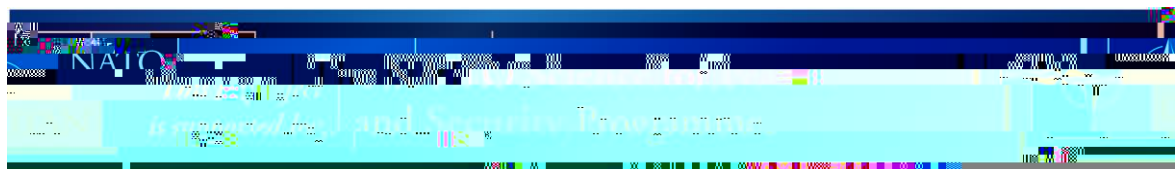


as One Belt One Road. Xi Jinping's assertive foreign policy includes the expansion of CCP political influence activities (known in China as united front work). United front work has now taken on a level of importance not seen in China since the years before 1949, when the CCP was in opposition.⁴ The CCP's united front activities incorporate co-opting elites, information management, persuasion, and accessing strategic information and resources. It has also frequently been a

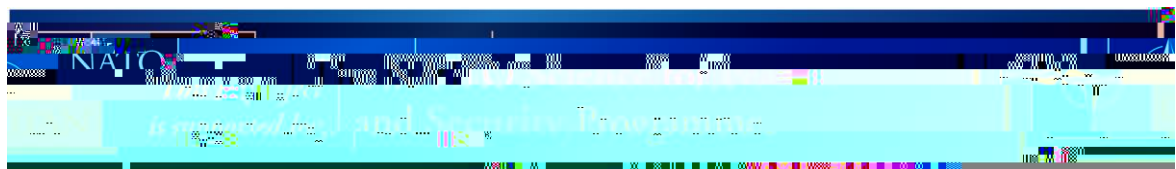


The New Zealand National Party government (2008-2017), followed two main principles on China: 1. The “no surprises” policy,¹⁹ which appeared to mean avoiding the New Zealand government or its officials or anyone affiliated with government activities saying or doing anything that might offend the PRC government, which inevitably had a chilling effect on normal policy discussions; and 2. an emphasis on “getting the political relationship right”, which under National came to mean developing extensive and intimate political links with CCP local and national leaders and their representatives and affiliated actors in New Zealand.²⁰ Both these approaches fed and encouraged the success of China’s political influence activities in New Zealand.

What can be done?

The new government has an opportunity—if we can borrow a phrase from Chinese diplomacy—to “light a new stove” and re-adjust New Zealand-China relations. The new government has already demonstrated it is aware of some of

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