



Contemporary Chinese military strategy and Sun Tzu: An exploration

Muskan

Department of international relations, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, West Bengal, India

Abstract

Sun Tzu was a Chinese military strategist best known for his work *The Art of War*. His military treatise is one of the oldest and has been used not only in Ancient China but in many parts of the world. In order to find whether contemporary Chinese military strategies under Xi Jinping are influenced by Sun Tzu's philosophies or not. The paper seeks to analyse Sun Tzu and China's military strategies while drawing an analogy for the same.

Keywords: Contemporary Chinese military, Sun Tzu's philosophies

Introduction

In 2012, when Xi Jinping assumed power as the leader of the Chinese communist party, he announced his vision to make China great again and thereby called for the 'great rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation' ^[1]. The Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi, in his speech at the second world peace forum 2013 while exploring Chinese diplomacy mentioned about Xi Jinping's Chinese dream of national renewal ^[2].

The two centenary goals of Xi Jinping, that is 'building a moderately prosperous society by the end of 2021' and to construct 'fully developed and powerful China by 2049' before the hundredth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. The starting years of Xi's administration was accompanied with swift plans to develop the silk road economic belt, twenty first century economic maritime silk road ^[3]. During his first visit in October 2013 to Indonesia, he inaugurated the 21st century Maritime Silk Route. This was done with the intent to promote maritime cooperation as well as trade among China and its neighboring countries in the region. Xi also introduced China's Economic Silk Route initiative 2013 in order to connect provinces of Xinjian through Central Asia to the Middle East and parts of Eastern Europe, which latter was compiled with Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) programme. The CCP leader has described these two centenary goals as an agenda to realise their dream of national rejuvenation which is his mantra for governance.

However, the Chinese mentality of world domination and economic prosperity has its traces back to the colonial times ^[4]. The idea that is often overlooked is that China has come out of its horrifying colonial past to challenge the United States. Various studies have shown humiliation as a driving force of Chinese policies. The Chinese have faced centuries of humiliation and colonial exploitation in the past. So, could there be a possibility that Xi Jinping's ideas emanate from strategic thinkers from the past?

Sun Tzu was one of the prominent military exponents of ancient China, who's legendary treatise *The Art of War*, is considered as the holy book of warfare ever produced during that era and beyond.

Considering the fact that Sun Tzu's ideas were very prevalent in the ancient Chinese policies. Could there be a possibility that his ideas resonated with Jinping's thoughts and programmes? In this paper, Xi Jinping's concept of China dream project will be looked upon by drawing inferences from Sun Tzu's philosophies.

Chinese dream

Xi Jinping's assertion of 'China dream' has perhaps alarmed the world of Beijing's growth towards becoming a world power. Soon after he assumed power, he changed certain dictums proposed by Deng Xiaoping. For instance his '*24-character strategy*' where Deng had mentioned '*observe*' calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; Hide our strength and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership. ^[5] Implied the idea of keeping it low profile, China as Deng claimed should develop its economic, financial as well as commercial strengths without concerning itself much from the international arena. Post Deng's leadership China has significantly tried to project itself as an assertive power.

According to sources, People's Republic of China party members claim China as both nation and state combined. While considering the amount of humiliation and assault Chinese people had faced in the past, Xi Jinping has initiated his quest for national rejuvenation as its primary goal when he took charge of the office. He emphasised the need for the national revival along with his dream to make China the most powerful country on earth over the years. Various anti-corruption and economic drives were also initiated by Xi.

On the economic front, one of his primary objectives was to resume high growth regardless of any repercussions it might have in socio-political or environmental spheres. Consequently, China's growth rate has increased, with a spike in the country's GDP. It's easy to scrape off the concept of Chinese dream coming off as a pure propaganda and empty talks by Chinese leaders but this holds immense importance as it perhaps attempts to explain intricacies of Chinese politics ^[6]. Xi, throughout his speech has recurrently emphasised that the Chinese dream can only be realised by socialism with Chinese character. Despite there being some ambiguity about the Chinese dream being exposed to the international audience, Beijing's leader has denoted that the national rejuvenation of China can only happen by the Chinese communist party ^[7].

The Chinese Dream as a project is an attempt to ensure stability and control their own legitimacy, domestically. 'Implementing Chinese dream', an article by the state councillor Yang Jiechi, is one of the very few attempts to establish the link between the Chinese dream and China's

foreign policy. Yang in this article emphasises that “Chinese dream require a stable international and neighbouring environment and China is committed to realising the dream through peaceful development”^[8]. He also mentioned ‘China’s Dream being connected with the dreams of the people all across the world, so China is committed towards helping countries abroad, developing nations and neighbors in particular’.

Through this project Xi has intentions to perhaps ‘internationalize the Chinese dream’ as China’s peaceful rise strategy. According to sources, China is now seeking to build a new type of International relations which Xi Jinping had mentioned in his inaugural speech at Moscow State Institute of International relations. Beijing has kept the win-win cooperation type of international relation as its foundation to future strategies. Since such a strategy is conducive to today’s time, Xi has agreed to look for a friendly cooperative and peaceful path of the growth of China. But is China rising peacefully as it claims? remains a doubt.

Sun Tzu and Chinese policies

Sun Tzu was a Chinese military strategist best known for his work *The Art of War*. His military treatise is one of the oldest and has been used not only in Ancient China but in many parts of the world. His ideas and dictums were quite prevalent in Ancient China and even today, there are speculations about Sun Tzu still being relevant in Chinese strategies.

Sun Tzu says all warfare is based on deception. Hence, when able to attack we must seem unable; when using forces, we must seem inactive; when we are near, we must make our enemy believe that we are far away; when we are far, we must make our enemy believe we are near^[9].

Deception is a part of Chinese strategic culture. People’s liberation army (PLA) takes reference of such military treaties to misguide the enemy. Deception is in fact an important component to China’s national security and military planning and the leaders of PLA have continued to use and emphasise the use of deception as a tool. PLA states that due to the unprecedented change of warfare and strategies, it's quite natural to not stick just with pre-programmed strategies.

Sun Tzu has in fact bifurcated the application of deception in a few categories: one is to use deception as a tool to mislead the adversary. Second is to lure the enemy through greed and then adopt a strategy favourable to the enemy situation. Lastly, to weaken the enemy’s war fighting abilities by making enemy’s strong point turn into their weakness through the means of psychology, stamina, coercion etc^[10].

Considering the People's Liberation Army’s strategic trajectory, Beijing has always been very deceptive in handling enemies and has used coercive methods to turn the situation into its own advantage. One of the best examples of deception by China is its Salami Slicing strategy. Salami Slicing is a strategy of performing a series of small actions usually performed by clandestine means, which when accumulated produces a much larger action or results which would be difficult or rather unlawful to perform at once^[11].

India strongly believes that China is using salami slicing as a form of deception in the Himalayas. In the 1950s China annexed Tibet and permanently stationed its military forces at the borders with India. Subsequently, China fought war

with India in 1962 and annexed Aksai Chin, unilaterally claiming nearly 90,000 sq.km of land in Arunachal Pradesh. Beijing has also occupied 43,000 sq.km of land in Jammu and Kashmir area, and occupied 5,000 square kilometres of land in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) in 1963 through a "ceding agreement" with Pakistan for the construction of the Karakoram highway^[12]. China is covertly employing salami-slicing strategies, gradually capturing contested territory and presenting its Indian counterpart with a fait accompli, where India must either accept the new geographical status quo or engage militarily with China.

People’s Republic of China is a country that is pursuing territorial revisionism and is involved in numerous territorial confrontations with it using salami-slicing strategies against its Asian neighbours in an effort to realise Xi Jinping’s China Dream. That is to bring China back to its glorious days^[13]. The Doklam standoff, which geographically is situated at the intersection of Tibet, Bhutan, and India. Both sides’ troops withdrew to their previously occupied positions following a tense standoff that lasted for 73 days. At the end of the Doklam stalemate in 2017, it was evident that the Chinese were building access roads and other fortifications without informing India. Access roads, bunkers, and other fortifications were built, and this was regarded as a breach of the prior agreements, as well as the spirit of collaboration that China had promised.

Another evidence of deception performed by China is its strategy of ‘Peaceful Rise’ concept. It was a concept introduced by Xi Jinping to maximise China’s development opportunities by countering China’s image as a ‘threat’ in the international arena. Beijing has performed a rigorous operation of the peaceful rise concept worldwide. In year 2005, China’s State Council Information Office, published a white paper ‘China’s Peaceful Development Road’, which claimed peaceful development is a prerequisite to China’s modernization, its promotion of world peace and development as a part of China’s own growth^[14]. The concepts and arguments mentioned in the white paper were full of suspicion and rhetoric. Most importantly, there was no mention of China’s Rapid military build-ups. Many theories suggest that China’s concept of ‘Peaceful Rise’ is a rhetoric to cover China’s steady approach to gain the status of a hegemon, which would ultimately challenge the United States in a few Decades.

There are various counter facts of China’s peaceful rise. Perhaps, the only international issue in which China has threatened to use its military force is, in its current policy towards Taiwan. China’s prelude to become a global power and its peaceful rise is in rhetoric’s and a far-fetched dream, if it tries to attack the democratic island Taiwan^[15]. Recent Reports suggest that there was a Chinese military incursion in Taiwan’s Air Defence Zone, after US president Joe Biden warned China of the consequences of invading Taiwan. Not only that, over the past few Decades China’s defence Expenditure has increased^[16]. General experts say that Beijing’s real military expenditure is two to three times larger than its official figure, due to the fact that many items are not included in the official Chinese military budget like for example the procurements of weapons from abroad, expenses on paramilitary exercises etc.

According to SIPRI’s estimates, Beijing’s real military expenditure has exceeded that of Japan’s and in fact is not much less than that of the United States of America. This

perhaps implies that the enhanced quality of the weaponry is the top strategic priority for China's PLA.

In *The Art of War*, Sun Tzu further states that 'The Moral Law causes the people to be in complete accord with their ruler, so that they will follow him regardless of their lives, undismayed by any danger.' And "The Commander stands for the virtues of wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage, and strictness^[17]."

The moral law is the first of the Art of War's five constants. The moral law, according to Sun Tzu, is one that makes people completely in tune with their ruler, causing them to obey him no matter the risk. Sun Tzu describes the Commander as one who stands for the virtues of wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage and strictness which again comes in conformity with the Chinese leader Xi Jinping^[18].

Sun Tzu gave primacy to the exercise of State power by the ruler and believed that the people should be subordinate to the ruler and follow each of his commands without causing any rebellion. Sun Tzu's idea is perhaps very much ingrained in Chinese one-party authoritarian rule. Considering the fact that Xi Jinping is the sole leader of the Chinese communist party, Xi has given great emphasis on power consolidation, focusing more on enhancing the centrality of the Chinese communist party and its communist ideology.

Starting in 2013, when he assumed the leadership of the Special Leading Group, in charge of economic reforms, Xi's power has rapidly increased since he took office in 2012^[19]. He took command as the head of the Chinese Military soon after he came to power. He has also dismantled the collective leadership practice and consolidated his supreme position in the

Party. Xi brought about significant changes in the Chinese constitution by abolishing the two-term limit for the president after he assumed power.

Unambiguously his revelation has proved that he wants to rule China until death or disability. This revision of the state constitution is perhaps a bold move taken forward by the CCP leader. The concentration of Xi's political authority is a component of the CCP's plan to reduce open conflicts while implementing structural changes and getting past 'vested interests' objections. Beijing's determination to push through such a controversial procedure underlines its determination to see the nation's renaissance as a great power. The inherent risk accompanying this process highlight the rising significance of the country's security services to current Chinese political events^[20].

The idea of moral law is also reflected in various incentives initiated by Xi to support his authority. In order to secure discipline, he has not only enacted punitive measures but also certain initiatives. His initiatives are centred around anti-corruption drives and reforms to improvise the PLA enthusiasm and lethality which included reviewing key military and parade exercises and promoting only anti-corrupt officers.

Xi has also adopted a hard-line policy towards sovereignty disputes, including the enforcement of air defence identification zones in East China Sea and similar attempts of military build-ups in the areas surrounding South China Sea. According to him such hard-line acts elevates the status of the country and the leader in terms of the military power and also as the saviour of the countries' national interest.

Chinese media has also promoted the PLA's absolute loyalty towards the Chinese Communist party and its leaders. Under the XI's administration the PLA's loyalty to

the party also complements other organisational, structural and administrative changes designed primarily to reinforce discipline and anti-corruption drives.

All these changes are made to encourage absolute compliance to the leader and the party in general. During his tenure Xi Jinping has taken an enormous number of responsibilities because it is a reflection of his personal power and paranoia of dissent. Consequently, there are various-drives to check the loyalty of the party cadres which goes beyond the anti-corruption drive^[21]. There are numerous other centralization programmes initiated by Beijing like censorship of media and speech as well as control over actors of western counterparts etc.

'Know your enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril'- Sun tzu.

Through cameras that can even recognise and report a person's race and location, China conducts comprehensive internal monitoring. It also uses artificial intelligence and exerts tight control over social media platforms. China also keeps close watch on its military commanders, the wealthy elite, social media influencers, journalists, and CCP members. China also examines its internal initiatives, demographics, military prowess, and state of several provinces and autonomous regions in great detail. This enables China to see its strong points and areas for improvement so that it never loses the war. The People's Republic of China was serious about this idea proposed by Sun Tzu because of its militaristic mentality. Sun Tzu gives emphasis on the importance and advantages of intelligence. China has always accomplished its foreign policy goals keeping its aspirations and the adversary in mind. When you are being ignorant towards the enemy but you know yourself, the chances of winning or losing are same, and if you are ignorant towards your enemy and yourself the chances of your loss are significant^[22]. Sun Tzu gave importance to how it's very crucial to know your enemy, their positives and weak points, thereby knowing your counterparts to act accordingly.

Xi Jinping is a Chinese man of renaissance. His personality is self-imposed, self-assured and significantly calm. Xi has been aware of China, its strengths and weakness and he also is well versed with its adversaries to^[23]. China wants to occupy the position of the world hegemon by being the most powerful country on the planet earth. It needs to surpass the US to become one. The United States, on the other hand, is aware that China poses a multifaceted strategic challenge to its position as a global superpower, one that takes place in the areas of international trade, technology, cyberspace, and-geography. The idea that the Chinese challenges are about opposing interests, is shared by all of these interpretations of their nature. Realpolitik is characterized by conflicts that result from struggles for greater power. Examples of such conflicts include territorial ambition, economic hegemony, technological superiority, and the desire for hegemony^[24].

'Knowledge of the enemy's dispositions can only be obtained from other men.'- Sun Tzu 'Unless you are kept informed of the enemy's condition, and are ready to strike at the right moment, a war may drag on for years. The only way to get this information is to employ spies, and it is impossible to obtain trustworthy spies unless they are properly paid for their services'. - ART OF WAR^[25].

Sun Tzu gave importance to the knowledge of the enemy and how it can be useful for one's own benefit. According to

sources, spying has been an important tool in Chinese policies and programmes, whether it be 1960s Indo- China war or today's Xi Jinping's part of coercive strategy. During 1962 Indo-China war two spy's namely wang chi and Div Shu Nag Jung were captured in the borders accused of spying and were exiled. They were then detained by the Indian government in a distant tribal area of Madhya Pradesh named Triodi ^[26]. Recently, a 36-year-old Chinese national was found by the BSF in the India- Bangladesh border without valid documents and there were speculations of him being a Chinese spy. Han claimed to have come to India for trade, but his true intentions seem to have been more malicious. Over the previous 1.5 years, Han is said to have sent China close to 1,300 Indian SIM cards. A top BSF official stated that it cannot be ruled out that he may have been involved in a plan to attack security organisations, government websites, and Indian companies online ^[27]. Therefore, there are chances China is still using spying as a tool to attain knowledge of the adversary.

Sun Tzu said that "an opponent with a choleric temper should be irritated and then should pretend to be weak against that same opponent so that the opponent may develop arrogance."

China employed every available means to agitate Donald Trump, the former president of the USA, during the trade war with the country. In order to prevent China from taking unfair advantage of the international system, and to prevent China from taking unfair advantage of the international system, Donald Trump, who was advancing the America First campaign, was eager to transfer manufacturing industries from China back to the USA. However, it was also generally known that Trump had a chronic temper. The USA's products were subject to retaliatory taxes from Xi Jinping, who in turn subjected Chinese goods to even higher tariffs. During dinners and informal talks, Xi Jinping used to charm Trump by expressing gratitude on his behalf. In his book "The Room Where It Happened," John Bolton, a former national security adviser for the United States, claims that if Xi Jinping's personal relationships conflict with those of the CCP and later China, they matter almost nothing to him. This cyclic retaliation during the ongoing trade war and a series of flattering during their personal meetings made him peculiar ^[28]. In an attempt to outdo Xi Jinping, his conceit reached a point where he declared, "People are talking about abolishing the two-term limit for him." Trump misled his home audience when he claimed that the trade agreement with China had been successful. China employed this strategy to instill such a level of conceit in Donald Trump that he ultimately fired his defence secretary Mark Esper and National Security Adviser Jon Bolton. Trump also was unable to accept that Joe Biden had defeated him in the elections, which sparked riots in the Capital. All these instances show how some of Sun Tzu's ideas are still relevant in contemporary Chinese politics.

The influence of Sun Tzu in the 21st century world order.

The Art of War has become one of the most influential military treaties in the world. Written two thousand years ago, it is now studied globally and has a matter of relevance in the 21st century. For Sun Tzu the best strategy is the one which assures victory without fight. The countries involved in any kind of war can certainly find substantial significance to Sun Tzu's wisdoms.

Sun Tzu also gave immense importance to the knowledge of terrains. We certainly reaffirmed this reality in Iraq and Afghanistan. Iraq and Afghanistan were characterized by large urban areas and vast deserts, lush river valleys, steep hills and mountains. While it has been frequently observed that human terrain is the defining terrain, physical terrain and man-made objects affect how we and our ground partners engage, secure, and serve the people. One of the most crucial was the understanding of Irregular warfare after 9/11 ^[29].

Another key idea that sun tzu talks about is not to be predictable to the enemy and changing the pattern of continuity. As he said 'you do not win in battle the same way twice.' Repeating a similar decision again and again can, as a matter of fact, would not bring positive outcome in a war, this was experienced in the 'Dark Hawk Down' occurrence in Somalia in 1993, consequently the crowd realised the importance of this tactics and became noticeably sensitive to that in the post-9/11 conflicts ³⁰.

He also talks about the art of deception, in the campaigns post 9/11 the parties involved used to hide their intentions till the very last minute to give an element of tactical surprise which gives a clear glimpse of the way operations were conducted during the Iraq and Afghanistan crisis.

Sun Tzu's idea "Know your enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril", in the case of the Ukraine war, Vladimir Putin knew his adversary well. He knew neither NATO nor the European Union would enter into war. Additionally, he was aware that sanctions may be overturned. Sun Tzu also talks about the advantage of the fifth Column. In the regions controlled by pro-Russian rebels, Luhansk and Donetsk, Putin had that in spades. Sun Tzu said "Victorious warriors win first and then go to war, while defeated warriors go to war first and then seek to win ³¹. It is here that Putin and Sun Tzu both part their ways. Putin must deal with a devastated Ukraine where cities have been bombed into oblivion, people have been forced to flee, and infrastructure has been utterly wrecked for at least a generation. He is left with a landmass of trash, both in terms of people and goods, and the contempt of the entire globe. Not much of a deal to him, and also not much honour.

Conclusion

Sun Tzu's Art of War has always been an influential military treatise throughout the history of Chinese warfare. The values and dictums propounded by Sun Tzu in this book hold immense strategic importance even today. Notwithstanding the fact that, certain ideas and concepts given by him have lost their relevance due to the changed nature of warfare and strategies over time.

Nevertheless, Sun Tzu's dictums are very well used in foreign policy and war strategies of many countries besides China. These ideas have had much influence in Chinese leader Xi Jinping's thought particularly his nationalistic goals and aspiration of making China great again. For instance, the idea of deception talked about by Sun Tzu still shows resonance with Xi Jinping's policies and program.

Furthermore, some of Sun Tzu's ideas like that of subduing the enemy without fight, importance of spies etc have reflections in Xi Jinping's policy framework. However, there is no explicit mention by the Chinese officials of the use of Sun Tzu's ideas and strategies. The rhetoric is that his ideas are evidently reflected in the foreign policy and strategies of Xi Jinping and his larger aspiration of a

national rejuvenation program. Many of the Chinese white papers are rhetorical with respect to China's ground reality. Considering the fact that Sun Tzu's strategies and tactics are turning out to be a game changer for Xi to grab influence and power, what China already was looking forward to, in order to fulfil its national and security aspirations. It would not be wrong to say that Sun Tzu and some of his military strategy still holds a significant place in Chinese policies.

References

1. Ministry of foreign Affairs Peoples Republic of China, "Exploring the path of major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics", 2013. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/2461_663310/201306/t20130627_468425.html
2. Robert Lawrence Kuhn 'Understanding the Chinese Dream', Chinadaily.com.cn. 2013 <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201307/19/WS5a2a161fa3101a51ddf8e80c.html>
3. Yose Rizal Damuri, "The Maritime Silk Road and Indonesia's Perspective of Maritime State. CSIS (Dec 2014) https://www.csis.or.id/uploads/attachments/post/2019/01/10/a_maritime_silk_road_and_indonesia_s_perspective_of_maritime_state.pdf
4. East Asian Policy. China's 'Two Centenary Goals': Progress and Challenges (April 2016) https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304669725_China's_Two_Centenary_Goals_Progress_and_Challenge
5. Deng Xiaoping's '24 Character Strategy'. Retrieved from: Global Security.Org <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/24-character.htm>
6. Mohanty (2013). Xi Jinping and the 'Chinese Dream'. Economic And Political Weekly. <https://www.epw.in/journal/2013/38/perspectives/xi-jinping-and-chinese-dream.html>
7. Camilla T.N. Sorensen (2015). The Significance of Xi Jinping's China Dream for Chinese Foreign Policy: From 'Tao Guang Yang Hui to Fen Fa You Wei'. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.841.5496&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
8. Retrieved from pg.7 Camilla T.N. Sorensen (2015). The Significance of Xi Jinping's China Dream for Chinese Foreign Policy: From 'Tao Guang Yang Hui to Fen Fa You Wei'. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.841.5496&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
9. Lionel Giles (2000). Sun Tzu on Art of War. Allandale Online Publishing https://sites.ualberta.ca/~enoch/Readings/The_Art_Of_War.pdf
10. Commander Mark Metcalf U.S Navy (Retired) (2017). Deception is the Chinese way of war. U.S Naval Institute. <https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2017/february/deception-chinese-way-war>
11. India Today. 'What is China's salami slicing tactics that Army Chief Bipin Rawat talked about?' <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/doklam-china-salami-slicing-army-chief-general-bipin-rawat-1039864-2017-09-07>
12. Sakhuj.V(Aug 2020). Commonalities in Chinese strategy in South China Sea and Himalayas. <https://www.cppr.in/centre-for-strategic-studies/commonalities-in-chinese-strategy-in-south-china-sea-and-himalayas>
13. Sitaraman. S.' China's Salami Slicing Tactics and the latest India- China boarder standoff.' Security Nexus. <https://apcss.org/chinas-salami-slicing-tactics-and-the-latest-india-china-border-standoff/>
14. Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao and Cheng-Yi Lin.Rise of China Beijing's strategies and implications for the Asia Pacific. Ch.2 'China's grand strategy of 'peaceful rise'': A prelude to a new cold war? Masako Ikegami. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/rise-of-china-beijings-strategies-and-implications-for-the-asia-pacific/oclc/495067954>
15. "German Institute for International and Security Affairs -swp-berlin.org." https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/projekt_papiere/Gu2005_ChinaPeacefulRise_ks.pdf. 16
16. "China sends 30 warplanes into Taiwan air defence zone - BBC News." 31 May. 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-61642217>.
17. [Download] The Art of War by Sun Tzu PDF | Genial eBooks." <https://genialebooks.com/ebooks/the-art-of-war-by-sun-tzu/>.
18. Lessons from Art of war. Art of war narrative. file:///C:/Users/MUSKAN/Downloads/Lessons%20from%20Art%20of%20War.pdf
19. "XI JINPING'S AUTHORITARIANISM, CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY AND INDIA." <https://idsa.in/system/files/news/Xi-Jinping-Foreign-Policy-India.pdf>.
20. "The Consolidation of Political Power in China Under Xi Jinping - RAND." 07 Feb. 2019, https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/CT500/CT503/RAND_CT503.pdf
21. "Discipline and punish: Party power under Xi - ECFR." 14 Mar. 2017, https://ecfr.eu/publication/china_analysis_discipline_and_punish_party_power_under_xi_7205/.
22. "Sun Tzu, Clausewitz, and the Importance of Knowing Yourself and... - DTIC." <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/citations/ADA440962>.
23. "Chinese Leader Xi Jinping's Mind Explained - Foreign Policy." 21 Nov. 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/11/21/xi-jinping-china-communist-party-francois-bougon/>
24. "China is an enemy of freedom of thought. It wants the same from other..." 15 Sept. 2020, <https://theprint.in/opinion/china-is-an-enemy-of-freedom-of-thought-it-wants-the-same-from-other-powerful-nations/502708/>.
25. "The Art of War by Sun Tzu: Summary, Analysis, & Quotes." 31 Oct. 2021, <https://study.com/learn/lesson/art-of-war-sun-tzu.html>.
26. "Tale of two Chinese spies Wang Chi and Div. Shu Nag Jung exiled in India." 04 Mar. 2018, <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/nation/current-affairs/050318/tale-of-two-chinese-spies-wang-chi-and-div-shu-nag-jung-exiled-in-india.html>.
27. "Who is Han Junwe, the Chinese intruder arrested in Bengal?." 27 Jun. 2021, <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/chinese->

- national-han-junwe-arrested-india-bangladesh-border-chinese-spy-7371400/
28. "China's Xi Jinping Is Really Going To Miss Donald Trump Despite Four..." 18 Jan. 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/williampesek/2021/01/18/chinas-xi-jinping-is-really-going-to-miss-donald-trump-despite-four-chaotic-years/>
 29. "'The Art of War': As relevant now as when it was written." 26 Mar. 2018, <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/the-art-of-war-as-relevant-now-as-when-it-was-written1.3440724>.
 30. Art of War by Sun Tzu <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0019556120150404?journalCode=ipaa>"Sun Tzu lessons Putin learnt after a month of Ukraine invasion." <https://www.news9live.com/world/sun-tzu-lessons-putin-learnt-after-a-month-of-ukraine-invasion-160930>
 31. Sun Tzu lessons Putin learnt after a month of Ukraine invasion." <https://www.news9live.com/world/sun-tzu-lessons-putin-learnt-after-a-month-of-ukraine-invasion-160930>