is:

A disclosure statute that requires persons acting as agents of foreign principals...to make periodic public disclosure of their relationship with the foreign principles...disclosure of the required information facilitates evaluation by the government and the American people of the statements and activities of such persons in light of their function as foreign agents. (FERA, 2019, para. 1)

Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, is a strong proponent of the FARA designation for CI's and launched a bill known as the Foreign Influence Transparency Act (FITA) in 2018, argued that, "It will strengthen foreign funding disclosure requirements for colleges and universities and close loopholes in current law" (Rubio, 2018, para. 2). Cosponsor of the legislation Tom Cotton of Arizona concurred, stating, "if we want there to be free speech and honest debate on our college campuses, then we need more transparency around other countries' efforts to push their

interests on U.S. soil,” (Rubio, 2018, para. 3). Senator Cotton continues, “Requiring organizations like Confucius Institutes to register their activities...is necessary to alert college students to the malign influence of foreign propaganda” (Rubio, 2018, para. 3).

The proposed FITA legislation did not pass through Congress in 2018, however Rubio has been launching efforts to have language included in the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act (HEA), which was originally enacted in 1965, and is the primary statutory guidance in stipulating the relationship between government, universities, associations and students (Kelchen, 2018). While the reauthorization of the HEA has stalled due to partisan debate on unrelated issues such as fiscal appropriations and civil rights, other legislative vehicles and statutory amendments exist from which to remedy the threat to academic freedom posed by the CI's and CSSA's.

Indeed there is a high probability that similar and more sweeping legislation will be enacted under provisions of the NDAA in the near future, as well as the Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act, as the Hong Kong protests have been well covered by the media, and the public awareness of CCP based oppression of the Tibetan and Uighur community gains traction within the pulse of the populace. Indeed, Democratic leaders within the Congressional branches of the House and Senate have voiced strong condemnation on China's human rights violations and the suppression of free speech within Hong Kong as have their Republican counterparts.

This public awareness has facilitated a rare meeting of the minds between the Democratic and Republican parties, and as will be explored within the conclusion to this dissertation, has the

potential to lead to overarching legislation that will obviate Chinese soft power influence in a variety of forms, including the CI's and CSSA's currently located within the United States.

However several questions remain. None of the legislation currently enacted or proposed addresses direct university acquisition, third party subsidiary control over academic publishing companies, nor the potential for standardization of supply chains under CCP stringencies. Will China's deft political tact, impressive propagandist finesse, immense financial largesse, and deeply intertwined relations with American corporate business community are able to turn the tide towards a favorable outcome for the Middle Kingdom? Will the perceptions generated by the media and projected to the American populace in relation to these issues fall victim to coy misinformation campaigns and informational leaks that distort and hobble effective legislative policies from coming to fruition? Will piecemeal legislation, and the various loopholes contained within the fine print of the statutory mandates previously referenced, prevent free speech and human rights violations with meaningful clauses that contain effective enforcement and inducement methods? In these key queries, rest determinate – the efficacy and outcomes of remedying the CCP soft power influences highlighted above.

The Peoples Liberation Army and Picking Flowers to Make Honey

The Hanban's CI's and United Front's CSSA's are not the only CCP controlled governmental entities tasked with projecting soft power onto American universities, as the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) is also heavily invested in both soft power projection and technological acquisition.

The Chinese government has developed a complex system to both steal and reverse engineer complex technological and scientific research and information in its goals to strengthen

its state controlled civil and military industrial complex. While there are several departments within the Chinese bureaucracy which control these transfer and acquisition methods, they are all run under an umbrella organization termed China's National Transfer Centers, (Wagner & Furst, 2018) and include within their charters, the explicit goals of acquiring foreign technology and research. As Wagner and Furst (2018) explain, "it is an elaborate, comprehensive system for identifying foreign technologies, acquiring them by every means imaginable, and converting them into weapons and competitive goods" (Wagner & Furst, p. 284).

The PLA is also heavily invested in both legally and illicitly obtained foreign technology, as the PLA is a partial standalone entity, in that it is only provided seventy percent of its budget by the CCP. Thus the acquisition of foreign technology provides supplemental financing to fill this fiscal gap. The US Defense Threat Reduction Agency has estimated that the Chinese regime operates more than 3,200 military front companies in the United States dedicated to theft (Wagner & Furst, 2018, p. 284).

Furthermore, the PLA targets all sectors of the American economy, with universities being no exception. It is estimated by the United States Commission on the Theft of Intellectual Property, that such theft costs the United States \$300 billion dollars a year, and over 1.2 million jobs to American workers (Wagner & Furst, 2019), with other estimates ranging as high as \$500 billion dollars a year in intellectual property theft (Gertz, 2019). In an era where every job counts for students seeking access and opportunity within America's academies of higher learning and a stable career upon completion of their studies, these figures are disconcerting to say the least.

The PLA has meticulously crafted strategies and means to steal proprietary technology at Western universities around the globe, and has sought to implement a system of monitoring on

both foreign and domestic students who attend them. Indeed, there is abundant evidence that such espionage is directed by the PLA on the American higher education system in a startlingly brazen manner. The evidence for this claim is provided within the analysis of a groundbreaking report by Alex Joske, a member of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute.

The United States as well as a host of other developed nations, including Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, colloquially known as the Five Eyes in the security community, has long prided themselves on their advanced research in the science and technology fields, both in the private and public sector (Joske, 2018). While government and privately sponsored research and development has led to cutting edge new technologies in a wide spectrum of different fields, much of this research has been conducted with the aid and partnership of higher education institutions (Pelfrey, 2004). Indeed, following the University of California Berkeley's assistance for the development of the atomic bomb in the Manhattan Project, Vannevar Bush laid out a proposal to Harry Truman of the importance of direct government funds for basic research in universities nationwide:

Basic research leads to new knowledge. It provides scientific capital. It creates the fund from which the practical applications of knowledge must be drawn. New products and new processes do not appear full-grown. They are founded on new principles and new conceptions, which in turn are painstakingly developed by research in the purest realms of science. (Satell, 2017, p. 9)

In recent years, due to budgetary difficulties and fiscal shortfalls within the American economy, a lack of governmental funding on both basic research as well as highly specialized fields, has led to a drying up of the steady stream of funding once provided to higher education

institutions through federally administered grants. This funding shortfall has left American universities and their colleges of science and technology heavily dependent upon the funding generated by private contractual arrangements, as well as other outside parties, including foreign entities.

In his study at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Alex Joske, explores the relationship of the CCP and the PLA in providing funding to these cash strapped universities in order to facilitate exchanges between students who are enrolled in Chinese military institutions, often unbeknownst to the host universities, and the potential shortfalls that such exchanges can entail in relation to national security. This problem is quite prevalent, as Joske (2018) elucidates in his report:

Since 2007, the PLA has sponsored more than 2,500 military scientists and engineers to study abroad and has developed relationships with researchers and institutions across the globe. Helping a rival military develop its expertise and technology isn't in the national interest... Current policies by governments and universities have not fully addressed issues like the transfer of knowledge and technology through collaboration with the PLA. (Joske, 2018, p. 3)

Joske (2018) explains that the CCP has provided millions of dollars of funding to universities in order to facilitate exchange by PLA supported scholars, whose overt mission is to access highly sensitive research and technology that may prove beneficial to the development of the Chinese military apparatus, "The PLA daily uses the saying 'Picking flowers in foreign lands to make honey in China' to explain how it seeks to leverage overseas expertise, research and training to develop better military technology" (Joske, 2018, p. 3).

Joske (2018) makes clear that such breaches of sensitive technology and information by PLA sponsored students and their handlers may not be in the national interest of a host nation, recommending legal statutes and a host of other effective mechanisms to thwart the PLA from infiltrating host colleges worldwide. However the conceptualization of what defines a national interest, or whether national interest should be considered, is relative to individual interpretation. Indeed there is an anecdote, most likely apocryphal, that is commonly told in foreign policy and historical circles.

When General Dwight D. Eisenhower was President of Columbia College following his relief at the Supreme Allied Command, he had a conversation with a professor in the sciences over a foreign exchange student who had come to study at Columbia. The professor praised the potential and ability shown by the student in the field of chemistry, to which General Eisenhower said, “yes, but does he love America?” The astounded professor retorted, “what does it matter whether he loves America, he is a gifted scientist.” Eisenhower looked at him replied, “whether he loves this country is all that matters” (Ambrose, 1990).

While the conversation between General Eisenhower and the professor took place during the rising tensions of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, a similar geopolitical and technological competition is now emerging between the United States and China – and presents analogous lessons to be gleaned from history, as businesses and corporations are key players in protecting the national interests of the United States, and much of their research is conducted in partnership with research institutions. While it should not matter whether a Chinese student loves or does not love America, or even if that student is communist in their ideological beliefs, as these rights of expression and belief are protected under the United States Constitution, it should matter if the student is a PLA enlisted operative ordered to engage in espionage and

reportage of civilian Chinese students studying abroad. The schism between national interest and university culture must be bridged in the modern era, with a clear bright line of differentiation between foreign students who possess a Constitutional right to express themselves freely, and a CCP based operative intent upon undermining those very freedoms.

This fact is of the importance of the first magnitude, as in order to make a profit off of the contracts that a corporate partner signs with universities, much of the work must be of a proprietary nature, and must be kept under lock and key in order to reap an adequate profit for the business involved. In the United States, the Supreme Court has made the point of this necessity quite clear in highlighting the Constitutional guarantees to promoting progress through the protection of discoveries:

The patent laws promote this progress by offering inventors exclusive rights...as an incentive for their inventiveness and research efforts...in the hope that the productive effort thereby fostered will have a positive effect on society through the introduction of new products and processes of manufacture...[and benefit the national interest] by way of increased employment and better lives for our citizens.” (*Diamond v. Chakrabarty*, 1980, p. 447)

Security breaches of proprietary material being siphoned off to the Chinese military at a loss to private investors, is a major problem that not only proves a detriment to national security and host nations, but could prevent further research and development contracts and hence revenue for the university involved. It is also directly related to academic freedom, as Joske (2018) points out that the PLA is the armed wing of the CCP, which insists that all of its members abide by the

discipline standards required by the CCP, and thus report on any dissenting voices made by Chinese students studying abroad.

These examples amongst a litany of others, seal the case made by Joske that such practices are a threat to the academic integrity of Western universities as well as the national security of the Five Eyes nations. They are also unethical to the Chinese exchange students and their families, and threaten to prevent the further good faith exchange between legitimate academics and scholars from China and host nations. Thus a clear delineation must be made between PLA operatives sent to the United States under CCP directorates to engage in illicit practices, and domestic students who should be welcomed to facilitate cultural exchange. Recommendations of how this can be achieved will be provided within the conclusion to this dissertation.

If PLA influence continues unabated, then universities could face decreased funding streams by private investors, thus counter intuitively incentivizing the need from foreign funding sources, and thereby compromising the academic freedom and institutional autonomy of American universities.

Intellectual Property Theft and 5G Systems

These statements have been made as concerns have grown over the theft of technological materials as highlighted in Mr. Joske's (2018) report, as well as through a concerted effort by Chinese corporations and businesses such as Huawei and ZTE, to sell and implement their technological systems, such as audio, visual and telecommunication services to American Universities, thereby posing a risk of CCP monitoring and informational theft.

While many of these businesses are not state owned corporations, all businesses in China are in effect controlled by the CCP, as the CCP is superseded the law and requires all corporations, firms and individuals to comply with the interests of the CCP under Chinese Constitutional and National Security Law mandates (Ward, 2019). Furthermore, the CCP also requires complete access to all of its domestic business operations, digital databases and finance related credit streams, as this furthers its goals to strengthen Civil and Military Fusion and to attain a more robust Comprehensive National Power (Ward, 2019).

Therefore while the issue of technological theft and espionage by the PLA and other directly and indirectly controlled state business entities, is severable in relation to legal applications from the subversive influence of associational parties such as the CI's and the CSSA's, they are in effect attenuated strings leading to a single source of control, which dictates, controls and directs the operations towards a unity of purpose in alignment with the CCP's propagandist, military and economic goals.

However as evidenced above, the PLA not only conducts acts of espionage through its Civil and Military Fusion systems, but also utilizes its PLA based agents to spy and report on students within the higher education academies, thereby silencing dissent amongst genuine and well meaning Chinese students interested in speaking and expressing themselves with the open environment of America's university system (Spalding, 2019).

The Chinese government is also utilizing the technological and digital equipment sold by companies such as Huawei, ZTE, and other third party vendors based in China to steal important digital information from academic servers not only to advance their civil and military sectors, but also to gain information and to potentially eavesdrop on conversations within telecommunication

systems, offices, and classrooms. This poses a serious threat to academic freedom as well as proprietary and intellectual property, as high profile research institutions have purchased Chinese made equipment, and implemented these systems as foundational platforms for their technologically based university applications (Gertz, 2019).

China already utilizes such monitoring systems within its domestic universities, installing highly sophisticated facial and physical gait recognition systems to take attendance within classrooms (Maques, 2018), potentially recording the lectures and discussions within these classrooms, which can then be analyzed by algorithmic AI systems and then transferred to its Social Credit System to target dissenting voices and to prohibit and sanction these individuals through a variety of means including limited travel, health, education and financial access. The ability of future AI systems to process and then mete out these punishments without the aid of human assistance, will save billions in personnel costs, and permit the supervision of a much larger swathe of the population, a process that is already being implemented within ‘safe cities’ across China.

In the book, *AI Supremacy*, Wagner and Furst (2018) highlight the reality of such systems already in wide usage within the United States. These systems are being rolled out by companies such as Amazon’s Alexa, utilizing voice commands and searches which provide data to a centralized server, “This massive connectivity across a range of appliances is merging the physical and digital into a personal ecosystem that can be controlled by voice through a central command – the virtual assistant” (Wagner & Furst, p. 30). Wagner and Furst (2018) continue, “The fact is that most consumers are blissfully ignorant, either of what data is collected about them by their government and the companies they choose to engage with or what is done with it” (Wagner & Furst, 2018, p. 30). The potential implications of such state of the art technology, will

be explored later in this dissertation, however by utilizing the technology of Chinese based vendors in universities which have the potential to limit academic freedom and place proprietary information at risk, Chinese students could be potentially monitored abroad by the CCP, and sensitive research gleaned and reverse engineered within China's technological transferability centers.

Recently enacted legislation amended to the NDAA of 2020 has made clear that, "U.S. authorities fear the equipment makers will leave a back door open to Chinese military and government agents seeking information. U.S. universities that fail to comply with the NDAA by August 2020 risk losing federal research grants and other government funding" (Somerville, 2019, para. 1). In Section 889 (A) the NDAA (2019) legislation states universities will lose federal research funding if they utilize federally listed Chinese technology or:

Procure or obtain or extend or renew a contract to procure or obtain any equipment system, or service that uses covered telecommunications equipment or serve as a substantial component of any system, or as a critical technology as part of any system.
(NDAA, 2019, Sect. 889)

However, Chinese backed corporations such as Huawei and ZTE provide far more than digital and telecommunications contractual and vendor related services to research universities within the United States. Indeed, they have also contributed heavily to research related initiatives as a recent report by *Reuters* news agency relates, "Huawei participates in research programs, often as a sponsor, at dozens of schools, including UC San Diego, the University of Texas, the University of Maryland and the University of Illinois Urbana Champaign" (Somerville, 2019, para. 19). These research partnerships provide funding to universities which have lost major

revenue streams from recent federal and state budget cuts, leading many administrators and professors involved in these partnerships to resist the limitations and implications imposed by the recent 2019 and 2020 NDAA legislation.

University of California Berkley spokesman Dan Mogulof has stated that the university will continue partnerships with Huawei, as the partnerships are based on open source technology not sanctioned within the 2020 legislation, “The company is involved in at least five UC Berkeley research initiatives, including autonomous driving, augmented reality and wireless technology, in addition to artificial intelligence” (Somerville, 2019, para. 24).

With the necessity to secure funding in order to ensure cutting edge research can continue to progress within such prestigious universities, there is once again a conflict of interest in relation to university officials needing to keep their research programs fiscally viable, in contrapose, to protecting academic freedom and proprietary information. Indeed, university administrators are put in a difficult position of balancing between the fiscal needs and interests of the university and the possibility of compromising academic freedom and research integrity. However, if many of these officials were aware of Huawei and other CCP backed Chinese technology firms and their attendant PLA affiliated history, perhaps they would reconsider such relationships. Holslag (2019) sheds light on how Huawei is not only a telecom company but also a strategic arm of the CCP. Holslag (2019) states:

Huawei was established in 1987 and emerged as one of the largest telecom companies.

Huawei started as a very small firm that specialized in retro-engineering telecom equipment from abroad, [and] turned into an important supplier to the Chinese military, thanks to the connections of its founder Ren Zhengfei. (Holslag, 2018, p. 80)

Holslag (2018) relates how the massive state backed indirect subsidies through credit related channels propelled Huawei to one of the state champions fundamental to China's rise as a great power competitor, stating that, "It offered its products at up to 50 percent below the prices of foreign competitors" (Holslag, 2019, p. 80). Indeed, Huawei received much of this credit from the China Development Bank whose chairman Chen Yuan elucidated in 2011 how the massive indirect state backed subsidies and credit advantages provided to Huawei vaulted the corporation to a top tier position on the global stage, as other corporations could not compete with state backed funding:

The advantage of export credit is that it supported Huawei indirectly. By supporting customers with cheap loans, these credit lines of Chinese policy banks would boost the revenues of Huawei without strictly being subsidies – and ultimately flow back to the banks. (Holslag, 2019, p. 80)

This leverage was then utilized to invest heavily in policies, cultural exchanges and research projects which benefited the CCP's political and economic strategies and goals under China's Civil and Military Fusion Model. Holslag (2018) further explicates that:

Ren Zhengfei stated that Huawei had to become a global company, but at the same time said that the company had to behave like an army that smashes a wall. Senior officials continue to refer to Huawei as a backbone enterprise or a strategic emerging enterprise, which thus fulfils a political mission. (Holslag, 2019, p. 80)

By providing services far below the cost of other electronic vendors to universities, in addition to funding for research initiatives within these universities, Huawei not only has the ability to siphon off intellectual property and research, as all information within its servers has the

potential to be transferred back to mainland China, but also has made many universities, researchers and professors dependent upon its funding for their research.

Even partnerships with Huawei through open sourced research initiatives as cited above by the Berkeley official, have the ability to compromise not only academic integrity but also American national security. Gertz (2019) highlights that in 2017 the Executive branch ordered a new Pentagon unit to begin researching potential vulnerabilities to Chinese intellectual property theft:

The Defense Innovation Unit Experimental (DIUx) was created in 2015 and is located in Mountain View California, in the Heart of Silicon Valley. DIUx is charged with leveraging the resources of Silicon Valley to help the US military maintain its cutting edge technological superiority...The report warned that there were no restrictions on Chinese investment in the United States and China was stealing the most significant breakthrough technologies. (Gertz, 2019, p. 155)

The report found that as the majority of digital and technological innovation now comes from the private sector, and that since so many of these newly developed technologies are dual use, that providing restrictions on Chinese investments in such technology must be implemented on a federal level to arrest further theft, espionage and the compromising of America's national security.

The report further found that a solution which categorizes all open source technology within a single overarching legislative vehicle is the most efficient policy remedy to implement, as opposed to attempting to verify whether the application of the newly developed technology could be applied on the military level through a fragmented selection process (Gertz, 2019). The

authors also highlighted that this must be undertaken within both the private sector and at the university level. Gertz (2019) states that, “The US must be willing to acknowledge the strategic threat from equal access to US technology, the unfair trading practices China engages in, and share evidence regarding the degree of industrial espionage and cyber theft” (Gertz, 2019, p. 157).

A Federally Based Solution and the Importance of Finance and Technology

Prudent risk management strategies dictate that such considerations of undue influence and potential infringements on academic freedom be taken into account by administrators engaging in business related contractual partnerships with Huawei and other CCP agents and entities. However the resistance to governmental control over institutional autonomy and funding continues unabated. Many university officials hold to the pillar of academic expertise and experience in relation to such matters, and take issue at federal oversight over institutional operations and activities.

Yet, as intimated earlier in this writing, the corporate influence within the university system by both domestic and foreign entities has increased immensely due to the ever dwindling lack of funding by state and federal governments. Therefore, the interest for university policymakers to preserve their institutional mandate to provide educational services, access and opportunities to students whose economic and job opportunities are heavily reliant upon post-secondary training, are forced to make difficult decisions on balancing institutional solvency and questionable contractual and associational business partnerships. This complex interplay of interests and politics has manifested itself in the unintended consequences of foreign espionage

and the subversion of academic freedom by nations such as China, which seek to take advantage of the good faith and open learning environment of America's university systems.

The relationship between American domestic corporations and the reliance by the higher education sector on private funding from these corporations has also placed academic freedom at risk, as these domestic corporations seek to increase profits for their shareholders through investments in China. The various methods that the CCP has utilized to induce American corporations to abide by the party line, is thus an indirect method of soft power on the American university system that as showcased above could have significant adverse effects on university publishing, standards and norms, as well as the availability of information and freedom of expression. Thus great power competition and the interconnected nature of the globalized system, compounded by economic malaise and limited funding streams to American universities has compromised the academic integrity of America's higher education system. Therefore the NDAA which is updated upon an annual basis serves as a federally mandated comprehensive legislative vehicle to create an overarching umbrella like structure which would apply universally to all higher education institutions across the United States. Considering the many obstacles university administrators face in combatting CCP based soft power initiatives, the recommendation made by FBI director Christopher Wray that the CCP's psychological warfare campaign should be addressed on a societal and federal level and not an institutional basis is a sound one (Portman, 2019).

While higher education institutions often resist such intrusions by the federal government over their autonomy in decision making, it is posited due to the often nebulous and interrelated nature of the higher education universe, that it is in the best interest of the greater good for such federal legislation to supersede institutional and associational autonomy in this particular

circumstance. For if such legislation is not applied, the very values of academic freedom which are inimical to America's academies and students, could be subverted and captured by foreign interests whose intent is to undermine them.

A salient point to be made here is that Congressional members are elected by the citizenry to represent the people in order to protect the public trust, and are part of a fundamental democratic process which supersedes the interests of parochial actors within the federalized republic. That being said, the monetary interest of campaign financing and lobbying, as well as an increasingly growing partisan divide, has severely restricted and adversely affected the ability of Congressional members to enact legislation which does not contain significant loopholes, thereby permitting the continuance of both domestic and foreign entities to pursue practices which undermine the national security and democratic freedoms of the United States.

Even the NDAA permits significant leeway for nations such as China to continue their soft power projection, as evidenced in the fact CI's are not banned in their entirety, nor has significant legislation been proposed which would limit the ability of the CCP's United Front from restricting, intimidating, and executing foreign subversion campaigns on American university campuses. The economic consequences of imposing an over regulatory environment, as well as the essential confidential nature of corporate relationships in order to conduct business within the United States, has also permitted associational relationships in fields such as academic publishing to be influenced and in many cases controlled by CCP related entities. In addition, as expressed earlier, the potential for self-imposed corporate stringencies in alignment with CCP based governmental policies so as to maintain market access, thereby preventing duplication and bringing systems operations to scale, provides a monetary inducement to corporation's intent on protecting their shareholders and succeeding in a highly competitive business environment.

Overly burdensome regulation and transparency requirements with the intent to prevent CCP influence, could in effect, reduce the innovation, competitiveness and performance of American corporations, thus having a delirious effect on the domestic sphere, limiting the ability of the United States to compete on the international level. Thus while the NDAA is of key importance to restrict CCP influence on America's institutions of higher learning, federally based legislation on technology and financial investments must also be made by Congress to limit CCP soft power projection while maintaining America's resilience in the technological and market sectors. This would limit the influence on American technology firms and investment corporations by the CCP, and hence limit the adverse effects on the higher education sector.

It has been estimated that up to twenty percent of startup investment funds in the United States are made by Chinese corporations (Spalding, 2019), and key financial firm Goldman Sachs has made compelling arguments that China is preparing for a massive investment issuance of Chinese dollar dominated bonds on United States markets which will total as much as one trillion dollars:

The thinking goes that if American's pension funds and other investment portfolios are permitted to become awash in Chinese securities over the next three to four years, scores of millions of Americans would have a vested financial interest in lobbying to thwart US sanctions or penalties being imposed on Beijing for its malevolent behavior for fear that their retirement accounts and other investments would lose value. (Gertz, 2019, p. 142)

Therefore, it is posited that while the NDAA is an effective mechanism to address CCP soft power influence on the higher education sector, additional Congressional mandates on

financial investments must be enacted to limit CCP soft power projection to a significant degree. These issues and more, will be discussed within the final section of this dissertation.

Conclusion

China has been conducting a subversive psychological warfare campaign to direct and shape the perception of the American populous towards viewpoints in alignment with the CCP's party line. This propaganda campaign is being implemented in alignment with the CCP's Three Warfare strategy which seeks to utilize unrestricted warfare techniques to achieve its goals. As Liang and Xiangsui (2017) state:

The goal of this kind of warfare will encompass more than merely using means that involve the force of arms to force the enemy to accept one's own will. Rather, the goal should be to use all means whatsoever...to force the enemy to serve one's own interests. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 48)

The soft power techniques that China is projecting onto American shores are aimed to undermine the institutional integrity of America's democratic government, and subvert the freedom of expression within the universities across the nation in order to achieve the CCP's long term strategy to attain its Two Centennial goals.

While the examples of the methods by which China is undertaking this soft power campaign on America's university system are numerous, they are by no means exhaustive, and are a constantly evolving threat to academic freedom. They are in effect, the tip of the proverbial spear.

The CCP's ability to make swift policy decisions with its highly efficient centralized bureaucratic government model, combined with the fluid and exponentially expanding technological and financial markets, provide a fertile field from which new methods of soft power influence will be sown. The United States, faced with a gridlocked Congress which is heavily influenced by monetary interest, a university system resistant to federal intrusion on institutional autonomy, and a governmental structure which often moves at a torpor in comparison to the CCP system, all indicate that the United States faces an uphill battle to address CCP soft power influence on the higher education systems of America.

Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui (2017) recognized a lack of American strategic vision in their book *Unrestricted Warfare*, which advocates an expansion of warfare beyond the battlefield to every conceivable sphere of interest, and where no strategy is off limits to weaken a geopolitical adversary:

Even though the United States bears the brunt of being faced with the threat of this type of non-military war and has been the injured party time after time, yet what is surprising is that such a large nation unexpectedly does not have a unified strategy and command structure to deal with the threat...The allocations and basic investment directions of various nations for security needs are still only limited to the military and intelligence and political departments, but there are few and pitiful investments in other directions. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 130)

What is to be done? Admiral Scott H. Swift, the former Commander of the United States Pacific Fleet from 2015 to 2018, and Robert Wilhelm, of the MIT Center for International studies suggest that a grand strategy is in order, which would include a whole of government

approach, utilizing all fifteen Executive level departments in a concerted effort, from which Congress would then support in a cohesive unity of purpose. These policies would address both long term and short term goals of the United States in an effort to ensure a stable international order, and to protect American domestic interests. Admiral Swift and Wilhelm state that:

Grand strategy broadly defines and explains how elements of national power are used to achieve internal and external objectives...It would be guided by the long standing tenets of the Constitution and our other founding documents and ideals...Regional strategies would be more detailed, with specific actions and outcomes for individual departments of government. (Ward, 2019, p. xiv)

A tall order to be sure, but is it a realistic one? Considering the numerous conflicts of interest, monetary influence, ideologically based partisan divides, and structural juridical barriers that have thus far precluded a whole of government approach to address China's rise and protect America's democratic institutions within the United States, one might query as to whether such recommendations are a dead letter.

In Sun Tzu's classical treatise *The Art of War* (Tzu, 2019), the brilliant Chinese strategist states that the greatest victory is achieved not through destroying an enemy's nation, but to conquer it intact, "Hence to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting" (Tzu, 2019, p. 111). William Easton, an expert on Chinese propaganda posits that the CCP has made great efforts to project the ultimate fear that China's rise to predominance on the world stage is an insuperable fact and bound with fate. He posits how this propaganda has been utilized on Taiwan and on the American public in order to create a mentality of defeatism in order to destroy the

morale of the general populace and hence the nation at large, “They take great pains to assure audiences that victory is inevitable” (Easton, 2017, p. 15).

What then is the solution to this quandary for the critical thinker, one who might believe in the preservation and protection of America’s Constitutional precepts, yet comprehend the complex interplay within the American governmental system that might preclude such a strategy from coming to fruition? This dilemma is much akin to the Byzantine General’s problem, a dilemma which emerged when two Byzantine generals, each placed upon one side of a besieged city must act in concert under a single policy in order to conquer the city and achieve a victory. The problem emerges as in order to achieve this goal, a secret messenger must be sent from one general to the other through the city, yet as this messenger passes through the city, there is a great chance – that the messenger will be influenced, bribed, or otherwise persuaded to alter the message between the two generals, thus ensuring the siege’s ultimate failure, as a consensus on policy will not be reached due to misinformation. There is also the possibility, that each general will act according to their own interest in order to receive credit for the victory with the hopes of rising to power and prominence as a result of a successful outcome.

This situation is much analogous to the problems facing the Executive and Congressional leaders of the United States. In order to create a unified policy that will preserve the international system of standard of norms, and protect America’s democratic institutions from soft power influence, the Democratic and Republican parties must reach a consensus, that though varied, works in concert towards a unified grand strategy. The proverbial city through which the messenger must pass, is represented by both domestic and foreign principles and agents, whose ultimate intent is to preserve their own interests. The Byzantine General’s Problem is found in every distributed network, where any corrupted influence could alter the ultimate goal of

reaching a consensus in order to remedy the problem at hand, thereby preventing the opportunity for two parties to achieve a successful outcome (Wagner & Furst, 2018).

What is the solution to the Byzantine problem of CCP soft power projection on the academic institutions of the United States, and how can it be effectuated within America's own complex governmental system? In the final section of this dissertation policy recommendations will be provided that will address some of these complex issues. Although this writer's analysis posits that there will be no panacea to arrest CCP soft power in full, as chaotic systems within the geopolitical and domestic spheres are fluid in nature, the following recommendations seek to tip the proverbial scale towards a balance which will produce favorable outcomes to preserve the Constitutional values inimical to the American university system.

CHAPTER SEVEN: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Towards the Future

When John F. Kennedy was a young Senator within the United States Congress he penned his Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage* (2003). Within its pages Senator Kennedy wrote of the great exemplars of America's past – and the personal sacrifices they made in order to protect the greater good. Kennedy stated that:

A nation which has forgotten the quality of courage which in the past has been brought to public life is not as likely to insist upon or reward that quality in its chosen leaders today – and in fact we have forgotten... We do not remember – and possibly we do not care.
(Kennedy, 2003, p. 1)

Senator Kennedy (2003) also wrote of the complex nature of interest based politics and a varied constituency, detailing the perception amongst the American citizenry that the Congress which represented them was in decline. He made the point however, that from the nation's founding to the present era in which he lived, courageous stands had been made by America's leaders and would continue to be made in order to protect the public welfare. Kennedy (2003) elucidated:

Senators we hear, must be politicians – and politicians must only be concerned with winning votes, not with statesmanship or courage... I am convinced that the complication of public business and the competition for the public's attention have obscured

innumerable acts of public courage...I am convinced that the decline – if there has been a decline has been less in the Senate, than in the public's appreciation in the art of politics...Perhaps if the American people more fully comprehended the terrible pressures which discourage acts of political courage which drive a Senator to abandon or subdue his conscience then they might be less critical of those who take the easier road – and more appreciative of those still able to follow the path of courage. (Kennedy, 2003, p. 12)

The points being made by the young Senator Kennedy, who was destined to fulfill his potential as the President of the United States during a time when America faced an ever growing challenge during the Cold War, is a prescient and compelling message for the present era. For it was during his presidency, that John F. Kennedy averted the catastrophe of the Cuban Missile Crisis through calm and calculated leadership, and saw that the future lay not through direct confrontation, but through American economic strength, scientific ingenuity, and most importantly courage. President Kennedy saw a vision for the future, where an idea could be transformed into a reality, and no challenge was too difficult overcome. The leadership of President Kennedy reflected the conceptualization that America was not simply an idea, but rather a culture that was founded on ideas, a culture which could benefit not only the American people, but also mankind.

On September 12, 1962 President Kennedy revealed to the American people that he intended to achieve what was once thought impossible, a mission to the moon. President Kennedy spoke at Rice University stating that:

We set sail on this new sea because there is new knowledge to be gained, and new rights to be won, and they must be won and used for the progress of all people. We choose to go

to the moon. We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too. (Kennedy, 1962, para. 14)

Much reminiscent of the past, the United States faces a challenge in the rise of China, a challenge whose future is unknown and unforeseeable, and much like during the days of the Cold War, when John F. Kennedy wrote his acclaimed book, a great multitude of the general public has lost faith in the Congress and the government to act towards the betterment of the nation as a whole. This public loss of faith, as the previous pages have extolled, is not without reason nor justification, as the combination of interest based politics and geopolitical competition are complex, and in many ways benefit self-interested actors whose goals are oriented towards the gain of monetary profits as opposed to the benefits accrued to the greater good (Spalding, 2019). As this dissertation has showcased, the highly digitized, globalized and technological age in which the world is entering will provide new challenges which have the potential to alter America's democratic institutions and higher education sectors in a myriad of unforeseen ways. In addition, the nascent standards, norms and values which undergird China's new model of international relations will present a sea change in the current international system of supply chains and connectivity corridors, and while reminiscent of the past Cold War paradigm to the eyes of many in the general public, the Sinocentric models advanced by the CCP are far more complex, integrated and nuanced than those encountered in the past.

As has been elucidated in the previous pages, China's vision for a new economic, financial and technological global paradigm are a reflection of its historic, philosophical and

traditional values, and are viewed by the CCP not as a modern rise, but rather a return to its cultural legacy as a preeminent power in the Indo-Pacific (Ward, 2019).

Following World War Two, during the Bretton Woods Conference, the United States created a financial based trading system which was unique – in that it offered free trade, financial capital, credit and the protection of a security blanket for the global commons, which permitted the freedom of navigation and the facilitation of an exchange of goods and services on a worldwide level.

It was under this system, that colonial nations freed themselves from their former colonizers, that the European Union was able to come into existence amongst the shadow of the Communist bloc, and that China was able wrest itself out of poverty and begin its rise towards the prominent status as a major great power it holds today (Zeihan, 2014). While the United States has been by no means a perfect and benevolent power, and has often acted out of its own self-interest within the international system which it founded, the moral precepts of a culture and an ideal that is reflected within the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, were to play a prominent role within the global institutions which arose from ashes of the Second World War. This analysis posits that this system has come to an end.

A New Paradigm

As has been related earlier within this dissertation, China's government views the current models of international relations through a Sinocentric perspective – and seeks to recraft the modern global system towards an orientation based upon a hybridization of traditional and Confucian based interpretations of world affairs, combined with the financial and technological prowess that it gleaned from Western nations such as the United States. Indeed, under the steady

leadership of President Xi, the CCP seeks to create a Common Destiny for Mankind through the implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative in order to achieve its vision of the Two Centennials (Ward, 2019), a goal that will forever alter the globalized system for better or for worse.

This research analysis has found that the Chinese government, will broker no opposition towards the fulfillment of its goals, neither internally nor externally as it seeks to establish a military backed economic and trade based system which will prevent an existential crisis from ever arising within its domestic borders through external trade blockades, financial pressures or technological controls by a system that is currently dominated by Western nations and led by the United States. The CCP views the sustained growth of the Chinese economy as *sine qua non* and has pursued these ends with imagination, discipline and a technical precision (Maques, 2019).

While the Chinese government claims that it follows all international laws and will not interfere with any other nation's sovereign rights, this analysis has found through triangulation of official CCP and United States governmental documents that the CCP relies upon its own interpretation of international law, and has not practiced what it claims in words nor by the deeds and actions to which it commits. While the CCP maintains that violations conducted under the auspices of the WTO and the UN are a result of 'unequal treaties' (Lintner, 2019), the CCP has signed on as a contractual participant of these treaties, and thus, as mandated under international law, should abide by their terms until abrogated or annulled, so as to provide a level playing field for all parties within the arena of globalized markets. However as University of Chicago professor John Mearshiemer (2014) posits, while international laws and institutions exist, the true determinant of a nation's actions lies in an interest based paradigm alone, and this interest based mentality creates the anarchic global commons where national interest is second to none.

As stated earlier within the introduction to this dissertation, great power politics is a manifestation of international realist theory, which forms the overarching penumbra over all subsequent theories, and thus creates the universal security dilemma from which all geopolitical and military calculus is derived on the global chessboard (Mearshiemer, 2014). For the CCP these interests entail a new model of global relations suited to their own traditional, historic and technical standards, and a shift away from the Western oriented Bretton Woods system, which they perceive as a form of cultural imperialism whose capital, financial and technical controls seek to hold China back from its rightful place on the global stage. As the United States National Security Strategy (2017) states:

Although the United States seeks to continue to cooperate with China, China is using economic inducements and penalties, influence operations, and implied military threats to persuade other states to heed its political and security agenda. China's infrastructure investments and trade strategies reinforce its geopolitical aspirations. (NSS, 2017, p. 46)

While the CCP's strategic calculus is rational, and oriented towards the preservation of its own rule as well as the betterment of the Chinese greater good, this research has found that egregious human rights violations have been committed upon its own people in order to attain its ends. As House Speaker Nancy Pelosi made clear on the current Uyghur crisis:

The unabated oppression that the Uyghur communities face at the hands of the Chinese is a challenge to the conscience of the entire world. Today, on all days, we reaffirm our commitment to sharing the stories and sharing the outrage of the millions of Uyghurs who are being watched, followed, disappeared in internment camps and made to suffer 're-education' efforts. (Pelosi, 2019, para. 1)

It is the CCP's looking to the ends, rather than the means, as opposed to its valid and reasonable concerns and geopolitical competition that this dissertation seeks to address, as these systems are being projected onto the domestic shores of the United States. It is the extension of the CCP's governmental system onto the international sphere through highly sophisticated methods such as the Corporate Social Credit System amongst a host of others, combined by the significant lack of federal and state funding to American universities, which forms the taproot of the soft power campaign that has infringed upon the sovereign rights of the United States and the Constitutional protections of free speech in America's institutions of higher education.

Based upon these findings, and the highly interconnected nature of the geopolitical, international, corporate and governmental spheres in relation to the United States, the following recommendations will propose remedies and recourse to arrest or slow the focused propaganda campaign which the CCP has initiated upon American university campuses.

A great many authors and policymakers have posited that the best remedies to address China's rise and the CCP's goals to create a new modality of international relations based upon Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, have been accommodation (Maques, 2018), the lowering of standards and norms (Holslag, 2019), and the protection of academic freedoms through the legislation of policies and practices initiated by Congress and university officials (Peterson, 2018). While the protection of academic freedom through federal legislation and university policy are salient recommendations, this analysis finds that the continuance of accommodation and the lowering of standards and norms could permit China to exert increased leverage through a legion of channels in order to subvert the current standards and norms further and gain leverage and control over these systems. This would directly impact the American domestic sphere, and by dint the higher education sector.

While this analysis has found that constructive vigilance is necessary for Congress to initiate legislation in order to ensure the Constitutional precepts of the First Amendment are upheld, the interest based nature of the United States governmental system, has thus far precluded the necessary actions to protect the freedom of expression from being compromised by the machinations of the CCP soft power offensive. This interest based system, has thus far led to a defensive and reactive legislative response, as opposed to proactive and forward thinking policy implementation.

In addition, the ability for the CCP to initiate policy swiftly through its top down centralized bureaucratic system at a pace which cannot be matched by America's legislative bodies, bodies which are impeded by structural and legal impediments, has permitted the CCP to shift soft power methods in new and innovative ways that are one step ahead of the United States' ability to counter them. Maques (2019) asserts that this unity of purpose and swiftness of action in the policy realm, will be a major boon for the PRC and other illiberal systems within the ever shifting chessboard of geopolitics, and one which the often sclerotic democratic governments of the West will find hard to contend.

Maques (2019) claims that there are four possible outcomes to China's Belt and Road Initiative and its goals to achieve its new Sinocentric model of international relations – either the United States will maintain its current leadership over the international system, that China and the United States will create a co-leadership agreement, that China will co-opt the system, or China will create a new and independent system. This current analysis posits that there is a fifth option, that being the initiation of a new American policy strategy, reliant upon strong statutory protections and bi lateral agreements with nations which face geopolitical security threats with China. This policy would act in concord with the current international system where the interests

of the United States align with those of China, and would create a bifurcation of the technological and financial systems in the instances it does not.

While many leading policymakers and security analysts have recommended a grand strategy which will usher forth a unity of purpose between the Executive Department and Congress, the methods to achieve this goal have been absent or not included the role monetary influence plays on the American political system. Furthermore, many of these recommendations have not addressed the myriad loopholes that are included in statutory enactments on legislation that is specifically designed to prevent foreign agents from practicing soft power on America's higher education sector.

This research analysis posits that by advancing interest based policy recommendations which will dovetail the corporate and governmental spheres towards a mutually beneficial goal, that the Byzantine General's dilemma will be resolved, as the profit incentives for corporate participation will align with those of the United States foreign and domestic interest. Indeed, the rise of China presents a peculiar case in which the Republican and Democratic parties, as well as the majority of American corporations and firms, possess a concordant orientation which could gain momentum towards a unity of action resulting in a Nash equilibrium within the complex systems of the domestic and international spheres.

As the Rise of China section of this dissertation has showcased, support of the CCP in an effort to democratize and modernize China has been advocated by both Democratic and Republican presidential administrations, as well as the majority of American lawmakers throughout the past two decades. This support has come to an end in the present period, as American lawmakers and policymakers across the board recognize the clear and present danger

the CCP poses to the interests of the United States. Indeed, a host of bipartisan legislation, executive actions, and concordant investigations within the administrative realm have superseded the partisan rancor within America's halls of power, as both Democrats and Republicans recognize the potential existential challenge posed by the CCP. The fact that CEO's and industry leaders have a fiduciary responsibility to protect their shareholders and corporate dividends from the unfair competition which the CCP exerts through state mandated policies, will work to align these business and corporate leaders towards a policy arc which works in consonance with the Executive and Congressional goals of protecting the greater good. As Ward (2018) states:

China's vision and actions span virtually every realm of human activity from military planning in advanced space systems and artificial intelligence, to industry, agriculture, and manufacturing... This Chinese approach is a way of looking at the world that many are not accustomed to. While the United States has great global reach, it works to maintain rather than build its global power. Moreover, American planning is not nearly as comprehensive as Chinese global strategy. (Ward, 2019, p. 223)

While this writer posits that national security strategies and goals will shift between Congressional and Executive election cycles, a broad strategy that advances the above policy recommendations have the potential to come to fruition even with the heavily partisan divide between the Republican and Democratic parties. To be sure, as the corporate, financial and citizen based constituency are moving towards a broader recognition of the adverse impacts of unfair trading practices, proprietary theft, and the military and economic expansion of the Chinese state, such interest based policies will begin to congeal as the greater American populace recognizes that national, economic and domestic security are at stake.

A fluid strategy, much like the American foreign policy practiced during the Cold War period, permitted the United States to be flexible in its response to changing international circumstances, while projecting a clear and coherent policy easy comprehensible to the American populace and the global community. A similar strategy is recommended in the following pages, though these recommendations are inherently different due to the interconnected economic and global system, and the unique nature of China's political and geopolitical aspirations.

Former President John F. Kennedy's assessment that the perception of a divided and broken Congress has always been a part of the American system is relevant here, as is his message towards seeking a future where American leadership, innovation and vision can accomplish what was once thought impossible.

Balance Over Dominance

In a recent article by the *SCMP*, the author posits that a disengagement between the United States and China could lead to a dangerous scenario of heightened competition:

There have been growing signs that the world's two largest economies are decoupling and some analysts are predicting a new cold war, between a Washington which is mired in domestic political division and disengaging from the world, and an increasingly combative Beijing with its tit-for-tat approach to diplomacy. (Jiangtao, 2019, para. 5)

The *SCMP* article states that recent polls by the Pew Research Center highlighted that the American citizenry is increasingly moving towards an unfavorable view towards China, raising this perspective from forty-seven percent in 2018, to sixty percent in 2019 (Jiangtao, 2019). The article also cites assertions by United States based security analysts that both Democrats and

Republicans are, “trying to outdo each other on who was more hawkish on China” (Jiangtao, 2019, para 28), portraying this shift as dangerous and counterproductive towards the betterment of both nations. The article takes the overall view that a complete denouement between China and the United States would lead to an adverse geopolitical and economic climate, and paints the slew of new legislation and regulations being generated by Congress to protect the American greater good, as deleterious to the global commons, and moving towards a tendency of an American isolationist stance.

This writer concurs that a complete economic decoupling would be adverse to the global commons. Indeed, the United States economy is heavily invested in trade relations with China in which both countries benefit between mutually reciprocal trade agreements on goods such as petroleum and agriculturally based products. Moreover, the United States has billions in corporate and financial investments in China, whose profits and investments are locked in the Chinese markets, as CCP regulations and laws dictate that all profits generated in China by United States investors must remain within the bounds of the PRC (Spalding, 2019). The fact that China currently holds billions of dollars in United States treasuries within its sovereign wealth funds, which it could call to debt service, or in another scenario, unilaterally freeze all corporate and financial investments and profits within the PRC, could have the potential to destabilize the United States economy and create unforeseeable losses for investors.

Thus, the projection of CCP soft power upon the higher education sector of the United States must be addressed first and foremost by concerted Federal action serving as the primary catalyst for remedy and recourse, for the larger spheres of interest within the international arena, impact the actions within which the American domestic sphere operates, and bear direct effect upon the higher education universe. This supposition is much akin to the federal judicial system,

where the Supreme Court issues rulings which set legally restrictive boundaries, from which lower state and regional courts must interpret their own decisions. Thus, the parochial courts are permitted to make rulings which are *more* stringent than the legal boundaries set by the Supreme Court, but cannot exceed the authority or legal parameters set by the Supreme Court. By crafting a set of interconnected spheres of operation, in which each higher court supersedes the next, a continuity of law is created which operates in a cohesive fashion much like a Russian Matryoshka doll, with each smaller body existing within the framework of the larger. National security policy is in many ways analogous to the logical and organizational calculus on which these jurisprudential principles are based.

Therefore, the following recommendations are proposed within this policy analysis as the primary vehicles to arrest further CCP soft power incursions within the American and domestic orbits: 1. financial denouement; 2. technological and digital security; 3. a marriage of the domestic corporate and national security spheres; and 3. a forward policy of American engagement within the international commons.

While the following excursus deals primarily with federal action, and the direct and attenuated effects of this action upon the American academic sphere, as indicated earlier within the soft power section of this dissertation, universities have a host of options to limit CCP soft power projection within their own ambit of operations. These options include: 1. amending university charters to further protect student academic freedom; 2. the continuance of the provision of tenure to university professors so as to protect and encourage academic freedom; 3. a strict adherence to due diligence procedures before engaging in business or contractual relations with foreign entities or related subsidiary partners; and 4. thorough vetting of all participants engaging in proprietary research of a critical nature, with stipulated agreements and

processes to ensure the confidentiality and security of sensitive information derived from research activities within university research operations. While these key components are multifaceted, and differ in the degree to which they apply to a given university due to federal, state, regional and institutional relations unique to any given higher education provider, they are sound policy measures which may operate freely and independently within the federal sphere of recommendations proposed within the following pages.

However, as the following recommendations will showcase, the promulgation of new legislation to protect American financial interests, the creation of a bifurcation of the financial and technological based 5G systems, as well as the advancement of stronger military and technology sector relationships and ties to protect critical information and infrastructure within the United States, will permit the facilitation of continued trade and cultural relations with China and other nations, as well as maintain a robust American presence around the globe to protect the standards and norms of the international system. As the United States Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship stated in a recent report:

In a world of state competition for valuable industries, a domestic policy of neutrality is itself a selection of priority. ‘Not choosing’ is a choice, however it is made. The relevant policy consideration, then, is not whether states should organize their economies, but how they should be organized. Total neutrality among interacting economic systems is impossible, but relative material decline is not. (FIA, 2020, para. 8)

As will be shown in the following pages, these recommendations will also ensure that federal and state funding streams will increase for universities across the United States through the facilitation of a strong economy, the protection of academic freedoms and research, and an

increase in the revenue streams the higher education sector receives through national defense and technology based investments towards research and educational initiatives. These recommendations, will also increase the access to higher education for a host of rural, first generation, minority, and unemployed Americans, who seek to improve their lives and gain access to the necessary training and education that will be required as the Fourth Industrial Revolution moves towards an ever more domestically digitized and automated based employment infrastructure.

It should further be stated, that attempting to destabilize the CCP or its economy could have the potential to push the Chinese towards a war footing. The current leader of China, President Xi Jinping, while willing to go to great lengths in order to achieve the China Dream, is a stable technocratic ruler, as is the current CCP leadership. This analysis posits that attempting to pressure the CCP towards a democratically based system could be detrimental to regional and international stability, as such a push could lead to a hyper nationalistic party gaining power over a populous that has been inculcated for decades based upon a nationalistic educational social sciences curriculum, thereby creating instability for the Chinese people, and neighboring nations. Considering that many of America's current security partners are also non-democratic nations, neo-conservative nation building policies initiated by the United States, or policies which refute the sovereign rights of international nations to choose the best model of government based upon their own self-determination, would ultimately weaken key security ties between potential allies in Southeast Asia and around the globe. These nations, whose governmental models cleave to different cultural and systemic norms, seek to benefit from the United States' security umbrella which promotes an equitable free trade system under the UN, the WTO and IMF systems, in which all participatory treaty nations benefit.

While this analysis posits that it is paramount that the United States promote democratic values and human rights protections, this analysis recommends that American policymakers should look towards the *actions* of governments, not the *forms* of government in making solvable foreign policy decisions. The globe is shifting into a new paradigm where borders will become more pronounced, supply chains less integrated, and long dormant cultural perspectives and historic grievances bubble to the surface. It is posited, that, in the future, countries will act less like members of an international community and more like nations seeking to protect their own.

Financial De-coupling

The first recommendation proposed in this policy analysis is the financial decoupling of the Chinese and the American based financial system unless all practices are based upon a policy of reciprocity of interest and standards. This recommendation is a key component, as the American domestic economy is heavily intertwined within the international investment sphere. Thus any major shock or loss of market based investment to the United States in relation to high risk financial markets, could create a cascading effect which would limit further federal and state funding to the higher education sector.

As referenced earlier, the CCP mandates that all profits made in China by foreign based investments remain within their system, as China utilizes these profits to subsidize loans and support state controlled projects and corporations such as the Belt and Road Initiative, and its military based SOC's (Spalding, 2019). The Chinese government does not permit the Treasury Department, the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC), nor the Department of Justice to investigate the financial ledgers within China, even though American corporate and financial interests are heavily invested within China. The SEC has stated that:

The business books and records related to transactions and events occurring within China are required by Chinese law to be kept and maintained there. China also restricts the auditor's documentation of work performed in the country from being transferred out of China...China's state security laws are invoked at times to limit U.S. regulators' ability to oversee the financial reporting of U.S.-listed, China-based companies. In particular, Chinese laws governing the protection of state secrets and national security have been invoked to limit foreign access to China-based business books and records and audit work papers. (Rubio, 2019, p. 1)

Recent investigations into the Morgan Stanley Capital International Index, a leading index in global financial markets, have suggested that:

Twenty percent of the index consists of Chinese companies listed on the Shanghai and Shenzhen exchanges. That means that institutional investors and others who use the index as a guide are currently pouring money into those Chinese companies, adding as much as \$1 trillion to their valuation within a year. (Spalding, 2019, p. 156)

While many of these investments create positive returns for investors, these investments are short term ventures, as the funding of Chinese SOCs and NCs, facilitates competition against American and other international corporations displacing them in international markets, which will weaken the economy of the United States and other global competitors downstream. In addition, these investments are high risk due to the laws, regulations and practices of the CCP controlled Chinese financial sector.

Many of these investments are made by financial groups that control the pension funds of the American populace, and the fact that this money is in effect trapped within China, should raise concerns for American regulators and shareholders. It should also raise concerns for higher education administrators, as a significant portion of educationally related pension funds have been monetized within the markets to reap higher dividends in order to fund a system ravaged by the Great Recession of 2008. Former director of the United States National Security Council General Robert Spalding compares the system to a giant Ponzi scheme, in which China takes foreign investments, utilizes them to support its strategic goals, and then does not permit these investors to repatriate their funds. While these funds have produced steady gains, there is a great risk that any shock to the markets may find these funds trapped within China. General Spalding (2019) states:

According to well placed finance experts, companies such as Chevron, Exxon, Sony and BMW have billions of dollars in earnings in China. But they can't repatriate their money. China refuses to let it leave the country, because it needs those dollars. Numerous investment community sources have told me that, as far as they know, China has not allowed the significant repatriation of any Western investor funds since 2015. (Spalding, 2019, p. 157)

In addition, many Chinese SOC's and NC's do not place key information within their prospectus documents for initial public offerings on international trading platforms such as the Hong Kong Stock exchange, which creates immense risks for American investors seeking to make profits for their corporations or shareholders. One example is the China Communications Constructions Company (CCCC), which is a dredging company that has created many of the

manmade islands in the South China Sea which the CCP has turned into military operations centers.

The CCCC did not mention these activities within their IPO prospectus, which places potential investors at increased risk, considering the fact that sanctions for these activities could be initiated by the United States to curb expansion of China's military goals as it expands across the strategic trade routes of the South China Sea. Risk consulting group RWR raised a red flag on this fact after investigating CCCC, stating that the Hong Kong Stock Exchange faced legal action if the CCCC did not reveal the South China Sea dredging operations, and the Hong Kong Stock Exchange pulled the IPO, after CCCC refused to state these activities within its prospectus (Spalding, 2019). The point being made, here is that China is not complying with fair international financial trading practices nor reciprocity of purpose for standard accounting methods, putting American investors and their stakeholders at high risk, while simultaneously burnishing the CCP's long term strategic goals on infrastructure, military based operations and other critical strategic initiatives.

As much of these investments are speculated to be utilized by the CCP on its Belt and Road Initiative in the provision of loans to participant nations, it could also create the risk of an overleveraged Chinese financial sector, creating the possibility of destabilization of the global economy as China's high risk ventures would directly affect American shareholders if the liquidity to repay these loans is not available if called to service. Recent bi-partisan legislation, led by Democratic Senator's Bob Mendez and Republican Senator Marco Rubio, has been proposed to ensure that Beijing complies with United States financial investment practices *within* the American market sector. Senator's Mendez and Rubio make clear that, "Currently, U.S. regulators face significant challenges in conducting oversight for the audits and financial

reporting of Chinese companies listed on American stock exchanges. This presents a threat to American investors and U.S. capital markets” (Mendez, 2019, para. 1).

The Senators make the point that Chinese companies listed on American exchanges do not adhere to the same standards and norms of American companies, highlighting the risk posed by such investments, “As of 2017, these U.S.-listed Chinese companies had a market capitalization of approximately \$1.2 trillion- including over \$120 billion in pension funds, retirement plans, mutual funds, and exchange-traded funds” (Mendez, 2019, para 3).

The proposed Equitable Act made by the Senators would require regulators to audit Chinese companies under the same standards as those of American companies, and “would delist foreign companies that do not comply with U.S. accounting and oversight regulations from American exchanges, subject to a grandfather provision, in order to avoid sudden losses to existing shareholders” (Mendez, 2019, para. 5). Further statutory regulations and legislation such as the Equitable Act highlighted above, will be necessary to create a fair trading environment for American investors *within* the United States market system, where many Chinese based corporations supported by the CCP and often connected to the PLA under China’s Civil Military Fusion model offer investment opportunities within American domestic trading markets (Gertz, 2019).

As stated earlier within this dissertation, open source technology has dual use capacity for both domestic and military purposes (Gertz, 2019), and the fact that up to twenty percent of start-ups within Silicon Valley are funded by Chinese corporations (Spalding, 2019), should merit fair and equitable accounting methods to ensure that these corporations are not subsidiary corporations to the PLA. This analysis posits that it would not be wise to permit unlimited and

unvetted investments within America's capital and technological markets, as these key industry sectors could become financially and economically captured as a result.

However, further legislation is recommended that would also limit American corporations investing *inside* China unless the CCP alters its financial regulations to permit a fair risk analysis and review of their trading books, as well as the ability for profits to be repatriated back to the United States upon request, as per international standards and norms.

This analysis does not envision that China would loosen its current restrictions on withholding repatriation of investment funding by American nor other foreign corporate investors. This is due to the fact that the CCP is reliant upon the money invested to finance its Belt and Road Initiative, its SOC's and other Chinese based projects. Hence the CCP would find itself overleveraged and underfunded if it permitted its finances to be reviewed or repatriated by American based regulatory authorities, for the valid concern that a flight of capital could take place if these investors believed that their ventures had been placed in high risk loans or potentially sanctionable activities. Thus, if the CCP altered its current system, the resultant repercussions could severely cripple its economy, and possibly adversely affect the global economic sphere as such losses could produce a ripple effect through other international markets.

While many of the American investments in China are indeed profitable to industry leaders making returns on these investments as well as to shareholders, these investments are premised on a short term outlook, and are at high risk, as these investments are utilized to fund China's SOC's and NC's, which supplant American firms on highly competitive international markets, and can be frozen by the CCP at will. Thus this first policy recommendation posits that by permitting investments that have already been made within China to mature and produce

dividends as vested interests, while withholding additional investments into Chinese markets on the model proposed by the Equitable Act within the American financial markets, is a soluble remedy to maintain global economic stability, while protecting the American markets, corporations and citizens from further potential loss or destabilization of their monetary savings and earnings.

Such methods of financial decoupling would also slow the pace of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative and the state subsidization of Chinese corporations around the globe, as less investment capital would be available within Chinese coffers, to finance the developmental projects and corporate expansion by CCP affiliates on the international level. It would also induce financial corporations to invest within secure American based corporations and international markets to further strengthen the domestic economy of the United States. This would produce more availability of funding to higher education institutions as the domestic economy is infused with more capital and liquidity within the American markets.

This recommendation is not suggesting a complete decoupling of the United States' financial systems with China, but rather a slow denouement towards investments in more secure global markets and within the domestic sphere. As the Great Recession of 2008 highlights, market perturbations directly affect funding streams to the higher education sector, thus the protection of American domestic economic sphere is a salient recommendation.

Financial Denouement and the American Higher Education Sector

As has been made clear within the earlier sections of this dissertation, there most likely will be loopholes within statutory legislation enacted by Congress that still will permit various

American firms to continue to invest in high risk ventures within state controlled markets of China even if an international version of the Equity Act is codified. However, by slowly limiting high risk financial investments to China on a broader scale through a strong financial mandate, the larger flows of investment could be curbed to a significant degree. American corporate dollars could then be reinvested within the domestic markets to strengthen the American manufacturing, economic and technological bases. As non-reciprocal trading and investment mechanisms have become more pronounced within the last two decades as nations seek to strengthen their sovereign economic spheres in the face of a fragmenting global order and a pivot towards a multi polar world (CDD, 2019), the protection of domestic markets will be essential for a robust higher education sector within the United States. Indeed, since 2001 when China was permitted to join the World Trade Organization, it has been estimated that seventy five percent of jobs lost between 2001 and 2017, over 2.5 million jobs in total, were in the manufacturing sector (Spalding 2019). These numbers coupled with the estimated 300 to 500 billion dollars a year lost to intellectual property theft by China from the United States, as well as the 1.4 million jobs that accompanied these proprietary investments (Spalding, 2019), should be alarming to any individual interested in protecting the American domestic economy, as well as higher education funding streams which are reliant upon the performance of this economy.

The research conducted suggests that while globalization, automation and other economic facets of the post-modernist economic system have adversely affected the American manufacturing, technology and employment spheres within the United States (Zeihan, 2014), the unprecedented scale and size of the Chinese economy, as well as its concerted efforts to illicitly attain American technology and proprietary property, warrants a reciprocity based response in order to protect the greater good as well as the American higher education system.

For example, job losses in the manufacturing sector, have led to high suicide rates, drug addiction, children born out of wedlock, and a general sense of disillusionment by many within the rural areas of the United States, where these industries had once provided a sense of purpose and stable wages for American citizens and their families (Spalding, 2019). This loss of economic well-being and security is compounded by the fact that many rural areas have the lowest levels of literacy, the highest levels of poverty and minimal access to both traditional brick and mortar universities and technological platforms that can permit them to attain the new training and degrees that they will need in the ever evolving technologically based future job markets of the United States (Kelchen, 2018).

Many within the urban areas of the United States, which are suffering themselves from the new contract based economy that has emerged following the Great Recession, an economy which provides minimal benefits and financial uncertainty even for highly trained citizens such as untenured university professors, are not aware of the poverty afflicting these once employment rich manufacturing hubs, nor the valid and reasonable concerns that many of these citizens express. This has led to the growth in populism and impractical policy solutions on both sides of the political aisle, creating divisions of partisanship and policies which are unsustainable financially and environmentally, and thus are ill-suited towards the long term benefit of the United States economy. As Senator Marco Rubio states:

Changes in the 21st century economy have upended the working lives of millions of Americans. Americans understand that something has gone wrong, and the failure of Washington to respond is one of the underlying currents in our nation's disunity.

Something needs to change. (Rubio, 2020, para. 3)

Considering the fact that the CCP still refuses to abide by many of the WTO and equitable investment based standards of global markets, redirecting and reinvesting finances within the American economic sphere to rebuild America's manufacturing hubs as well as strengthening its technology industry, could lead to the creation of stable jobs geared towards the newly emerging economy of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Wagner & Furst, 2018). Such policies could promote not only a raised level of employment and income for the many American citizens and families suffering unemployment and low incomes in the former rural manufacturing belts across the United States, but could also promote a groundswell of policy impetus towards new vocational training programs in community colleges, and thus lead to additional funding from state and federal sources seeking to promote these newly reemerging manufacturing jobs.

A move towards reinvestment within the United States economy could also facilitate corporate and governmental initiatives that would provide funding and programs for traditional four year universities within the higher education sector, increasing access to millions of American students seeking to benefit from the high level of technical training and educational services that America's universities can provide. As Spalding (2019) makes clear:

The weakening of our job market weakens American society as a whole, which stresses our economy and security. Less employment leads to less spending and less local tax revenue, which leads to a decline in services and infrastructure, creating a drag on social services. These conditions impact federal spending decisions. A shrinking or underperforming economy taxes available resources. (Spalding, 2019, p. 41)

Reviving the manufacturing sectors within the United States and eliding them with the newly emergent technological fields which will form the backbone of the Internet of Things (Wagner & Furst, 2018), would not only improve higher educational funding streams to train this manufacturing workforce, but would also provide a national security base, as many key products and resources have become attenuated across global supply chains, from the parts necessary to build America's F-35 military jets, to the rare earths needed to supply America's highly technological society (Ward, 2019). These key technological and manufacturing links are necessary for national security purposes, as well as for a host of other key sectors within the American economy, and an overextended international supply chain puts these critical sectors at risk. Initiatives to ensure domestic supply chains are secure, are already being funded by Congressional and Executive initiatives as is the facilitation of American energy security (Zeihan, 2014). As geopolitical writer Peter Zeihan (2014) explains in relation to the recent shale boom and lower energy prices derived from decreased prices in oil and natural gas:

With the boom in cheap input fuels, electricity prices have flat lined and are now the cheapest in the developed world...Such cheap natural gas and cheap electricity is a massive boon for any industry...Heavy chemicals, steel, aluminum, plastics, fertilizers and manufacturing of all types – precisely the sort of jobs that shifted out of the country during the 1990's and 2000's – are already returning to the United States. (Zeihan, 2014, p. 138)

Recent innovative higher education programs to harness the reemergence of industry jobs due to lower manufacturing costs within the United States have emerged *en masse*. One such program is Tennessee's Free Community College Initiative, which provides free tuition to low

income students of all ages seeking to gain vocational and traditional college skills. The program is geared to burnish Tennessee’s technical workforce through funding taxed from its state lottery system, and is amongst a host of others similar initiatives being proposed all across America (Straus, 2019).

Indeed, the state of Washington has implemented a program which provides free college to low income students funded by a surcharge on business, “with large technology companies such as Microsoft and Amazon – both of which supported the bill, paying the highest rates” (Straus, 2019, para. 12). Such state led and industry supported programs assist towards the facilitation of a steady funding stream for universities while improving the corporate and business environment within the states that implement such policies, as these businesses will have a highly trained workforce ready to accept job offers when university students graduate from these programs. Extending the availability and fecundity of these programs across the United States to middle income families and students who have also been hit hard by the outsourcing of manufacturing and technology service jobs during the past few decades, would be an equitable improvement within these systems. As artificial intelligence, automation and other technological advances are brought to scale, such as three dimensional digital printing which removes the necessity for extended supply chains for multiple and dextile parts critical to industry sectors (Zeihan, 2014), workers trained in these new high tech skills will be required to run the newly repatriated manufacturing facilities as they remerge across the nation. These newly revived industries could drive the future reemergence of America’s manufacturing architecture, as well as lay the groundwork for the much needed improvements on America’s transportation, electricity and telephonic infrastructure, which will need to be updated to comport with the newly unfolding smart grid and 5G systems of the future. Such counter cyclical developmental

expenditures, much akin to the New Deal Era programs, will also provide employment, driving up funding for the higher education sector by states and federal governments as tax revenues swell, and will further benefit corporations who will need highly trained individuals to service and construct these necessary network and infrastructure upgrades.

Considering the fact that following the 2008 recession only fourteen percent of America's GDP was reliant upon exports, with five percent wrapped up in energy, five percent with trade in North America, and the other five percent in trade outside North America (Zeihan, 2014), the current trade war with China, in which the United States is demanding a fair playing field, will have little impact on the overall economy, and is supported by both sides of the political aisle on its main precepts. The maintenance of trade ties with China in the agricultural and energy sectors, with the slow disattenuation of supply chains to protect America's national security in an effort to bolster its economy and workforce, will not only provide more funding to universities as America's coffers increase with new domestically generated largesse, but will also improve the lives of American citizens and families who have been hurt by China's unfair trading practices and intellectual property theft, and who desire a return to a solid job with benefits and purpose.

The United State Senate Committee on Small Business concurs in this assessment, as it seeks to revive the American manufacturing base with secure domestic supply chains and employment for workers:

Manufacturing provides better and more stable employment for American workers than financial services. Physical capital development makes for more prosperous towns and communities than does digital capital...Offshoring jobs to save labor costs doesn't often create equivalent jobs for the workers displaced by it...Geographic proximity to

productive assets like factories increases the prosperity of supplying local small businesses. (FAI, 2020, para. 9)

America has a solid agricultural sector, the potential for energy independence, water in abundance and is rich in natural resources (Zeihan, 2014). It is also insulated by two major oceans, and has more navigable rivers and deep water ports than all of the other nations of the globe combined (Zeihan, 2014). China on the other hand, imports eighty percent of its energy needs, can support only twenty five percent of its population with agriculture and eleven percent of its population for water (Ward, 2019). Thus China is population rich but resource poor. China is reliant on extended supply chains, the United States is not. The advantage the United States possess towards driving its society and its economy towards a strong future even with a measured divestment from financial and unfair trading ties with China, will improve the lives of millions of Americans and benefit the long term stability of the United States in the future.

These jobs will be critical for not only the betterment of the lives of American citizens who have suffered unemployment and lowered wages in the manufacturing sphere, but also for the long term greater good of the United States, for as the Baby boomer generation begins to leave the workforce, the financial investments and savings they pumped into the global economy, providing cheap credit to global investors, and critical tax revenue for the United States will take a net dive. As Zeihan (2014) explains, “In literally one day, a mature worker’s financial contribution to the broader system shifts from the most she has ever contributed to nothing” (Zeihan, 2014, p.151), while the services these individuals receive will increase. Zeihan (2014) continues:

Ageing demographics will sharply and suddenly contract credit availability to a level that has not been witnessed since the 1970's...The loss of the developed world's capital surplus as well as the developed world's consuming demographic will force harsh decision on every economic entity, whether state or private across the world. (Zeihan, 2014, p. 151)

As the financial capital that has dominated America's recovery since the 2008 Recession contracts due to aging demographics or any other unforeseen crisis which shocks the financial markets, it will be critical that American workers, students and their families have the ability to engage in well-paying employment within a resilient manufacturing and service economy. A strong domestically based economy that is not reliant upon international supply chains, nor a foreign manufacturing base, will also provide an economic buffer for unforeseen black swan events.

The education and the training to work in the highly technological manufacturing and services industries that these jobs of the future will require, will insulate the 'real economy' with stable jobs and not just financial gains and profits which are bound to decline as the Boomer generation enters retirement age or the world suffers market contractions. Increased funding by federal, state and corporate participants will also lesson the need for universities to receive funding from foreign entities, which is the root cause of the CCP's soft power influence on the higher education sector.

This recommendation is not suggesting that all manufacturing sectors should be brought back to America, as comparative economics will still provide lucrative profits for American and international investment in other regions of the globe, however the high costs of oceanic

transport and the lower profits in China have driven many corporations and manufacturers closer to the United States. As Zeihan (2014) explains:

Labor costs have increased by a factor of six in China in just ten years, sending manufacturers who used to see China as the promised land over in droves... Many are relocating much closer to their preferred American end market with Mexico being a hot favorite. (Zeihan, 2014, p. 158)

Increased trade made possible by the revisions to the NAFTA trading agreement including environmental protections, worker protections and increased wages for many within Mexico, have the potential to benefit America's trading partners, improve the lives of workers and their families in Latin America, as well as bolster American national security and economic wellbeing.

The requirement for fair and equitable investment practices for both foreign and domestic financial activities by Congressional legislators, could also facilitate investment within other South East Asian nations, such as India, that comply with international financial standards, thereby diversifying supply chains in key sectors away from China and towards economies which present comparable economic interests and cheaper labor costs than China. This tactful shift would thereby improve living standards, employment and development in many of these newly emerging economies.

By increasing investments within partner nations that practice fair financial and trade practices under the auspices of the WTO, a geopolitical wedge will be placed between China's increasing attempts to Finlandize these nations through low interest loans and high risk

concessionary trade deals (Holslag, 2018), that are to a significant degree facilitated with the trillions of dollars provided by American investors. Such measures would provide economic growth for developing nations, and further the profits and geopolitical strength of the United States within the region.

China's Belt and Road Initiative reflects the reality of its higher labor and manufacturing costs, as labor, manufacturing and resource development within the Belt and Road Initiative's participatory partners is a partial result of China's maturing developmental and income related sectors (Holslag, 2018). Hence, American investments and corporate participation with nations that practice fair financial, trade and investment standards is more cost effective than outsourcing production and investments to China, as its burgeoning middle class and economy becomes further developed and thus less lucrative to foreign interests. The strengthening of financial, investment and trade relations with nations that practice fair investment standards, could also prevent or slow the erosion of the current international order, for if current financial practices continue unabated, China's Belt and Road Initiative and the new international model of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics that the CCP envisions could come to fruition. Such an occurrence could lead to human rights violations, the prohibition of religious freedoms, lesser environmental and worker protection standards, and increased economic, cyber and military leverage to weaken the democratic institutions within the United States. This undermining of the institutional integrity of the American system, could thus lead to the compromising of free expression and academic freedom within America's university campuses.

Technological Sovereignty

While measured statutory mandates on non-standardized non reciprocal financial and trade investments is the first recommendation to halt Chinese soft power projection, perhaps the most critical recommendation within this dissertational analysis is directly related to the first recommendation. It is the complete separation of all American 5G systems from those of the Chinese state and all of its attendant subsidiary partners. This recommendation is *sine qua non* for data protection and digital privacy, as Spalding (2019) states:

If a Chinese telecom builds and controls a nation's 5G network, there will be no checks and balances to keep the Chinese company from stealing and mining all the data on that network: all academic papers and research, all engineering and business plans, all the photos, emails and text messages. (Spalding, 2019, p. 114)

As explained earlier within this dissertation, the new fields of artificial intelligence, 5G and automation will drive the economy of the future, increasing the capacity, flexibility and speed within the digital sphere:

The precision of 5G will transform our society in ways that are hard to fathom...It is clear that technological advances will accelerate well beyond the current pace, as data will be able to flow from apps and sensors, feeding machine learning and artificial intelligence engines. (Spalding, 2019, p. 112)

Securing the digital transfers along these new conduits will be critical, as all financial, trading, manufacturing and corporate information will flow through these circuits. Such systems also directly affect the higher education sector which is reliant upon a host of platforms,

corporations, research systems and cloud computing to facilitate the advancement of academic writing, publishing and administrative activities.

Indeed, as is made clear by Spalding (2019) both the current and future digital platforms of the United States must be secure for the transit of information and data, “given the modern day realities and the size of the US economy, which runs through digital platforms, cyber protection needs to be paramount” (Spalding, 2019, p. 101). As the reader will recall, parametrical distortion, information removal, research theft of proprietary information, as well as higher education business investments and student information all have the potential to facilitate CCP soft power, as the CCP seeks to control the narrative, limit adverse perception of its strategic goals, and build its technological base in order to achieve digital and internet sovereignty.

Throughout the past two decades, the United States has been the leader in high level research, and has promoted an open academic environment. As the Senate report on China’s Talent Recruitment plans makes clear:

America built this successful research enterprise on certain values: reciprocity, integrity, merit-based competition, and transparency. These values foster a free exchange of ideas, encourage the most rigorous research results to flourish, and ensure that researchers receive the benefit of their intellectual capital. (CTRP, 2019, p. 5)

However, as showcased earlier within this dissertation, the PLA’s Third Department, and a host of other CCP based elements have sought to take advantage of this open research

environment through state sponsored initiatives such as the Made in China 2025 Plan and the One Thousand Talents Plan, which encourage the theft of critical research (Gertz, 2019).

The past two decades have seen this theft multiply exponentially, “During that time, China openly recruited U.S.-based researchers, scientists, and experts in the public and private sector to provide China with knowledge and intellectual capital in exchange for monetary gain and other benefits” (CTRP, 2019, p. 5). Much of this theft has occurred through cyber based means (Gertz, 2019). Indeed, China’s National Intelligence Law stipulates in Article 14 that all Chinese individuals, businesses, institutions and associational entities must provide assistance to the CCP in national intelligence work (Spalding, 2019). This CCP enacted mandate makes an independent 5G system for the United States all the more pressing, as any Chinese corporation that creates digital, telephonic, or data infrastructure is required by Chinese law to aid the CCP in espionage or information gathering. Furthermore, all data gathered within Chinese based systems feeds into the data acquired by the CCP government under the Civil Military Fusion model. As stated earlier, machine learning and other AI systems build exponentially on the amount of data acquired, thus the more data fed into the system, the more effective, powerful and accurate the AI system becomes (Wagner & Furst, 2018). Robert Spalding, the former Senior Director to the White House at the National Security Council makes the importance of a secure 5G network abundantly clear:

Anything connected to an unsecured 5G network will be a potential weapon that can be used to gain geopolitical influence and control. If China were to control a 5G network, it would be able to weaponize the technology within entire cities – or entire countries – served by that network and hold that city or state at its mercy. (Spalding, 2019, p. 115)

While such statements may seem alarmist, former PLA Colonels Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui (2017), whose work *Unrestricted Warfare* was a catalyst for the Three Warfares Strategy now being advanced by the CCP upon United States through a host of soft power methods, advocate the use of beyond the boundaries thinking and unrestricted warfare within all domains of a nation's civilian and military spheres. Liang and Xiangsui (2017) state:

The expansion of the domain of warfare is a necessary consequence of the ever expanding scope of human activity, and the two are intertwined...The great fusion of technologies is impelling the domains of politics, economics, the military, culture, diplomacy, and religion to overlap each other. The connection points are ready, and the trend towards the merging of the various domains is very clear. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, pp. 198-200)

The United States Defense Authorization Act is already moving towards creating a 5G system independent from Chinese based digital hardware, with its requirements limiting federal defense related funding to higher education sectors that will utilize systems manufactured by Huawei and other affiliated entities. However a nationwide mandated requirement that would require all 5G infrastructure to remain independent of Chinese based equipment has been resisted by large American telephonic firms (Spalding 2019), with the telephonic firms arguing that supply chains, sales to foreign entities and research development will be severely hampered by a full scale ban on 5G parts, chips, and other related elements critical to the American technology and communications industry. As a recent *SCMP* article stated, "There is a struggle within the US government to develop and implement export control policies" (Klein, 2019, para. 4). The *SCMP* article cited the fact that America's corporations earn more than 14 billion dollars in sales

per annum to Chinese technology firms. However, as Federal Communications Chairman Ajit Pai argued, permitting Chinese equipment into 5G wireless systems, “would open the door to censorship, surveillance, espionage and other harms” (Klein, 2019, para. 36).

Currently the CCP maintains a digital internet firewall within China, reliant upon its own 5G systems, with the potential to issue denial of services to all outside cyber entities, as the CCP recognizes the potential to utilize data and information as a strategic weapon (Spalding 2019). If any entity within China or any foreign agent operating outside its borders attempts to undermine the stringent CCP based party line, Chinese authorities can conduct denial of access blocking mechanisms within their system to limit all information and communication. Currently China is moving towards the swapping out of all American based components within its system, as its technology corporations acquire next generation digital technology and research through both legal and illicit means to procure and manufacture these technologies domestically. The purpose of creating a self-reliant technological industry with all appurtenant parts and supply chains secure within its domestic purview, is to orchestrate the creation of internet and digital sovereignty, which can then be exported outwards as it expands its Belt and Road Initiative to create a Chinese based global digital infrastructure.

Attaining digital sovereignty also protects China from any outside sanctions from nations such as the United States, that could limit crucial chip and supply components along an extended interconnected supply chain. Indeed, sanctions could potentially cripple China’s technological advancement and stall its economic rise. It will be recalled from earlier within this dissertation, that China spends more capital on the foreign import of microchips than it does on imports of

fuel, which lends impetus and urgency towards China's goals of becoming completely self-sufficient within this particular domain (Ward, 2019).

This analysis posits that while American firms are currently profiting through copyright fees, licensing fees, as well as partnerships with Chinese firms (Ward, 2019), these profits will be short term in nature, as China is mandating that its entire industry become self-sufficient. Thus American firms, by logic of deduction, will be pushed out of Chinese markets in the near future and face state backed competitors in the very firms with whom they once forged partnerships. As the United States Senate has made clear:

A common defense of expanded trade with China has, and continues to be, a claim of value chain position: in theory, the production of cheap and mass-market consumer goods in China would produce an increase in the standard of living for American consumers and allow the U.S. to increase high-value exports to China. But what happens if China makes these high-value products instead? This is the future of the Made in China 2025 Plan. (FAI, 2020, para. 10)

It follows that the permitting of short term gains by American technology firms in the present by the United States government, could end in long term losses in the future both to American national security and economic prowess. Conversely, if the United States promoted a denouement of America's 5G systems, providing domestic firms with the business tenders to facilitate the revamping of the nation's digital infrastructure, the loss would accrue to China both in the short and the long term, as the loss to its technological advancement would be felt immediately, and carry forwards into their long term planning to develop digital sovereignty.

Thus a short term loss and a long term goal makes sense policy wise for the United States, yet could such a recommendation gain traction given the interest based politics of the American system? The United States Senate makes the point that, “Markets respond to the priorities set for them through policy choices. The critical question is which policy choices are in the interests of the American people” (FAI, 2020, para. 11).

With the nascent nature of America’s current 5G systems, the recommendation for a complete decoupling of America’s 5G infrastructure is a critical element to protect not only the security and economic wellbeing of the United States, but also the higher education sector which operates on a basis of openness and transparency. A recent Executive Order supported by both the United States House and Senate, which bans the use of foreign technology in communications infrastructure funded by the federal government, highlights the importance of maintaining openness and protecting secure informational transit. Although maintaining an open investment climate in information and communications technology, and in the United States economy more generally, is important for the overall growth and prosperity of the United States, such openness must be balanced by the need to protect our country against critical national security threats (SICT, 2020, para. 2). Considering the balance of the equities, this writer believes that this recommendation has great potential to be built off of an interest based model conducive to the corporate mentality of improving the bottom line for their firms and shareholders. This is due to the fact that many of the largest technology firms in the United States, such as Google and Facebook are currently banned from the Chinese mainland (Gertz, 2019), with China creating mirror firms such as Baidu and Tencent modeled off of these digital giants in order to fill the market niche.

Ironically, while Google and Facebook as well as many other American firms are banned in China, the mirror firms created in China, are permitted to operate freely within the United States undercutting the very firms they emulated. This phenomena, is also taking place within the pharmaceutical, health, chemical and agricultural markets, which adds impetus and political momentum to the calls for technological independence, and a break with unequitable and non reciprocal investment and trade relationships.

Furthermore, the requirement of forced technology transfers, informational monitoring, the withholding of repatriation of profits as well as the potential for proprietary theft within the closed Chinese cyber systems, creates an interest based incentive for American technology firms to capitalize within the newly unfolding 5G fields in a system closed to a CCP supported and controlled digital sphere.

In recent testimony before the United States Congress, Mark Zuckerberg highlighted the necessity and the benefits of creating an American based digital currency labeled as the Libra, run by his corporation to compete with China's newly unfolding block chain initiatives and digital currency launches which are run off of the Ali Baba and Tencent 5G systems. Whether it is block chain, internet, automation or digital printing, the newly unrolling 5G systems will encompass the Internet of Things, which consists of a myriad of applications and potentialities including digital currencies and digital ledger financing. Zuckerberg commented on the fact that America must act to protect its innovative capacity and digital infrastructure from outside interests:

But I also hope we can talk about the risks of not innovating. While we debate these issues, the rest of the world isn't waiting. China is moving quickly to launch similar ideas

in the coming months. Libra will be backed mostly by dollars and I believe it will extend America's financial leadership as well as our democratic values and oversight around the world. If America doesn't innovate, our financial leadership is not guaranteed.

(Zuckerberg, 2019, p. 1)

Zuckerberg, continued by stating that the United States government, regulators and other technology companies must act in tandem to ensure data portability and safety, highlighting that:

If America doesn't lead on this, others will. Foreign companies or countries may act without the same regulatory oversight or commitment to transparency that we have.

We're already seeing how companies with very different values are restricting people based on their beliefs. There's no guarantee that services which support democracy and fundamental rights around expression will win out. (Zuckerberg, 2019, p. 4)

This analysis posits that by utilizing an interest based model harnessing an integrated core of America's largest technology firms with national security, economic and information based systems, that a mutual interest will arise between Congressional legislators and the corporate sphere, obviating the potential resistance through lobbying activities, political campaign contributions, and other mean that could prevent legislation for a completely bifurcated American 5G system from coming to fruition.

While many American firms are still resistant to such an initiative due to short term investments and copyright fees accrued through partnerships with Chinese based firms and governmental entities, a host of the largest technology firms such as Facebook, Microsoft, Google and Amazon, are already moving towards an incentive based model which anticipates a

regulatory marriage between the American national security and financial spheres with those of the domestic corporate and technological firms. In essence, the government needs the innovative capacity and current systems technology from America's high tech firms in order to establish secure networks, and the technology firms need the government to protect their markets, intellectual property and profits.

In addition, an independent 5G system, based upon American based innovation would burnish and protect the research and development fields within America's higher education sphere. This would severely hamper CCP soft power projection, as American based systems would not be compromised by CCP based digital hardware which could distort information and search queries through hardwired biases designed into its analytical data streams. This would ensure the protection of academic freedom in the digital sphere, by promoting independent research, publishing and expression within a democratically oriented internet system. It would also prevent bad actors from utilizing leverage through access to confidential information such as potential mergers and acquisitions by universities, or intimidation through denial of service or increased charges on digital contracts that would require certain universities to comply by standards and norms created under the auspices of CCP controlled corporations.

Indeed the United States Executive Office and Congress have recently concluded that:

Unrestricted acquisition or use in the United States of information and communications technology or services designed, developed, manufactured, or supplied by persons owned by, controlled by, or subject to the jurisdiction or direction of foreign adversaries augments the ability of foreign adversaries to create and exploit vulnerabilities in information and communications technology or services, with potentially catastrophic

effects, and thereby constitutes an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States. (SICT, 2020, para. 2)

Congressional support permitting large technology firms to continue with their course of trade without breaking them up due to antitrust violations, would not only provide an incentive for cooperation by these corporations by increasing potential profits, but would also make them easier to regulate and permit them to maintain an economy of scale. The maintenance of an economy of scale is critical in the brave new world of AI and Deep Learning systems, as data builds upon itself within a given system to become more accurate and effective. Thus limited scale in a digital server's algorithm base, equates to limited data, which then hinders a compendium of applications and efficiencies with the Deep Learning neural-network. This data scale reality, could permit larger more competitive systems to dominate and expand at the cost of the smaller AI systems (Wagner & Furst, 2018). Therefore, in order to compete with China's massive SOC's and NC's under its Civil and Military Fusion model, American based competitors must maintain their economy of scale and digital equity.

Harnessing the experience, proprietary technology infrastructure and markets that American corporations already possess both domestically and internationally, to collate massive amounts of data and information that would aid towards the development of America's new 5G infrastructure network, would be an effective way to break the Byzantine General's problem, as both government and corporate interests would elide into a singular goal beneficent to all parties. Even though disparate interests would still exist within the chaotic system, the alignment of the majority of interests towards a plurality of benefits would create a Nash Equilibrium, in which no single interest can gain an advantage over the others with a change in strategy, as the current

strategy benefits the majority of parties more than an alteration of strategy could benefit any single rogue actor (McFate, 2019).

While providing technology firms or any corporate actor with excess power is indeed a problem as explored earlier within this dissertation, the necessity to create an independent 5G system, and the repercussions if the United States does not move towards this option, supersedes this initial concern. While the interest based politics of the technological firms have the potential to pose a problem for academic freedom in the future due to their own biases and interests, this dissertation is focused on limiting CCP soft power on the American university system, and thus focuses on utilizing the monetary and technological power these corporations possess to the public trust's advantage, so as to create a synergistic benefit for both the government and these technology firms, in an effort to arrest the current CCP propaganda campaign. The fact that large digital firms such as Facebook are attempting to break into new markets that would benefit from an independent 5G system is a critical component to burnish America's innovative capital, while weakening China's influence campaigns. Mr. Zuckerberg states that:

I think it would be bad for our country and the world if companies were discouraged from taking on challenges like these, and settled for safer options that reinforce the status quo. That would harm our national reputation for innovation, make our economy less competitive, and end up concentrating more power in the hands of existing players rather than people. (Zuckerberg, 2019, p. 5)

It is clear – that the protection of the nation's entire military, economic and informational system is reliant upon a bifurcation of American based 5G systems from Chinese based corporations. This technological denouement would remove the potential for soft power

influence, research theft, parametrical distortions, and informational breaches within the higher education sector. Indeed, the very fact that the majority of leaders in both the Republican and Democratic parties, both in Congress and in the Executive Department, support a 5G network infrastructure completely secure from all Chinese based digital vendors, speaks volumes to the importance of protecting a free and digital technological sphere.

National Security and Technological Infusion

The third recommendation within this dissertation builds upon the second in positing that a coupling of America's digital corporations and firms within the super military industrial complex portends great potential to arrest CCP soft power influence on the academic sphere. This marriage of interests between the military and the high tech industry within the United States could lead to a new generation of students who seek to enter the employment workforce with the technological knowledge, skills and abilities to create, run and facilitate the new economic engine that will power the super-technical industrial complex that will be created by the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

During the Cold War, many of the top American university research facilities were created in order to harness the intellectual and innovative capacity of America's premier academics, as were a host of new financial and educational policies and legislation. As Zeihan (2014) relates, "The Americans revamped their scientific research and educational systems and retooled their industry on a mass scale. They created organizations like NASA and DARPA, that sixty years on still rule the horizons of space" (Zeihan, 2014). Indeed, universities such as Harvard, Yale, the University of California Berkeley and the University of San Diego to name but a few, were deeply involved with the Defense Department and the military industrial

complex in cooperating to generate new technologies and digital applications during the Cold War period.

Following the Cold War, when national defense related spending was cut, many of these research activities led to the development of the technological corporations that exist in Silicon Valley today, as well as the GPS systems, internet servers and microchips that are ubiquitous within the average American's daily lives. By creating an independent 5G system within the United States, supported by the technology sector, which is already heavily invested within the higher education sphere, and then marrying the technological prowess of these firms with the interests of the military industrial complex, new research and educational funding streams could be provided across America's university systems to facilitate cutting edge research initiatives that would benefit the United States defense, economic and technological wellbeing. This recommendation posits that this fusion of interests would create a scenario similar to that existing during the Cold War period, where corporate and governmental bodies had a mutually inclusive beneficial interest in dovetailing their investments and policies under a penumbra of unitary goals.

Considering the fact that an estimated three to five hundred billion dollars is lost each year to proprietary theft by the CCP, costing the United States over one million potential jobs (Spalding, 2019), the ensured protections offered by a secure 5G network, and the new regulations limiting university exposure to research theft under the NDAA, would encourage corporations to invest in new university research initiatives with the knowledge that their proprietary formulas and information would be protected. In addition, new monies could be provided to university programs in the STEM fields through both private and governmental

defense related funds and grants to supplement the demand for future employees that American corporations will need in both the public and private sector. As many of the newly developed tools and programs within the newly emergent STEM fields are of a dual use nature, innovation would be burnished that would benefit both well-established firms as well as startups ventures, which could evolve within the ever changing morphology of the nascently emergent Internet of Things. The dualistic benefit to universities in need of funding, and technology firms interested in training the next generation of technology employees would lessen the university's need for foreign based funding from foreign entities such as Confucius Institutes. This funding, when coupled with possible prohibitions in the future on these foreign entities through statutory mandates such as the NDAA, could severely limit CCP soft power influence.

University administrators have had to make difficult decisions in the past in relation to funding streams, balancing potential risks from foreign funding streams such as the possible compromising of academic freedom, with the gains of providing services to students. Removing the incentive of gains from foreign entities through mandated corporate investment in universities, would ensure that these firms profit from defense related contracts and benefits while increasing university funding. This would not compromise institutional autonomy, thereby negating the need for Congressional intervention into the traditional role of academic expertise which universities have possessed through past Supreme Court decisions (Dayton, 2015), and would remove the dilemma of balancing funding derived from foreign sources with academic freedom, university operations and student success and outcomes.

As explored earlier, the American defense establishment is already heavily reliant upon the large technological firms for their defense related needs. Coupling the digital expertise and

innovative prowess of these technological firms and the national defense industry would thereby benefit the overall greater good through a stronger economy, a robust security sector and increased university funding, informational security, and research freedoms unhindered by CCP propaganda.

Furthermore, such measures would supplement the manufacturing sector, which as stated earlier, would benefit from financial divestment with China, and bring investments back to American shores to facilitate next generation manufacturing jobs and consolidated supply chains that would provide security and employment to America's ailing industries and workforce. This would then lead to increased vocational training, and a burgeoning of the America's community college and private educational enterprises directly related to the manufacturing fields. As the United States Senate has stated:

Ensuring the productive use of capital for American domestic production entails an agenda of economic restructuring. Creating new ecosystems of innovators and promoting the dynamism of new businesses entails one of rejuvenation (FAI, 2020, para. 12).

Such propositions are already being made to couple the technology and military sector, with the former Director of America's National Security Council proposing:

That the United States would share the military spectrum with a private company that would construct and maintain a secure 5G network...By providing a secure option in which communications would be encrypted and protected, and allowing telecoms to pursue and provide access to the network, we would ensure the integrity of our information and communications infrastructure. (Spalding, 2019, p. 117)

The Central Intelligence Service (CIA) has already engaged in contractual relations with Amazon to provide a private digital cloud service for the intelligence community, with the Chief Information Officer of the CIA stating, “It’s the most important thing we’ve ever done...both sides took a chance...this had never been done before” (Schneider, 2017, para. 2).

Essentially, the thrust of this recommendation is to align the defense, technology and higher education systems to create a unity of interest and mutual benefit across the spectrum of these critical sectors. As exemplified earlier within this dissertation, Chinese soft power influence utilizes research funding, programmic funding, access to control information, and technological influence to conduct its propagandist offensive upon the universities across the United States. By limiting informational access through a bifurcation of America’s 5G systems, and increasing defense and technological cooperation in research initiatives within America’s higher education institutions, many of the soft power techniques that China is currently utilizing would be obviated or severely hampered.

This dissertation has highlighted the fact that much of the Congressionally legislative actions that have been promulgated thus far contain loopholes, and do not create a comprehensive penumbra that would block all CCP backed soft power initiatives. As has been explained, such comprehensive legislation has not come to fruition due to host of factors such as monetary influence, governmental structural impediments, and the ever shifting nature of technological innovation.

This policy analysis posits that comprehensive legislation to the effect highlighted above, legislation that would block *all* CCP soft power initiatives, will never be passed due to these

impediments and the ever shifting and fluid nature of soft power influence that is infinite in its combinatory elements. However, the previous recommendations which would provide an equitable financial investment system, a denouement of America's 5G systems, and a marriage of the technological and defense related spheres utilizing an interest based approach, are all feasible policy solutions that in many ways are already in motion within the Congressional and Executive circles of the highest echelons of government. Creating a protective arch over the key and often unseen financial and digital architecture of the postmodernist American system, would make the penetration of such systems far more difficult to any foreign entity or actor that seeks to undermine democracy. The ultimate goal of these recommendations is to create a shield of sorts which does not permit entry into the key systems or infrastructure by any bad actor, for once access is gained, a complex mélange of factors makes remedying such an infiltration increasingly difficult to combat. In essence, the protective dome described above provides the strategic shield within which the American system operates, whereas the statutory and legislative remedies serve as the flexible tactics within this system.

There is little doubt that Republican and Democratic parties will invariably shift strategies between subsequent Congressional and Executive election cycles on China policy. Indeed, there is a high likelihood that they will promote different policy recommendations to address the inequitable trade and investment environment, human rights violations and threats to national security that China poses on the domestic and international spheres. However the majority of Congressional members, Executive officials and Democratic candidates in the upcoming election, support a fair trade and investment environment, the protection of digital information and data through secure networks, and a strong national defense sector, and are unified in addressing China as a strategic competitor as well as a human rights violator.

Indeed Nancy Pelosi has joined the Donald Trump administration in promoting the absolute necessity of creating a secure 5G network separated from Chinese digital and telecommunication firms such as Huawei and ZTE. Speaking at the recent Munich Security Conference in Europe, House Speaker Pelosi stated that:

Nations cannot cede telecommunications infrastructure to China for financial expediency...ill-conceived concessions will only embolden Xi as he undermines democratic values, human rights, economic independence and national security.

(Bloomberg, 2020, para. 3)

Speaker Pelosi's comments echo the concerns of a host of national security experts and legislators who warn of the implications on free speech and accurate information on the worldwide web, as well as privacy and security concerns. The link between the international arena, the sovereign domestic spheres and democratic values are clear in Speaker Pelosi's warnings to European leaders attending the conference:

Allowing the Sinification of 5G would be to choose autocracy over democracy...We must instead move towards an internationalization of digital infrastructure that does not enable an autocracy. We must invest in other viable options that will take us into the future while preserving our values and institutions. (Bloomberg, 2020, para. 9)

Therefore, while political divergences are often a challenge within the United States Congress, as are the lobbying influence within the American governmental system, the necessity to protect both corporate bottom lines, as well as national security intersect to a large degree in a mutual complementarity that creates a rare dovetailing of interests in relation to protecting both

America's democratic freedoms as well as its economy from Chinese influence in its most critical sectors.

This dissertation analysis posits that CCP soft power and psychological operations campaigns will never fully be eliminated, however the above recommendations would severely curtail the influence operations directed at America's democratic and academic institutions, and permit the academic freedoms that are necessary for a healthy and prosperous democratically based system to innovate and compete within the global sphere. Yet if the global trade and financial investment networks from which all financial transactions transit are not secure, then America's domestic economic and security will be compromised, thereby adversely affecting the recommendations mentioned above.

As explained earlier within this dissertation, geopolitical and international dynamics directly affects the inner workings of the domestic systems within the United States, which directly affects the institutions within this system. Therefore, permitting China to advance its new model of international relations unchallenged, could not only effectuate severe repercussions on the United States, but also the undermine values of human rights, freedom of religion and national sovereignty underpinning the entire global order.

American Forward Policy

This leads to the fourth and final recommendation of this policy section, which is to advance a policy of not only containment upon China's expansion of its Belt and Road Initiative and its new international model of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, but also to implement an active forward policy to ensure the sustainability of the global systems, and the standards and

norms on which they are based. This recommendation advances four policies to achieve this long term strategic end: 1.) the continued cooperation with global organizations such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund; 2.) the denouement of 5G systems with America's Five Eyes security partners in order to secure a safe transit of key intelligence and defense cooperation; 3.) a strict adherence to the NATO and South East Asian security treaties with South Korea, Japan and Taiwan: and 4.) support of the newly strengthening Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) alliance between Australia, India, Japan and the United States in order to promote economic investment and establish key defense alliances to counter China's increasing military and economic presence in the Indo-Pacific Region.

As this dissertation has showcased earlier, China is utilizing the current international systems to its advantage through a host of subtle and well-crafted policies to fund its Belt and Road Initiative, strengthen its economy, as well as to increase its global security presence and public perception on an international level. The CCP believes that the United States has utilized the current international system to its advantage, and thus the Chinese government seeks to infiltrate these systems from within, in order to strengthen their new system from without (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017). There is no doubt that the CCP's claims of an American ruled system hold merit, as a legion of American and Chinese academics and policymakers concur in near unanimity on this account. However the position at issue in this dissertation is the application of a precautionary policy in relation to the unknown results of a Sinocentric global order, in order to arrest or curtail the potential attenuated adverse effect of a Sinocentric system with different standards and norms, on the Constitutional rights of academic freedom at American universities.

As international competition has a direct connection to the American domestic system and hence its democratic institutions, ensuring the preservation of Constitutional rights is directly related to the geopolitical sphere and the maintenance of the current international systems by the United States. As PLA Colonels Liang and Xiangsui (2017) make clear, the use of international organizations, Supra-national combinations and beyond the boundaries thinking in order to weaken a potential ally without resorting to military based war applications are a prime vehicle for the CCP to attain its ends:

To be precise, these terms should be followed with the words ‘of actions in warfare’ if we are convey in full the intent of these concepts which we are constructing and employing. This is to make clear the point that views about ‘supra combinations’ driven by beyond limits thinking are confined to the scope of warfare and its related actions. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 190)

This analysis posits that the post World War II institutions which have defined the modern world order will increasingly lose relevance, and that the United States would best be served by crafting unilateral and multilateral economic, financial, trade and security agreements with nations that are geostrategically aligned against China. However institutions such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization could still be effectively utilized to promote dialogue and project America’s stalwart defense of the values and norms enshrined within these systems, as well as to promote fair and equitable trade where it works within America’s interest.

Indeed, the traditional global order and the institutions to which cleaves, will still be perceived by the greater public around the world as the key hubs governing the global system. By continuing to work within the current international system, while simultaneously advancing

separate policies which secure key economic, trade and security relationships that are necessary to check China's geostrategic ambitions, the United States will still be able to promote its values, facilitate trade when it is in its best interest and protect its national security domains.

Securing the Five Eyes

In order to protect global financial networks and the dynamic economic trade conduits from which material goods transit, this analysis recommends that intelligence gathering with the Five Eye nations should be undertaken under secure 5G networks, in order to protect data, information and technology from being siphoned off and utilized within China's Civil Military Fusion model.

As the United States works to secure its 5G networks from Chinese corporations, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada are already moving to create national 5G systems independent from Chinese based firms. Indeed Prime Minister Boris Johnson recently stated to the public media, that the United Kingdom's key criteria in assessing whether Chinese based firms will install 5G networks implemented by Huawei, will be whether installing these systems would compromise the information, military and security agreements it has with the United States (Gertz, 2019). All of these nations recognize that in laying out the new 5G systems of the future, that any data transitioning through Chinese based firm's equipment could compromise the security of that data, whether it be financial, medical, scholastic or state derived intelligence. Indeed, John Sawers, the former Chief of Britain's Secret Intelligence Service otherwise known as MI6, stated that he didn't think that China was, "an existential threat in the way that the Soviet Union was in the Cold War but nevertheless there is going to be deep rivalry over control of

technology... We have to do more in the West to make sure we are independent of China”
(Plunkett, 2020, para. 4).

The NDAA builds upon the narrative of Prime Minister Johnson’s and former MI6 Chief Sawers’ concerns, as it contains a key provision which directs American intelligence agencies to consider whether Chinese based telecoms and infrastructure is utilized by a potential partner nation, when moving towards further intelligence compacts and information sharing with foreign nations. This stipulation provides an impetus for foreign governments that face geopolitical threats from increasing Chinese military and economic coercion, towards the investment of secure networks free from Chinese based technological hardware.

Maintaining Security Treaties

This analysis forecasts that the European Union will steadily move towards a Eurasian based order governed by the dominance of Chinese based 5G and intermodal systems linked under China’s Belt and Road Initiative due to its location within the Eurasian landmass and the lack of economies of scale to compete with the Chinese economic powerhouse (Maques, 2018). However this projected realignment does not preclude security based arrangements such as NATO from remaining highly effective and relevant.

While economic, democratic, cultural and institutional agreements based upon values and norms are important, geostrategic concerns based upon a nation’s existential survival are the most reliable and long lasting to ensure stability (Mearshiemer, 2014).

While it is predicted by this writer that many European Union nations will leave the NATO security alliance and form new political pivots such as a Berlin to Beijing concordant,

key nations such as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland will remain as a bulwark in Eastern Europe to hedge continued expansion by Russia and China who are engaged within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which is aligned in contraposition to NATO. A robust assurance by the United States military to protect key treaty partners if threatened by geopolitical rivals will protect the geostrategic rimland regions of Eurasia both on land and sea. This will permit the United States to maintain secure freedom of navigation in the Arctic regions, the North Atlantic, and the most importantly, the Indo-Pacific regions, all of which are necessary to ensure international trade, and protect America from any potential existential threat. Indeed, the most critical region within this framework is the Indo-Pacific region, as it is the axial hub of geopolitical competition within the Eurasian landmass. As the reader will recall, if a nation was to control the Eurasian landmass, the rimlands, and the world island, thus gaining hegemony over the land and sea routes within this ambit, then such a nation, or a bloc of nations, could pose an existential crisis to the United States.

Strategic Economic Positioning

This is the primary reason why the United States has labeled the Indo-Pacific as the focus of its geospatial competition, and the main driver of why this analysis posits that American foreign policymakers should continue to strengthen its relationship with the QUAD nations of Japan, Australia, and India whose geopolitical interests would also be compromised if the CCP were to gain economic, military and trade dominance within the region.

Andre Wheeler (2018), who champions the Belt and Road Initiative, cites the QUAD as a counterweight to China's continued expansion, explaining that the Belt and Road Initiative is often adversely exposed through its connectivity belts as it transits a host of different nations that

may alter policies and national security strategies, presenting, “opportunity for alliances like the QUAD to disrupt the smooth rollout of the Initiative” (Wheeler, 2018, p. 85). Wheeler (2018) continues, “By offering, alternatives to the BRI on a smaller and targeted scale, it need only get the endorsement of a smaller number of countries. These smaller blocs of countries change the dynamics completely” (Wheeler, 2018, p. 85). This is where a forward policy moving beyond containment or accommodation comes to the fore, as by establishing security and economic ties based upon geostrategic location, the United States and its QUAD allies could secure key nodes to break apart the Belt and Road Initiative. This strategic policy tact could also secure transport routes which protect the freedom of navigation for global commerce, while also benefiting partnership nations that seek to maintain their own sovereignty over increasing Chinese influence. As Wheeler (2018) states, “Unlike China’s push to get numerous individual countries aligned, this more targeted approach focuses on country blocs. In this scenario, the alternative offerings can become much more of a rival” (Wheeler, 2018, p. 85).

Increasing America’s alliance with India, is posited in this analysis as the keystone to arrest China’s continued expansion on the global level, and to secure the sea lanes within the Indo-Pacific Region. India’s geopolitical proximity to China, with its Belt and Road Initiative encircling India as it transits through Myanmar and Pakistan, makes India a natural counterweight to Chinese expansion. Furthermore, India’s massive population, democratic governance, Anglophone demographic and cultural significance within South Eastern Asia, makes India a geopolitical hedge and by dint of its location, a key partner for the United States to engage in order to ensure stability in the Indo-Pacific region.

India and Japan's Freedom Corridor Initiative, which seeks to fund projects in South East Asia and Africa incorporating, "a plan that could ensure sustainable development and economic prosperity throughout the land mass, spanning both the continents by embracing trade and accessing the resource rich African continent" (Wheeler, 2018, p. 92), is a key economic competitor to the Belt and Road Initiative. Indeed the Freedom Corridor would benefit both Africa and Southeast Asia, ensuring equitable trade deals, and an adherence to a common set of standards and norms protecting both the citizens and environments of participant nations. As Wheeler (2018) states, both regions have common histories which create a commonality of cultural and economic interests, "as they start to come together on various platforms; sub regional, bi-lateral and as a global force that can aptly be called the voice of the developing world" (Wheeler, 2018, p. 93).

As China's existential survival is based upon securing key resources such as petroleum, minerals and agricultural projects from across the globe, this analysis does not posit that the United States should seek to isolate China nor cut off its strategic Belt and Road conduits, but rather that the United States should be forward thinking in its positioning to secure a geopolitical architecture of stability as the globe enters a new age of multipolarity (CDD, 2019). New American backed initiatives such as the Blue Dot Strategy, which seeks to counter China's Belt and Road Initiative in strategically located nations within the Indo-Pacific Region, by fusing business interests with American foreign policy interests, will strengthen America's ability to maintain open navigation routes. This navigational security will ensure key mineral resources from Africa, petroleum from the Middle East, and manufactured goods from South East Asia are secure for not only the United States but also for strategic allies such as Taiwan, Japan and South Korea, who rely upon these steady imports and commodities to secure the wellbeing of their

nations and people. The Blue Dot strategy will also project informational and digital protections to ensure the free and secure dissemination of information, free from propaganda, espionage, and proprietary theft activities of the CCP, “To help the U.S. State Department meet this challenge head on, Blue Dot Strategies is taking a multi-pronged approach that includes training, coalition building, and communications planning” (USSD, 2020, para. 2).

This analysis also recommends the facilitation of a more equitable distribution of international students studying within the United States from nations such as Vietnam, Thailand, and India, whose developing economies will need the technological expertise of American universities, and whose skills will burnish the security of their home nations. The reliance upon a pool of international students studying within the United States from a host of nations, also lessens the risk of funding stream gaps for universities if diplomatic or other global crisis occur which precludes or reduces the number of students from a given nation of origin. Spalding (2019) makes the point that 32.5 percent of the total 1.08 million international college students in the United States are from China, creating an estimated \$10 billion dollar windfall to universities within the United States, with a great deal of these funds being supplemented by Chinese government policies (Spalding, 2019). However, many of these students, “are contacted by (CCP) diplomats and business representatives and instructed to obtain useful technology,” (Spalding, 2019, p. 141) which creates security concern for businesses and military defense research funding streams.

This analysis recommends reducing the number of foreign students studying in the STEM related fields, creating more programmatic availability and increased access to domestic students who seek to attain the education, training and skills necessary for future employment that they

and their families will need to live successful and productive lives in America. It has been estimated that up to fifty percent of graduate students studying in the STEM fields are foreign students (Gertz, 2019), occupying critical space that is much needed by many American students facing economic hardship and limited access to university programs. Increasing domestic access within the STEM fields would also strengthen American technological development, leading to increased jobs, tax revenue, and economic security, while concordantly providing private technological firms and defense related entities more certainty that their efforts to create a new workforce for their burgeoning industries, will provide returns on their research investments.

Increased vetting by the United States government on private and defense related research funded projects as recommended by the NDAA, as well as a secure 5G system, would ensure that American intellectual property and proprietary research is protected. It would also ensure that Chinese students can speak and write freely, without fearing that PLA students are monitoring them, or that their information could be relayed into CCP database systems, potentially adversely affecting their Social Credit Scores or future career prospects.

Increased research security, could also lead to additional university funding with the knowledge that intellectual property theft and sensitive materials will be more secure within the higher education sector. Creating a more equitable and diverse distribution of foreign students, raising the number of domestic students in STEM related fields, and increased security vetting in highly sensitive research fields, will ensure that America's new security partners are well prepared for the digital economy of the future, and will concordantly reinforce America's domestic and higher education sectors.

Anarchic Multi-polarity

The globe is entering a new era that is shifting the traditional models within the international, financial and technological spheres. While the traditional Cold War model may be the most effective method by which to communicate this new multi-polar era to the broader American public, the tectonic shifts within the Eurasian heartland driven by the CCP's Belt and Road Initiative is altering the geopolitical orientation of American foreign policy, creating new strategic allies and trade networks within the rimland regions of the Indo-Pacific to check China's growing influence.

The previous recommendations promoting equitable investments and standard accounting practices both within the United States and in China, the creation of a secure American based 5G system, and move towards a marriage between the national defense and corporate technological industries, is prognosticated to create an increased level of governmental, business and technological funding to the American higher education sector. This increase in funding is projected to improve access and opportunity to a wide range of students within both the vocational and traditional university orbits, and will promote job growth and employment opportunities for overall greater good of American students and their families. Most importantly, these recommendations will provide an overarching shield to protect the American university system from the undue influence of CCP focused soft power projection, which seeks to undermine academic freedom, and weaken the democratic values upon which it is based.

All of the previous recommendations are already in some manner or form moving forward, and in some cases facing opposition from vested monetary interests. However the interest based recommendations advanced within this policy analysis, have already been brought

to the legislative table in a variety of forms through a host of bipartisan agreements and are gaining steam within the colonnaded halls of the United States Congress. The near unanimous support of the Uighur and Hong Kong Human rights Act, has created awareness to the general public of China's human rights abuses. The support of fair trade and investment tenders, as well as secure 5G systems by both the Democratic and Republican parties, highlights the fact that the Congressional and Executive branches of the United States are united on many fronts in relation to this issue. Such Congressional felicity also illuminates the fact that the citizens of the United States recognize how the CCP's unequitable and non reciprocal policies and practices have adversely affected the economic wellbeing of the American economy.

This basic understanding by the general public has created a groundswell of opposition to China's inhumane and unfair practices as evinced in the recent polls highlighted above, and has made it difficult for political influencers to portray China as a fair partner who plays by the rules of international laws and treaties to which it is a signatory member. This analysis predicts this awareness will only increase in relation to China's newly assertive military policies on the global level, as well as their continued violation of WTO rules, UN human rights violations, and intellectual property theft from American business and technological firms.

This dissertation has showcased through a systems based analysis – that academic freedom is a valued component of America's university sphere and a foundational stanchion in a free and democratic society, even as it evolves in relation to the jurisprudential and societal realities of the day.

This dissertation has also analyzed how China's rise, and the CCP's Two Centennial goals to create a new model of international relations and a Common Destiny for Mankind, is

directly connected to China's continued propaganda and soft power drive to alter the perception of the American populace. As the previous analysis has shown, China's psychological warfare tactics have extended to the democratic institutions of the United States, including the higher education sector, and have impinged upon the academic freedom of American universities, restricting the Constitutional protections of freedom of expression, speech and information that underpins the traditional and modern American university system.

Much to the chagrin of many foreign policy experts who predicted the now proverbial end of history and the emergence of a universally liberalized world (Huntington, 1996), geopolitics has returned to global affairs with vengeance (Maques, 2018). Civilizational, ideological and nationalistic rifts have reemerged from just below the surface, boiling over with historical, traditional and cultural interpretations of governance and sovereign rights. New value systems of standards and norms have emerged, with the CCP's Socialism with Chinese Characteristics archetype heading the fore in challenging the post World War Two Bretton Woods institutional framework and its liberalized interpretation of world order. A new Great Game has emerged with the protagonists vying for power and prominence upon the global chessboard.

Thus, geopolitics, great power competition and international relations, is highly attenuated to the protection of academic freedom on the domestic sphere, and while China's methods of soft power projection are ever evolving, there are soluble remedies to arrest its adverse impacts on American society. While the remedies to stymie CCP soft power may seem intractable and multitudinous when viewed from a parochial perspective due to the complexities and interests within the American domestic sphere, they are possible when applied from a broad

and overarching society wide approach that insulates the key sectors in a domelike shield of protection.

This dissertation posits that the United States has reached a turning point. Protected by two seas and blessed by a vast wealth of navigable rivers, harbors, ports, natural resources and the largest economy in the globe, the United States remains the preeminent power upon the global stage. While not perfect by any means, America has taken on the mantle of leadership it did not seek following World War Two in protecting the freedom of navigation, fair trade and the Western values and norms of human rights, religious freedom, and freedom of expression (Zeihan, 2014). It provided ready credit for nations around the globe, it offered a market of inestimable value to developing nations, and it provided a security blanket to protect the free world in order to ensure that humanity could reemerge from the ashes of conflict and destruction (Zeihan, 2014). Indeed to this day, America is still regarded as the leader in the higher education sphere, technological development as well as military power and prowess. This analysis posits that as China expands its interests onto the global sphere, that the United States must counter this expansion on every level.

This analysis, posits that by not acting with alacrity and celerity of purpose in this regard, that the erosion of the American domestic economy will lead to decreased international involvement, and the weakening of not only the international standards and norms of the current global system, but also the ability to directly counter China's soft power influence on the academic institutions which are reliant upon the free flow of information and expression for research and innovation.

The underestimation of the CCP by the Western elite was perhaps the largest boon to the CCP's current rise to power and prominence, and a geostrategic *faux pas* of the first magnitude, which has led to the very real prospect of a new epoch of world order. As Ward (2019) states, "We now face the prospect of Chinese power that extends well beyond its borders, and, if the Communist Party achieves its goals, power that would exist without equal, without peer on Earth" (Ward, 2019, p. 231). The strategic intent of China's Common Destiny for Mankind is unknown, however this dissertation has found that if China is able to exert cyber, financial, trade and economic leverage on America's corporate sphere, and import its technological systems and policies to America's shores, then the increasing erosion to academic freedom is a very real prospect.

This dissertation has posited that the CCP has pursued the China Dream and the Belt and Road Initiative in order to secure a stable and prosperous society for its nation and its people. However, this analysis has shown that Chinese government has also been willing to pursue its goals at a great cost to its own people, utilizing fear, monetary influence, intimidation and imprisonment to silence and crush any opposition to its stated policy goals. This research has found that China has repeatedly violated WTO free trade provisions, utilized the United Nations to advance its human rights record while violating its clauses, and engaged in a massive state sanctioned espionage and proprietary theft campaign verging upon a low level form of war (Gertz, 2019). The crafting of national security laws by the CCP requiring all corporations and citizens to participate in any state security policy the CCP implements, has only heightened the intensity and scale of this state sanctioned theft and unrestricted warfare.

While China officially maintains that it seeks to create a harmonious world order modeled on Confucian values, it currently holds over one million of its own citizens in concentration camps for practicing their Islamic faith. The CCP also punishes individuals, family members and associational entities through its Skynet and its Social Credit systems, and is crafting eugenic based predicative analytics systems to police and control its own citizens (Gertz, 2019). Thus, the research has found that China does not practice in deed what it says in words, and that the perception of benevolence it projects is not the reality it practices.

The establishment of a highly technical and efficient military apparatus based upon China's Civil Military Fusion model and Comprehensive Wealth Power is a rational policy to strengthen China's position within competitive global commons. However CCP operations are now being projected onto sovereign nations in violation of their own domestic laws, with its state controlled systems and soft power projection infiltrating American borders, and adversely affecting the democratic institutions and higher education spheres which form the bedrock of American democracy.

This psychological operations campaign has been crafted to subtly exploit division, sow doubt, and to instill the fear based policies utilized within the Chinese mainland onto the citizens of the United States. This research analysis posits that China's goal of creating the sense of inevitability of its own rise on the American populace could be a mere paper tiger, if the American people, Congress and the Executive act expediently and in solidarity to contain China's growing soft power projection.

The conclusions drawn and the recommendations proposed from this dissertational research analysis, do not seek to villainize China, or propose regime change, nor do they propose

an imposition of American democratic or liberal values upon the Chinese state. Indeed, these recommendations maintain that cordial cultural exchange, continued trade on agricultural goods and other commodities, as well as balanced diplomatic relations continue on the international level, so as to permit China to secure the resources it needs and to formulate foreign policy based upon its own sovereign prerogatives. However this analysis posits that if the United States does not follow the course of the recommendations above, and counter China's rise in key economic and security fields by drawing lines within the proverbial sand to check China's expansionary goals, then the likelihood of a continued erosion of academic freedom within America's university sector will manifest themselves in ever more subtle and pernicious ways.

The predication assumptions upon which this research is founded, is that a battle of great power competition is emerging within the global commons between CCP controlled China and the United States, and that a soft power campaign is being orchestrated by the CCP upon universitys across America which compromises the Constitutional values of academic freedom.

The research sought to determine why the CCP was launching its Three Warfares strategy on America's democratic institutions, how it was doing so, and what could be done to arrest this propagandist offensive. Inevitably, the recommendations proposed to arrest the CCP's offensive soft power campaign focused on an American based policy strategy executed through a federal response from the United States government. The entire rationale behind this approach is clear, for in order to protect the Constitutional Rights of the First Amendment from undue influence, the national government that must act in order to secure these sovereign based jurisprudential tenets is the United States itself.

Coda

The primary policy recommendations that have been elicited thus far are the penultimate portion of this dissertation's conclusion. However a brief excursus into the overall *coda* of this work is in order, to communicate some of the broader ideas and conceptualizations generated from this research to the reader.

Perhaps one of the most profound overarching extrapolations which has been deduced through this research is the resistance by many Western thinkers, policymakers and corporations to push beyond the bounds of the preconceived theories and post modernist models that have thus far defined the post World War Two Bretton Woods system of global governance. The reasons postulated as to the cause of this phenomenon are numerous and beyond the scope of this dissertation, consisting of complex theories of interest based preservation of a system within which individuals profit to the greater good's detriment, to the intellectual thought cocoons created through the institutionalization and industry capture of concepts and ideologies within the academic and the think tank spheres (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017).

However as PLA Colonels Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui assert in their treatise *Unrestricted Warfare* (2017), the reasons behind this Western resistance are certainly not the intellectual capacity, ability, nor creative genius to push beyond the limits of preconceived bounds into the innovative new frontiers from which theory translates to reality, but rather that such imaginative insights remain fixed within the constructed system from which they are bounded, unable to come to maturation due to the very constraints the system imposes in order to preserve itself. This postulation is reminiscent of a positive feedback loop towards negative ends, as by not being able to break free from its own self-perpetuating loop, the West obviates itself

from developing into a system that can evolve into new forms and constitute an innovative upwards trajectory.

Liang & Xiangsui (2017) make clear that the United States government as well as its military have often pierced the veil of this system with revolutionary and *avante garde* new conceptualizations and ideas, but make the salient point that such conceptualizations:

Seem more like a burst of unusual thinking by a group of smart military people, and not something built on the foundation of a line of thought which is by its nature a complete breakthrough. And so, because ideas which are not completely thought out will certainly face all sorts of obstacles, this ideological spark which could have set off a revolution in military affairs very quickly, and regrettably dies out. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 198)

Indeed Liang and Xiangsui (2017) crafted a deft and critical study of the American governmental, security and super industrial complex, seeking to glean new insights on the strengths of the American system, yet most importantly to pick apart the very structural and theoretical impediments and vulnerabilities which prevent such new models and conceptualizations from coming to fruition.

Liang and Xiangsui (2017) claim that the social and moral first principles upon which the Bretton Woods global system is based, such as human rights and environmental preservation, are mere cultural constructs, preventing the next breakthrough in global governance. They posit that much like Machiavelli was initially rejected by royalty and nobility during the end of the age of chivalry for his dark appraisal of politics, yet later accepted by the *real politick* thinkers of the Westphalian era, a new system which shatters the glass ceiling of post modernist

conceptualizations must be one which has limited objectives, but no boundaries for the means in which to achieve them:

Just as aircraft had to break the sound barrier before they could fly at supersonic speeds, those who are engaged in warfare must break out of the confines of domains if they are able to be able to enter a state of freedom in thinking about warfare. Breaking the boundaries of ideology is a prerequisite for breaking the boundaries of action. Without breaking ideological boundaries, even in the event of a breakthrough in action being made by relying on intuition, it will still be difficult in the end to achieve complete peace of mind. (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017, p. 197 - 198)

Bruno Maques posited in his book *The Dawn of Eurasia* (2018), that perhaps Fukuyama's theory that the West has reached the end of history is indeed a truism, but that it was still too early to tell what global model or structure would prevail, as many other civilizations and cultures had not yet reached their *terminus ad quem*.

Maques' (2018) postulations echo those of many other Eurasianist thinkers as well as Chinese scholars who claim, the West has forfeited its right to carry the torch of modernity into the new era due to the institutionalized strictures and intellectual boundaries it has placed around itself. These writers forecast the end of the current neoliberalist Western led world order:

The end of liberal-normativism will spell the end of the various artificial constructs that are inextricably linked to it: the absolute rule of 'global markets, the totalitarian model of 'parliamentary democracy' and the one size fits all straight jacket of 'human rights'.

What lies beyond this ‘event horizon’ remains as yet unknown: it is impossible to foresee the final outline of the future world order. (Wolfheze, 2020, para. 10)

Such claims echo the comment made by Zhou Enlai, the first Premier of the PRC. When asked by a reporter his opinion on what he thought of the results of the enlightenment, Premier Enlai replied that it was too early to tell what the results were, as history had not yet made its judgment (Gertz, 2019).

The thrust of the point being made here, is not just the emergence of new international models of government, nor the emergence of new systems of thought with their concordant cultural and traditional interpretations, but of a Eurocentric cultural and structurally created resistance by the West, to conceive that an entirely different hermeneutical and structural perspective can come to the fore within the global commons.

It is a truism, that what many perceive as boundaries within the current global order of universal human rights and international laws, the boundaries which define what one perceives in an ideologically and culturally constructed system, are not perceived in the same perspective within other nations or governments such as the CCP. Indeed even when individuals within the West recognize these realities, the ideas cannot become lines of thought and mature into societal patterns, as the Western system itself, stymies these conceptualizations before they can come to fruition, in order to preserve its existential feedback loop.

Chinese criticism of the American academic system provides a perfect example, for while extolling the virtues of eliminating bias, and encouraging students to think out of the box, many Chinese scholars maintain that the American academic system imposes limits upon the

acceptable boundaries of subjects or research theories students may choose to research (Maques, 2019). These boundaries are not imposed by the Constitution or by Supreme Court case precedent, but are preserved through the institutionalization of thought and the evolution of university culture within the sphere in which it operates (Dayton, 2015).

In imposing these socially and ideologically constructed boundaries, the ability to intellectually move beyond these artificially constructed borders in order to study a subject of interest which is deemed socially unpalatable or unpopular, limits the continuum of speculation and insight, thereby creating a bias in itself. Ironically, such restrictions impose a straitjacket on intellectual thought and block the advancement of understanding and the analysis of other systems or ideas which are deemed unacceptable, yet which need to be studied outside the box of what is considered acceptable, in order to save the very system which is preventing them from researching such topics.

Liang and Xiansui (2017), posit that the globe entered this new reality following collapse of the Berlin Wall, that history was stopped for the West, and with the advent of information technology, new strictures of boundaries were created from which traditional models permitting the evolution of thought were replaced via dint of digitalization and globalization. They make the compelling case, that new morals, ethics and domains were created which expanded the field of warfare:

In terms of beyond the limits warfare, there is no longer any distinction between what is or is not the battlefield. Spaces in nature including the ground, the seas, the air, and outer space are battlefields, but social spaces such as the military, politics, economics, culture and the psyche are also battlefields. And the technological space linking these two great

spaces is even more so the battlefield over which all antagonists spare no effort in contending. (Liang & Xiansui, 2017, p. 198)

The thrust of this excursus lies beyond the root causes of the CCP's desire to create a new Sinocentrically based global structure commensurate with their traditional values or norms, or that universities have fallen victim to CCP soft power influences due to a critical lack of governmental funding.

The overarching point that is being driven forward in this *coda*, is that what Americans perceive as military conquest, victory and battle through the physical or material, has given way in the CCP's perspective towards a victory that is unseen, digital and encompassing every human domain. As the ancient Chinese strategist Sun Tzu claims, the key to warfare is deception, and the most skilled general can defeat an adversary without the adversary knowing that he has been defeated (Tzu, 2019). This is the *essence* of the CCP's soft power campaign. The CCP perceives warfare as all encompassing, and military affairs as just one accoutrement to the unlimited domains that now exist. The CCP perceives victories, warfare, campaigns and battles as being fought through all means, domains and boundaries, where morality and ethics are subverted for end results and projected objectives (Liang & Xiangsui, 2017).

The Three Warfares strategy that so many Congressional leaders, security agencies and foreign policy analysts have referenced grasped that the CCP was utilizing all means in an attempt to weaken America's democratic systems, but have not posited the overarching idea, that countering these models on an ideological level comprehensible to the American populous through an in depth intellectually based understanding, would apply a contradiction upon the very system upon which it operates, as the system restricts such postulations from ever becoming

complete lines of mainstream thought. Indeed, the Western system itself often destroys the newly imaginative theories from which to counter the CCP challenge, as accepting these new ideas would lead to the usurping of the foundations upon which it operates, even though these theories could be applied in a humanistic and ethically based manner in order to understand and counter the CCP's Three Warfares strategy.

This writer has concluded that Western civilization has indeed reached its end of history, however contends that whether this history and the value systems upon which it operates is subverted or replaced is the ultimate question at issue. Indeed, the *non plus ultra* the Western system places within its dimensions of operability do not preclude soluble remedies or innovations which have the potential to sustain its current position within the global arena, but rather limit the spheres of action through which it can maneuver.

Liang and Xiansui's *Unrestricted Warfare* (2017), has been combined with the traditional, cultural and historical archetype's crafted by Wang Huning, and with President Xi's creative genius, the CCP has crafted a new societal reality much like an artist that shapes his molds. The CCP has analyzed every strength and weakness in the American system, and has adopted its strengths while using the structural, financial and ideological vulnerabilities of the American to its advantage, seeking to undermine them from within.

While Western culture is often uncomfortable with debate outside the polemics of Manichean based politically correct thinking (Bloom, 1987), the Chinese perceive the world in much more fluid circular and abstract terms. The lack of a cultural understanding by many American's and other Western nations that other perspectives and value systems hold different

rationales on first principles which can be contended as equally valid through a different hermeneutical lens, could be the Achilles heel of the Western values to which many cleave.

Political correctness and the lack of desire to consider ideas which are an anathema to their own (Spalding, 2019), as evidenced by Amazon's removal of writers such as Alexander Dugin and Wang Huning, due to lack of popular acceptance and cultural opprobrium, has created an echo chamber of group think that does not comport with the reality of the newly emerging nations within the global arena. While strands of thoughts have emerged amongst individuals, they have not become lines of understanding.

This analysis is not suggesting the abandonment of Western based principles but rather to the contrary, it is recommending the ability for individuals to utilize the ideals promoted by Western liberalism, to be able to freely research, study, and understand countervailing cultural models in order to protect humanitarian values. Such freedoms are a Constitutional right and are a crucial component of a well-educated democratic populace. However, the institutionalization of thought and the corporate capture of many institutions has limited the field of maneuverability to a linear modality, when the remedies to arrest countervailing systems require a multidimensional response. Thus the Western based liberal system which restricts itself in order to maintain its solvency, coupled with the CCP's understanding of this phenomena and its utilization of the Three Warfares strategy on the higher education system of the United States, presents a double edged sword to academic freedom and innovative research within the proverbial marketplace of ideas.

The CCP realizes, that much like shaping the perspectives of the Chinese people, if they can harness the vulnerabilities in America's higher education sector, utilizing its institutionalized

boundaries against itself, that these moral and ethical boundaries can become chains in which new and innovative ideas will remain confined. The CCP's goal is to keep the West mired within these boundaries so as to advance its narrative, and ultimately its Centennial goals and aspirations upon an unseen digital and perceptual battlefield which envisions infinite possibilities and warfare applications in order to achieve victory. The CCP has analyzed in technocratic detail, the workings of the American system, and has developed an intuitive grasp of the essence of its spirit. The CCP utilizes this atavistic understanding to meld and adjust every possible opportunity to exploit and take advantage of the system of openness and transparency which undergirds the democratic and academic institutions of the United States.

There is no doubt that a new epoch of multi-polarity is emerging, one much more reminiscent of an anarchic past than the American century from which the world has grown perhaps too familiar. The above recommendations are thus countenanced on the preservation of the Constitutional rights and academic freedoms, but acknowledge the cultural and geopolitical realities of the international order are shifting towards a future that is anything but certain. This uncertainty, as posited by this writer, is magnified by the end of history for the West. However this logical terminus does not preclude the West from advancing new and innovative ideas to protect its values and principles that are within its boundaries, and champions the idea of breaking the artificial chains of institutional thought, in order to think and understand what is beyond in order to preserve and protect what is within.

Academic Anamnesis

Indeed, with the effects of a black swan that within its dark wake has wrought forth a global pandemic bearing down upon the economies of the global superstructure, a host of

analysts have expressed different visions as to what the future might bring. Some technologists have posited that the causation of the virus was an underlying result of Moore's Law, upon which a technologically based system cannot expand exponentially for an infinite duration, for as it multiplies upon itself, a mathematic certainty is the inevitable reality of a systems collapse (Fergusson, 2018). These individuals posit that mankind has met the fate of a modern day Icarus, flying too close to the sun.

Others have posited that the contagion ravishing the social and economic fabric of the globe is a post modernist iteration of Schumpeter's creative destruction paradigm, which holds that natural and anthropologic systems evolve through a cyclical like destruction and regeneration, with global economies being no exception. Schumpeter (1942) writes in his work, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942), that this creative destruction:

Incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one. This process of Creative Destruction is the essential fact about capitalism. (Schumpeter, 1942, p. 82)

However while Schumpeter posits that this repetitious process drives the advancement of society in many ways, the paradox contained within it is that this restoration in whatever form it might take, may improve the conditions of some, while worsening those of others. Indeed, the proverbial phoenix arising from the ashes, does not take flight without the replacement of the pre-existing order from which it was generated.

Alexander Dugin, the foremost Eurasianist thinker and former advisor to Vladimir Putin, builds upon the narrative of a new structure built upon the ruins of the old, and claims that the

‘plague gods’ and the pestilence with which they bring are totems of the global elite and liberalism itself. Dugin proclaims that the end of the current global order has commenced:

One should not be deceived: the world coronavirus pandemic is a turning point in world history. Not only are stock indices and oil prices collapsing, the world order itself is also falling ... It is obviously impossible to say what this world will look like or what it will lead to. However, it is already clear that the old world order is becoming a thing of the past, and quite distinct contours of a new reality are emerging before us. What neither ideologies, nor wars, nor fierce economic battles, nor terror, nor religious movements have been able to do, has been accomplished by an invisible, yet deadly virus. It brought with it death, pain, horror, panic, sorrow – but also the future. (Wolfheze, 2020, para 15)

Others have predicted that the globe will fall back into the archetypes of a pre-industrial period, towards a hybrid combination of a techno-globalized world wherein competing city states run by multinational corporations and supranational organizations will eventually replace the Westphalian system (Kaplan, 2012).

These writers predict that mercenary armies which already occupy a significant proportion of modern military engagements, will return to the fore (McFate, 2019), Europe will be transformed into a small Peninsula upon the tip of a Sinocentric Eurasian system (Maques, 2019), and shifting alliances based upon individual interest will rearrange the global chessboard into an anarchic and unstable system. These writers posit a retrogressive world much more reminiscent of the Warring States of ancient China or the Battling principalities of Renaissance era Europe, than of the peace and stability formed over the past seven decades. As Robert Kaplan presciently writes in his *Foreign Affairs* article, “The Coming Anarchy” (1994):

The coming upheaval, in which foreign embassies are shut down, states collapse, and contact with the outside world takes place through dangerous, disease-ridden coastal trading posts, will loom large in the century we are entering... To understand the events of the next fifty years, then, one must understand environmental scarcity, cultural and racial clash, geographic destiny, and the transformation of war. The order in which I have named these is not accidental. Each concept except the first relies partly on the one or ones before it, meaning that the last two—new approaches to mapmaking and to warfare—are the most important. (Kaplan, 1994, para. 26 - 27)

Zeihan (2014) comments upon the fact that the past seventy five years of relative peace, prosperity and stability which have defined the Bretton Woods system, have been an anomaly within the greater context of world history, and that the compass of history is shifting back towards its orientation of true north.

Deep ecologists and traditionalist thinkers harkened the blight as dark affirmation and an inevitable repercussion of unrestricted economic growth and progress, a *punctus contra punctum*, for while unrestricted economic growth and progress are independent in themselves, they are interdependent with the inevitable decay and degeneration of the ecological and traditional societal systems with which they interact. These writers predict a reverse trajectory towards a return to the organic nature of the land and traditional cultural mores, and a rejection of the artificial constructs of ideology, and market based theory:

True geopolitical multi-polarity has never existed, and if we look for some distant analogue of it, we should not turn to the Early Modern Westphalian world order but

rather to the pre-modern era preceding the Age of Discoveries: to the pre-modern world order of multiple, truly autonomous cultural circles that lacked a single binding system of ‘universal’ exchange mechanisms, ‘international’ laws and ‘humanist’ ethics. (Wolfheze, 2020, para. 10)

Lastly, ecclesiastical theorists have predicted that the globalized era has created a schism between the morals of ethics and faith, and that the separation from the individual from the religious community, has wrought forth the biblical Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse; pestilence, plague, war and hell. As Revelation foretells, “And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer” (James, 2020, Rev. 6-2).

Perhaps it is reassuring then to think back towards Bruno Maques’ (2019) postulations that a global order will be maintained regardless of black swan events and economic perturbations, with the ultimate question being as to whether this order will be American, Sinocentric or some combinatory hybridization of the two. Yet beyond the nearly infinite postulations both metaphysical and theoretical upon the imponderables of what is to come as the dark wolf of death claws at the doors of civilization, there is no doubt that the world has entered a new era.

It is an era where the physical symbols of power are intertwined with the inviable threads of the cyber realms, where warfare has extended beyond the bounds of military might into the ephemeral ether of every conceivable realm. Cultural interpretations of values and first principles are shifting what was once global consensus towards new and ever changing models of

government and economic systems, fusing tradition and modernity into cohesive and effective new models.

Who would have ever thought at one point in time that the atom, the smallest unit of measurement could be split, or that an algorithm with its infinite combinations of ones and zeroes could be combined into a theoretical concept of qubits, where the fastest transit between two points was not a direct line? Nuclear fission and quantum mechanics were once thought impossible, yet are now accepted as a given reality. The adherence to the law of polarity, that everything has an opposite, that everything possesses a duality, has been transmogrified into a fading continuum of various degrees, with no ultimate clear cut boundaries. Reality is shaped by new theories and ideas, and when reality shifts, so should the paradigms of thought in how to approach such revelations.

What then will be the ultimate result of this dark shadow that has benighted the Ivory Towers of learning, and closed its gates to the many students seeking the freedom to learn within its shaded courtyards and verdant walkways? If anything has been gleaned from this dissertation, it is the certainty that geopolitical events, will affect the domestic economy, which will in turn affect the higher education sphere. This truism is as equally applicable to great power competition as it is to the global pandemic currently ravishing the globe.

Considering the decline in governmental research and defense funding following the end of the Cold War, which led to the reliance on industry clusters within the American university system, and then the additional blow to funding streams from both government and industry following the Great Recession, the need for increased funding for the higher education sector will be dire. As *Inside Higher Education* reports:

The economic repercussions will be felt throughout America's higher education sector in the form of loss of revenue and funding for the near term. With uncertain prospects in Congress for even half the \$500 billion the nation's governors say they need to stabilize budgets, many states face budget cuts. And they will look at slashing funds for public colleges. (Murakami, 2020, para. 14)

Thus it is a dark twist of fate, that the various recommendations posited above hold even more relevance in this uncertain era, as the need for financial protections to ensure soluble university pension funds are maintained, vocational schools providing the technical skill for the reemergence of domestic manufacturing supply chains are expanded, and four year universities developing new relationships between industry and government to facilitate research and advanced training are brought to the fore.

Indeed, as more and more international students opt to study within their home nations and through online platforms, a significant shortfall of funding will be accorded within the graduate STEM programs within the United States, of which over half were made up of foreign students. Mutually complementary partnerships between universities and corporations, as well as state programs to tax corporations in order provide educational opportunities for the new workforce that will be seeking retraining and employment in new and emergent highly technical fields, could lead to a recrudescence of a highly competent domestic workforce that will incorporate America's best in brightest into new and highly enterprising careers.

However as the reordering of the global economy and the American higher education system move forward apace and with great earnest, this writer cautions that even if CCP soft

power is quelled with the recommendations highlighted above, that the higher education community should approach with a proactive caution, the digital programs and technological companies that have proposed the distance learning model of education as a panacea and the new model for pedagogy and university instruction.

This writer recommends that the academic establishment should steer a steady course between the Chinese soft power influence of Digital Leninism, and the corporate technology partnerships of Surveillance Capitalism. For in freeing oneself from one influence, academia should not fall under the influence of another, one which places the programs, curriculums, information and research availability within the hands of corporations who have a vested interest in promoting models conducive towards their own profit margins. As this writer has explicated, corporate capture and institutionalization of thought, has limited the fields of perspective and action from which to limit and arrest CCP soft power and China's global expansion, and has been utilized by the CCP on the very system itself, to infiltrate and undermine the foundations of liberal democratic values.

Thus this writer proposes an academic anamnesis, for in seeking to modernize towards the new era of STEM and digital learning platforms, where efficiency and budget considerations will run paramount, it must not be forgotten, that the human contact between individuals, the relationships forged, and the traditional roles of professors seeking to research, publish and teach within the security accorded by tenure, should not shunted aside for a 'new normal', nor be conceived as an anachronistic model of a bygone era of university education. The traditions of the American university system are based upon the tried and true methods which were created within a community of individuals interacting to innovate, conjecture, conceive and question.

The evidenced based pedagogy of face to face learning has created and shaped the industries and entrepreneurs that have made America the beating heart of the global economy, and the brick and mortar university structure has sustained a productive livelihood for professors and administrators alike. While the return to the golden era of the multiversity is an impossibility due to the modern technological advances and requirements of the globalized society, a metaphysics of debris could be orchestrated (Dugin, 2013), in which the recommendations posited above, are recombined from within the historical continuum of the West, towards an innovative and highly competitive model of higher education that retains the key elements of traditional university, yet is progressive in its arc and scope.

While there are many perceptions of what the truth is, if anything, the previous research has found that while truth may be subjective, facts can be deduced from amidst the conflicting perspectives. It is only through the analysis of multiple perspectives, multiple cultures and the ability to freely analyze, speak and express these findings, that the essence of why the Constitutional protected rights of academic freedom are so critical in a free and democratic society, and why academic freedom is the plinth upon which the American university system stands. As the Supreme Court has elucidated:

The classroom is peculiarly the marketplace of ideas. The Nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth out of a multitude of tongues, [rather] than through any kind of authoritative selection. (*Shelton v. Tucker*, 1960, p. 384)

When Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia in 1819, which remains to this day one the most prominent universities in the nation, he was well aware of the importance

of freedom of thought, expression and educational opportunity for the youth of the fledgling democratic nation. Jefferson writes of the purpose of higher education as follows:

To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend; To expound the principles and structure of government...which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another...to develop the reason and faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order...And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others and of happiness within themselves. (Cremin, 1980, p. 111)

This vision of higher education within the United States was built upon by the American Association of University Professors in their seminal document on academic freedom. Albert Einstein, a former member of the American Association of University Professors elucidates on the prime importance of freedom of expression within the American academic system, in a smooth elision with the Socratic ideal of pursuing the truth to wherever it may lead:

By academic freedom I understand the right to search for truth and to publish and teach what one holds to be true. This right implies also a duty: one must not conceal any part of what one has recognized to be true. (Shihibi, 2010, para. 1)

The previous analysis has striven to remain equitable within the analytical framework required within an academic discipline, and this writer sincerely hopes that the China Dream and the American Dream can compete and cooperate on the global level. China's Common Destiny

for Mankind is in no way inevitable, nor is America's continued preeminence on the global stage, yet this analysis has shown how a philosophical and cultural vision borne out of the artistic genius of Mao Tse Tung has shifted the global balance of power towards a new and uncertain reality.

It has also shown how Sinocentric and Western visions are fundamentally divergent on many levels, and are compounded by an ever shifting matrix of geopolitical, historical and cultural factors so complex, that a single interpretation seeking to anchor this nebulous mélange of causations upon a plinth of certainty – would find itself set upon a foundation of sand, collapsing upon every perturbation rippling within the complex global system.

Many ancient cultures both Eastern and Western perceived time and space within a different context than our own. If time were a river flowing downstream from the past to the present, and an individual was standing within middle of the river, the modern perspective would position the individual facing downstream looking towards the future, with the past behind him. Yet the ancients would place an individual facing upstream, looking towards a past which has occurred and is observable, with their back to the future which is unseen and unknowable (Wolf, 2010). Perhaps the American higher education community would be wise to adopt the perspective of the ancients in looking to the past in order to facilitate an academic anamnesis aimed at preserving the traditional brick and mortar campus community, the tenured professors and the loosening of the institutional orthodoxies which have limited the freedom of many researchers to think beyond the constraints of ideologically based systems. As the Supreme Court has stated:

Our Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us, and not merely to the teachers concerned. That freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment, which does not tolerate laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom. (*Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 1967, p. 385)

The university is a community of individuals who exchange intellectual currency within the marketplace of ideas (*Shelton v. Tucker*, 1960), where the academic freedom to think, publish and speak remains the rock upon which the American university system stands.

While the future is uncertain, the past can be a guide in order to preserve the common values and traditions that have made American universities such an important and special place to all that have walked and entered their halls. Indeed, tradition can be the key to unlock a progressive future within the historical continuum of the West, as the cultures and nations of the globe proceed towards the realization of their own historical destinies and communities of fate.

AFTERWORD

While nations around the world begin to recover from the shock of the global pandemic on their economic, trade and healthcare systems, the game of great power competition and geopolitical maneuvering has reemerged stronger than ever.

Closed borders, state owned corporations, domestic supply chains and mercantilist policies, have become the *status quo* amongst many nations as they seek to regain their balance and position within the newly unfolding multipolar world system. As Bruno Maques (2018) has stated, the golden age of the American hyperpower is over and geopolitics has returned with a vengeance.

Beijing has not missed this point, and the CCP has taken full advantage of its swift and effective response to slow the Corona virus within its own borders, in order to project influence and power outwards onto the global commons. During the outset of the pandemic, the CCP closed all domestic access to the epicenter of the pandemic yet permitted international flights to continue, spreading the virus around the world, while limiting the export of key medical supplies to which it held a significant majority due to its supply chain controls (McLaughlin, 2020).

In addition, the CCP has launched a new brand of diplomacy, which some term as medical diplomacy, to sow positive relations with the virus stricken European Union and in other hard hit nations around the globe. Coupled with the China's aggressive Wolf Warrior diplomacy, the CCP is seeking to reverse the roles and control the narrative in relation to the effectiveness

and efficiency of the China model over those of more liberal and democratic systems. As a recent article in *The Atlantic Magazine* has made clear:

Though much of the world has come to a standstill as a result of the pandemic, China's regional ambitions and grudge settling clearly have not. Beijing has offered provocations – with a dash of propaganda and medical diplomacy – pushing forward its agenda despite the unfolding public-health crisis. (McLaughlin, 2020, para. 3)

Furthermore, the CCP has implemented a new national security law within Hong Kong, utilizing the limitation of masks and other personal protective gear that protesters had worn in order to protect their identities and safety, and extending Beijing's reach to not only protesters, but also investment bankers who make financial investments counter to the CCP's interests.

The CCP has also made efforts to reclaim territory from India on the Rooftop of the World, with over twenty Indian soldiers perishing in hand to hand combat with their Chinese counterparts over a contested line of control in the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. The refinancing of loans, the raising of investment funding at low interest rates, and the need by many developing nations within the Belt and Road Initiative to secure of funding to restart their economies, quell their populations and to secure a positive future, has led to an even stronger impetus for Beijing to extend its connectivity and trade corridors to secure key resources and trade links.

As the search for a vaccine has become ever the more pronounced, diplomatic efforts to promote international comity between the United States and China have faced an uphill battle, and with many tier one university research labs in the United States playing a front and center

role in the race to find a cure, these academic research facilities have inextricably been brought within the midst of this emergent great power rivalry.

Yet as this dissertation has showcased, the close collaboration between many American research universities and their Chinese based peers, have come under heavy scrutiny by federal regulators due to the CCP's military fusion strategy, which links many Chinese based academic researchers directly to the Chinese government. As Alex Joske of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute has stated in a recent report, "In 2017, the Party Secretary of Beijing Institute of Technology, a leading university for defense research, wrote that universities should 'stand at the front line of military-civil fusion'" (Joske, 2019, para. 15).

Considering the Chinese Constitutional requirements as well as national security laws requiring all Chinese citizens and organizations to comply with CCP intelligence interests under threat of severe punishment (Ward, 2019), the far reaching leverage employed by China's newly implemented Social Credit System to enforce these requirements, and the recent spate of United States Justice Department indictments and court cases involving research and technology theft under China's One Thousand Talents Program, such collaboration on highly sensitive proprietary research seems unlikely.

A recent Executive Order from the White House further highlights this dilemma stating that, "The PRC's acquisition of sensitive United States technologies and intellectual property to modernize its military is a threat to our Nation's long term economic vitality and the safety and security of the American people" (Trump, 2020, para. 1). The order focuses directly on the American higher education system, making clear that:

The PRC authorities use some Chinese students, mostly post-graduate students and post-doctorate researchers, to operate as non-traditional collectors of intellectual property. Thus, students or researchers from the PRC studying or researching beyond the undergraduate level who are or have been associated with the PLA are at high risk of being exploited or co-opted by the PRC authorities and provide a particular cause for concern. (Trump, 2020, para 2)

Considering the pressing need for developing a vaccine against national security concerns, American universities will find themselves in a difficult position in engaging in research partnerships with CCP based entities, balancing potentially lucrative contracts, against the steadily unfolding stream of United States national security legislation, as the great power competition heats up between the two geopolitical rivals.

While balancing the need between opportunity, access and institutional solvency in a time where state and federal budgets have been slashed to a degree unseen in the modern era, university administrators will have to become ever the more aware of both the geopolitical arena, and the potential domestic Congressional legislation that might ban CCP based entities and researchers from participating in university research and investment. The loss of federal funding for dealing with a blacklisted Chinese based entity, or even the cancelation of research collaborations midway through a project are a very real possibility, which could cost an American academic institution not only invested dollars, but could also tarnish its institutional branding, a scenario loathed by academic administrators during the current climate, where universities are competing amongst one another for much needed tuition dollars.

Thus, solid due diligence and risk management analysis to take a proactive approach to protect funding streams when engaging in contractual relations with Chinese based labs and researchers will become ever the more common within the academic administrative realm. Joske (2019) has recommended independent self standing entities within American universities free from internal academic politics to research, analyze and monitor global events and domestic politics in order to provide soluble practical remedies and effective risk management practices.

In addition, the newly unrolled Defense University Tracker (Joske, 2019), an interactive map which indicates high risk and low risk Chinese based universities with ties to CCP and Chinese based defense related contractors, provides administrators the ability to conduct due diligence before admitting researchers or engaging in business relations with CCP based peers.

Undoubtedly more efficient and federally based listing programs and risk management tools will become available to American universities, however due to China's civil military fusion model, which utilizes both open source and dual use technology to burnish its military and security apparatus, this writer believes that a complete federally mandated ban on all high level proprietary, confidential and security related research with PRC entities and research facilities will soon be enacted by Congress.

Thus the saga continues, with the race to find a vaccine becoming as much as a matter of national prestige, showcasing the technological and scientific ability of a particular nation, as the humanitarian nature of the cure itself. It is a new race to the moon, whose symbolic victory will presage a new era, an era where the Ivory Tower will find itself once again in the midst of a battle of geopolitical supremacy in the contest of the century.

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