## **Bibliography**

- Adams, Jonathon. 2008. "China extends a friendly paw across Taiwan Strait," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 24.
- Agence France Presse. 2006. "Taiwan Says Beijing Offer 'Poison,' Snubs 'One-China Principle',"April 17.
- Asia Pulse. 2005. "Philippines, Vietnam, China sign accord on South China Sea," March 15.
- Brezinski, Zbignew and John J. Mearsheimer. 2005. "Clash of the Titans," Foreign Policy, no. 146 (January/February): 46-50.
- Chan, Steve. 2006. "The Politics of Economic Exchange: Carrots and Sticks in Taiwan-China-U.S. Relations." *Issues & Studies* 42, no. 2 (June): 1-22.
- Chao, Chien-min. 2003. "Will Economic Integration between Mainland China and Taiwan Lead to a Congenial Political Culture?" *Asian Survey* 43, no. 2 (March/April): 280-304.
- Chen, Melody. 2004. "Voters Across the Strait Belt Out the Blues." *Taipei Times*, February 24. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2004/02/24/2003099929.
- Cheng, Tun-jen. 2005. "China-Taiwan Economic Linkage: Between Insulation and Superconductivity." In *Dangerous Strait: The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis*, ed. Nancy B. Tucker, 93-130. New York: Columbia University Press.
- China Daily. 2005. Peaceful Development of Cross-Strait Ties Reaffirmed," China Daily, May 22.
- China Post. 2008. "Direct across-strait links in place today," December 15.
- China Review. 2005. "Cautious Optimism in New Era of Cross-Strait Relations," (Zhongguo pinglun) December 5.
- Cho, Young Nam and Jong Ho Jeong. 2008. "China's Soft Power: Discussion, Resources, and Prospects," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 48, Issue 3: 453-472.
- Chu Shulong & Guo Yuli. 2008. "Change: Mainland's Taiwan Policy." *China Security*, Vol.4 No.1 (Winter): 130-136.
- Chu, Yun-han. 1999. "The Political Economy of Taiwan's Mainland Policy." In Across the Taiwan Strait: Mainland China, Taiwan, and the 1995-1996 Crisis, ed. Suisheng Zhao, 163-95. New York and London: Routledge.
- Cody, Edward. 2006. "China Easing Its Stance on Taiwan: Tolerance Grows for Status Quo," *Washington Post*, June 15.
- Dent, Christopher M. 2001. "Being Pulled into China's Orbit? Navigating Taiwan's Foreign Economic Policy." Issues & Studies 37, no. 5 (September/October): 1-34.

- Fairbank, John King. 1968. Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Fravel, M. Taylor. 2005. "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, Vol. 30 no. 2 (Fall): 46-83.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. 2005. "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?," International Security, Vol. 30, no. 2, (Fall): 7-45.
- Glasner, Bonnie S. and Melissa E. Murphy. 2009. "Soft Power with Chinese Characteristics". *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. (March): 10-26.
- Gertz, Bill. 2000. China Threat: How the People's Republic Targets the U.S.. Washington. Regnery.
- Gill, Bates and Yanzhong Huang. 2006. "Sources and Limits of Chinese 'Soft Power'." *Survival* 48, no. 2 (June): 17-36.
- Gluck, Caroline. 2005. "Lien visit warms Taiwan-China prospects," BBC, April, 26.
- Goldstein, Steven, and Randall Schriver. 2001. "An Uncertain Relationship: The United States, Taiwan, and the Taiwan Relations Act." *The China Quarterly*, no. 165 (March): 147-72.
- Goldstein, Steven M. 2009. "China and Taiwan: Signs of Change in Cross-Strait Relations." *China Security*, Vol. 5 no.1 (Winter): 65-70.
- Hickey, Dennis V. 2009. "Beijing's Evolving Policy toward Taipei: Engagement or Entrapment," Issues & Studies 45, no. 1 (March): 31-70.
- Hirshman, Albert O. 1980. *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Hu, Jintao. "Shiqida zhengzhi baogao." (The 17<sup>th</sup> Party Congress Political Report): 24-26.
- Hu, Shaohua. 2007. "Confucianism and Contemporary Chinese Politics." *Politics & Policy* 35, no. 1.
- Huang, Tai-lin. 2005. "Farmers Can Look Beyond China." *Taipei Times*, June 16. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2005/06/16/2003259469.
- Huang, Yanzhong and Sheng Ding. 2006. "Dragon's Underbelly: An Analysis of China's Soft Power", *East Asia*, Vol. 23 no. 4: 1-18.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer): 22-49.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations: Remaking of World Order*. (N.Y.: Touchstone Books).

Ikenberry, John G. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* (January/February): 23

- Keng, Shu, Lu-huei Chen, and Kuan-bo Huang. 2006. "Sense, Sensitivity, and Sophistication in Shaping the Future of Cross-Strait Relations." *Issues & Studies* 42 no. 4 (December): 23-66.
- Ko, Shu-ling. 2005. "Hsieh Tries to Win over Fruit Farmers." *Taipei Times*, August 1. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2005/08/01/2003265940.
- Kurlantzick, Joshua. 2007. Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World. Yale University Press.
- Layne, Christopher. 1993. "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security* 17, no. 4 (Spring): 9-37.
- Leng, Tse-Kang. 1995. "State, Business, and Economic Interaction across the Taiwan Strait." *Issues & Studies* 31, no. 11 (November): 40-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. "Dynamics of Taiwan-Mainland China Economic Relations: The Role of Private Firms." *Asian Survey* 38, no. 5 (May): 494-509.
- Li, Cheng. "The 'New Deal': Politics and Policies of the Hu Administration," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, no 38: 329-346.
- Li, Jie. 2007. "The construction of soft power and China's peaceful development," Research on International Problems, no. 1: 21-26.
- Li, Lei. 2006. "Dazao zhongguo ruan shili," (Moulding China's soft power) Shangye wenhua (Business Culture) (November): 86-88.
- Li, Mingjiang. 2008. "Soft Power in Chinese Discourse: Popularity and Prospect", *RSIS Working Papers No. 156* (September 1):1-23.
- Li, Rex. 2004. "Security Challenge of an Ascendant China," in *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior*, (Ed.) Suisheng Zhao, (New York, M. E. Sharpe): 23-57.
- Lin, Chong-Pin. 2008. "More Carrot Than Stick: Beijing's Emerging Taiwan Policy". *China Security*, Vol. 4 No. 1 (Winter): 130-136.
- Lin, Cho-shui. 2006. "China Consistent on Taiwan Policy." *Taipei Times*, April 27. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2006/04/27/2003304847.
- Lin, Gang, et al. 2004. "Cross-Strait Economic Ties: Agent of Change, or a Trojan Horse?" Asia Program Special Report 118, no. 2: 1-18.
- Lin, Paul. 2002. "Dirty Old Jiang's Secrets Revealed." *Taipei Times*, December 5. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2002/12/05/185989.
- . 2004. "Hu Maneuvering to Prevent Jiang's Comeback." *Taipei Times*, October 4. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2004/10/04/2003205528.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "Taiwan Should Not be Fooled Again." *Taipei Times*, March 11. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2005/03/11/2003245789.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Don't Be Deceived by Hu's Tactics." *Taipei Times*, November 27. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2006/11/27/2003338138.

- Ma, Josephine. 2005. "Wealth Gap Fuelling Instability, Studies Warn," South China Morning Post, December 22. Mearsheimer, J. 2005. "Clash of the Titans," Foreign Policy, no. 146 (January/February): 46-50.
- Mederios, Evan S. and M. Taylor Fravel. 2003. "China's New Diplomacy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82 no. 6 (November-December): 22-35.
- Moller, Kay. 1995. "A New Role for the ROC on Taiwan in the Post-Cold War Era," *Issues & Studies*, Vol. 31 no. 2 (February): 84-85.
- Nye Jr., Joseph S. 1990. Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power. New York: Basic Books.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. New York: Pubic Affairs.
- Pei, Minxin. 2002. "China's Governance Crisis," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81 no. 5 (September-October): 96-109.
- People's Daily Online. "Mainland Issues New Policy Package to Boost Cross-StraitsTradeTies."April15,2006.http://english.people.com.cn/200604/15/eng20060415\_258604.html.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. China to be mainstay for peace and peaceful rise. June 25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Second Cross-Straits Talks on Taiwan Businessmen's Rights on Mainland Scheduled." September 8, 2006. <u>http://english.people.com.cn/200609/08/</u> eng20060908\_300666.html.
- Percival, Bronson. 2007. The Dragon Looks South: China and Southeast Asia in the New Century. Praeger Security International.
- Pillsbury, Michael. 2000. *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press).
- Ross, Robert. 2000. "The 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Credibility, Coercion and the Use of Force,": 102-104.
- Romberg, Alan D. 2009. "Cross-Strait Relations: First the Easy, Now the Hard," *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 27 (Winter): 1-34.
- Roy, Denny. 1999. "Assessing the Asia-Pacific 'Power Vacuum'" Survival 37, No. 3, (Autumn): 50-55.
- Scofield, David. 2003. "Northeast Asia's Intra-mural Mural Wars," Asia Times, December 23.
- Shambaugh, David. 2005. "Rising Dragon and the American Eagle," *Yale Global*, (April 20).
- Shen Jiru. 1999. "Do Not Ignore the Importance of Soft Power." *Liaowang* no. 41 (October).
- Shi Yinhong. 2007. "China's Soft Power and Peaceful Rise." Zhongguo Pinglun, no. 118 (October).

- Shih, Hsiu-chuan. 2005. "Chinese Market No Gold Mine for Taiwanese Fruit." *Taipei Times*, July 10. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2005/07/10/2003262918.
- State Council Development Research Center. 2005. "An Evaluation of and Recommendation on the Reforms of the Health System in China," *China Development Review*, Vol. 7 no. 1 (March): 151-152.
- Swaine, Michael D. 2001. "Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000," in Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*.
- Taiwan Affairs Office of the PRC's StateCouncil. 2000. "Yige Zhongguo de Yuanze yu Taiwan Wenti," (The One China Principle and the Taiwan Issue), Zhongguo Renmin Gongheguo Guowuyuan Taiwan Shiwu Banggongshi (February).
- Taipei Mainland Affairs Council. 2009. Major Events Across the Taiwan Straits (January 1912 to February 2009) (June 11) p. 3-4.
- *Taipei Times.* "DPP Must Act Now on Fruit Exports." July 6, 2005. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2005/07/06/2003262428.
- Tanner, Murry Scot. 2007. Chinese Economic Coercion against Taiwan: A Tricky Weapon to Use. Santa Monica, Calif.. RAND.
- *The Straits Times.* "Taiwan Calls for New Ties." Jan 2, 2009. http://www.straitstimes.com/Breaking%2BNews/Asia/Story/STIStory\_321046.h tml
- Tian, John Q. 2006. Government, Business, and the Politics of Interdependence and Conflict across the Taiwan Strait. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- Tsai, Ting-I. 2005. "The Beijing-Taipei Fruit Fracas." Asia Times, August 26. http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/GH26Ad02.html.
- Tung, Chen-yuan. 2003. "Cross-Strait Economic Relations: China's Leverage and Taiwan's Vulnerability." *Issues & Studies* 39, no. 3 (September): 137-75.
  - \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. "Cross-Strait Economic Relations: China's Leverage and Taiwan's Vulnerability," *Issues & Studies*, Vol. 39 no. 3 (September): 137-175.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "An Assessment of China's Taiwan Policy under the Third Generation Leadership," Asian Survey, Vol. 45 no. 3 (May-June): 343-361.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Cross-Strait Trade Progressing Well." *Taipei Times*, March 8. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2006/03/08/2003296331
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Be Proactive with Cross-Strait Policy." *Taipei Times*, April 21. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2006/04/21/2003303832.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. "Hu's Six Points-Proceed with Care." *Taipei Times*, Jan. 6. http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2009/01/06/2003433064
- Wachman, Alan M. 2009. "Old Thinking Dominates "New Thinking." *China Security* Vol. 5 no.1 (Winter): 71-77.

- Wang, Huning. 1993. "Culture as National Soft Power: Soft Power," Journal of Fudan University (March).
- Wang, Jianwei. 2008. "Time for 'New' Thinking on Taiwan." China Security Vol. 4 no.1 (Winter): 113-129.
- Wang, T. Y., and I-chou Liu. 2004. "Contending Identities in Taiwan: Implications for Cross-Strait Relations." *Asian Survey* 44, no. 4 (July/August): 568-589.
  - \_\_\_\_. 2008. "Introduction: The Rise of China and Its Emerging Grand Strategy," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 5: 491-496.
- Wei, Yung. 1997. "From "Multi-System Nations' to 'Linkage Communities': A New Conceptual Scheme for the Integration of Divided Nations." *Issues & Studies* 33, no. 10 (October): 1-19.
- Wong, Seasong S.. 2005. "Economic Statecraft Across the Strait: Business Influence in Taiwan's Mainland Policy," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 29 no. 2: 41-72.
- Wu, Yu-Shan. 1994. "Mainland China's Economic Policy toward Taiwan: Economic Need or Unification Scheme?" *Issues & Studies* 30, no. 9 (September): 29-49.
  - \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. "Taiwanese Elections and Cross-Strait Relations." *Asian Survey* 40, no. 4 (July/August): 565-587.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "From Romantic Triangle to Marriage? Washington-Beijing- Taipei Relations in Historical Comparison." *Issues & Studies* 41, no. 1 (March): 113-159.
- Wuthnow, Joel. 2006. "The Integration of Cooptation and Coercion: China's Taiwan Strategy since 2001." *East Asia*, Vol. 23 No.3 (Fall): 22-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. "The Concept of Soft Power in China's Strategic Discourse." Issues & Studies 44, no.2 (June): 1-28.
- *Xinhuanet*. 2005. "Taiwan students on mainland given level fees," August 25. available at: <u>http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2005-08/25/content\_3400369.htm</u>
- Yan, Xuetong and Xu Jin. "A comparison of Chinese and American soft power," *Xiandai guoji guanxi*, no.1: 26.
- Yao, Xu. 2007. "Gonggong guanxi de chuanbo shouduan yu zhongguo ruan shili jiangou," (Communication methods of public relations and China's soft power building) Xinwen qianshao (News Frontline) Issue 7, Vol. 93.
- Ying, Gao. 2007. "China to Host Second Confucius Institute Conference," December 6. available at: <u>www.chinaview.cn</u>.
- Yu, Taifa. 1999. "Relations between Taiwan and China after the Missile Crisis: Toward Reconciliation?" Pacific Affairs, Vol. 72 no. 1 (Spring): 47.
- Zagoria, Ronald S. ed. 2003. Breaking the China-Taiwan Impasse, Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Zhao, Suisheng. 1999. "Economic Interdependence and Political Divergence: A Background Analysis of the Taiwan Strait Crisis." In Across the Taiwan Strait: Mainland China, Taiwan, and the 1995-1996 Crisis, ed. Suisheng Zhao, 21-40. (New York and London: Routledge).

\_\_\_\_\_. 1999-2000. "Military Coercion and Peaceful Offence: Beijing's Strategy of National Reunification with Taiwan," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 72 no. 4, Special Issue: Taiwan Strait (Winter): 495-512.

