

Sarajevo School of Science and Technology  
Department of Political Science/ International Relations  
Major: Political Science/ International Relations  
Minor: Diplomacy

## **PUBLIC DIPLOMACY of People's Republic of China**

By: Hesarbani Anja Lejli, student

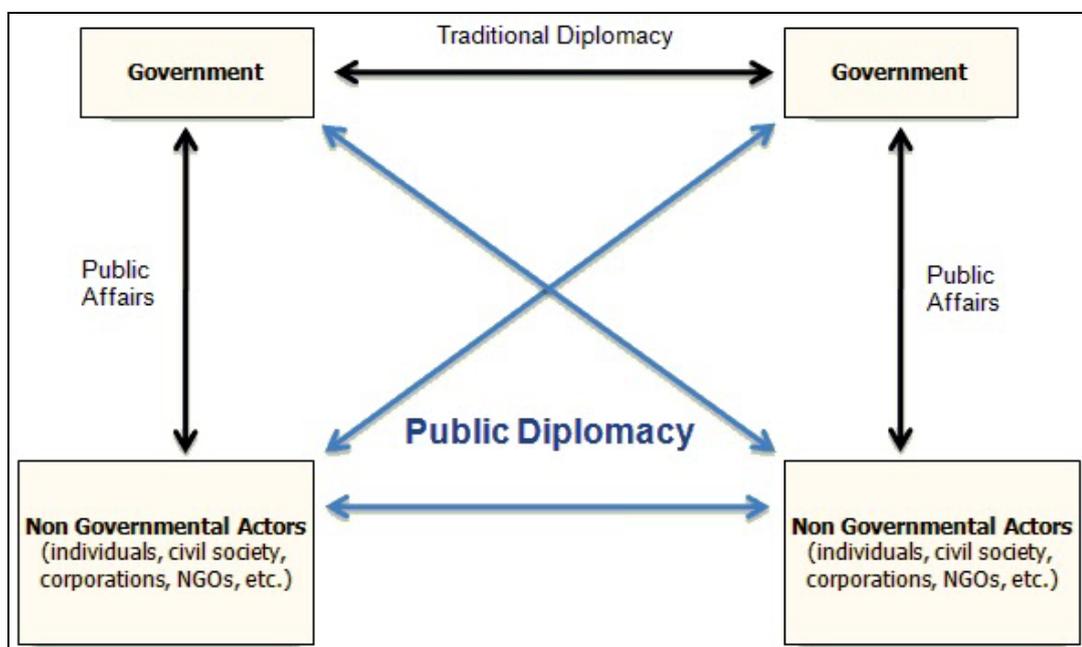
**Sarajevo, 2011**

## 1.1 Introduction

Diplomacy is “the mechanism of representation, communication and negotiation through which states and other international actors conduct their business”. Diplomacy in a traditional view is a game where the roles and responsibilities of actors in international relations are defined. The term that emerged during the Cold War was Public Diplomacy. Public diplomacy is one of the most salient political communication issues in the 21st century. Emergence of Public Diplomacy does not endanger the existence of traditional diplomacy. Moreover, it is said that public diplomacy is old wine in new bottles. Even though there is no universal agreement over the definition of Public Diplomacy, the distinction between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy is clear. Traditional diplomacy is about relationship between the representatives of states, or other international actors, while Public Diplomacy is more about influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between. Public diplomacy is one of soft power’s key instruments. <sup>1</sup>

Nye defines power as “the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants,” and argues that there are three primary ways to do that:

1. coerce with threats;
2. induce behavioral change with payments; or
3. attract and co-opt.<sup>2</sup>



The purpose of this paper is to examine the Public Diplomacy of People’s Republic of China. The methodology that will be used is case study. Even though the case studies in Public Diplomacy

<sup>1</sup> Jan Mellisen, “The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice”; The New Public Diplomacy, Edited by Jan Mellisen

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

may be classified into several categories, for this purpose case study will include actor, People's Republic of China (PRC). This topic is chosen because of the interest of the goals, instrument and effects of Chinese public diplomacy. Moreover, another reason is to try to explain that soft power is not recent concept in Chinese public diplomacy, as many scholars argue; rather that soft power has deeper roots in Chinese history. The hypothesis is that even though China engaged a lot in its public diplomacy, it lacks the part of implementation which in the end would result in even greater results.

The examination will be through the *informational* and *relational framework*. Informational framework focuses on the design and dissemination of messages to advance political objectives, while relational framework focuses on the relation-building and the construction of social structures to advance political objectives, usually by use of culture. However, within these frameworks, the revolutions (revolution in communication, revolution in politics and revolution in international relations) that suggested Eytan Gilboa will be encountered in order to examine the public diplomacy of the mentioned countries.<sup>3</sup>

For this purpose, we defined public diplomacy as “the form of international political advocacy directed openly by civilians to a broad spectrum of audience, but usually in support of negotiations through diplomatic channels. It seeks to elicit popular support for solutions of mutual benefit that avoids threats compulsion or intimidation. It is not a form of political warfare, although it may be used in combination with political warfare“.<sup>4</sup>

However, we should see that this definition will not be the working definition when it comes to the public diplomacy of People's Republic of China, why and which definition will be used will be provided further in this paper.

## **1.2 Foreign Policy Goals**

The Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) served as a provisional constitution after it was adopted in September 1949. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China revised during the First Plenary Session of the Eighth National People's Congress has the explicit stipulations concerning China's foreign policy: "China adheres to an independent foreign policy as well as to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries; China consistently opposes imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, works to strengthen unity with the people of other countries, supports the oppressed

---

<sup>3</sup> Eytan Gilboa, "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy", The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 2008 616: 55-77

<sup>4</sup> Mellissen, n.d., op.cit

nations and the developing countries in their just struggle to win and preserve national independence and develop their national economies, and strives to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress".<sup>5</sup>

Following the above policies over the past 50 years, China has actively engaged in foreign activities, and in handling foreign affairs. China has made sustained efforts to developing friendly cooperative relations with majority of countries and in safeguarding world peace, and has made its contribution in these fields too.<sup>6</sup>

However, the important foreign policies goals for analyzing public diplomacy of PRC are following:

- Strengthening Solidarity of the Developing Countries, and Together Opposing Imperialism and Colonialism

It is a great cause of the people in the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that account for three-quarters of the total population of the world, to take the road of independence and development. China has constantly held that supporting the just demands of the developing countries and safeguarding solidarity and cooperation among the developing countries is its international duty. Whenever the developing countries suffer external aggression and interference, China is ready to give its support. Many leaders of the developing countries regard China as a "tested friend" and a "reliable friend".<sup>7</sup>

- Improving Relations with Developed Countries to Promote Common Progress

On the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, China has constantly stood for establishing and developing relations with developed countries, and regarded improving the relations with developed countries and promoting development of diplomatic relations, economic and cultural exchanges with other countries is important task for China.<sup>8</sup>

- Promoting China's Reunification
- Striving to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress.

These are the foreign policy goals which are the aims that should be achieved through the public diplomacy of PRC. The following section will examine are the foreign policy goals are in line with public diplomacy and instruments used in order to pursue these goals.<sup>9</sup>

## **1.2 Public Diplomacy of People's Republic of China**

---

<sup>5</sup> June Teufel Dreyer, "China's Foreign Policy", February 2007, Vol.12, No.5

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

However, when we want to analyze public diplomacy of PRC we have to define it again. This is needed because of different understanding of this term. Public diplomacy is foreign concept in China. Substantial term is *dui wai xuan* or *wai xuan* which means external propaganda and is aimed at advertising Chinese achievement and “selling” country’s image worldwide. In Chinese, unlike many other translations, *xuan chuan*- propaganda, has a positive connotation associated with such activities as “release of news, general shaping of ideology, or even advertisement”.<sup>10</sup>

*Xuan chuan* has two levels: internal propaganda (*nei xuan*) and external propaganda (*wai xuan*). It is considered that the state system is very strong and influential, while on the other hand the public diplomacy of PRC is relatively weak. Reason behind this is the government strategy of mixing external and internal propaganda. Moreover, for the Chinese understanding of public diplomacy other two concepts have to be mentioned; *minjian waijiao*- people to people diplomacy and *wai shi*- foreign affairs.<sup>11</sup>

By this understanding of public diplomacy, scholars usually identify three major starting points in the public diplomacy of PRC aimed at the re-building image of this country.

The first attempt is considered to be in the mid-1930s when American journalist Edgar Snow was invited in China by the Chinese Communist Party in order to report on the ongoing civil war. The practice of inviting foreign journalists and academics to visit China and afterwards make reports about it continued in the 1940s. Soon publications were translated into four (4) languages (English, French, Spanish and Japanese) aimed at influencing and informing foreigners about developments in China.<sup>12</sup>

Early 1970s announced the second attempt by the end of China’s international isolation and starting with “ping-pong diplomacy” and pandas. Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader in that time, introduced “open-door policy” which resulted in the “bring” foreign businessmen and tourists that crowded China’s door and surged the investments. His public diplomacy considered to be very effective because it was supported by actions to open up and modernize China.<sup>13</sup>

The final major improvement in public diplomacy happened in the 1989 that was marked by the Tiananmen Square. Even though at the beginning Chinese leaders were not interested in the image they sell and opinion formed abroad caused by that event, soon they understood that they had to break through isolation and they hired one of the largest public- relations firms in the world- Hill & Knowlton in order to help repair the China’s image.<sup>14</sup>

However, minor improvement happened through the time and still happening but the goals remained the same. But what is interesting is the fact that scholars do not mention one of the important events that would, despite that Public Diplomacy is a relatively new term emerged during the Cold War, made PRC public diplomacy understood as one of the oldest. The term “diplomat brides” comes from

---

<sup>10</sup> Yiwei Wang, “Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power”, *Annals, AAPSS*, March 2008, 616:257-273

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Ingrid d’Hooghe, “Public Diplomacy in People’s Republic of China”; *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Edited by Jan Melissen

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

the practice of sending Chinese princesses to make an alliances with various enemies which threatened China's borders. For example, over the course of Tang dynasty, over 20 known princesses were sent, ensuring that peace and trade would be result of the union of the two enemy countries. In most Chinese culture women would married out, leaving their natal homes and becoming part of new families and new cultures. High status brides, carried with them the additional potential of being used as tribute, or as tokens in peace negotiations. "In Old English poetry such women sent out in marriages were referred to as "peace weavers." On achieving the status and power of wife of a high official, the "diplomat bride" was well placed to become the "eyes and ears" of her natal court." She not only brought ideas and goods from her region of birth, but might localize her "native" culture through its books, textiles, foods, and religious beliefs.<sup>15</sup>

This fact could shape the perception of the many in the sense that it is not recently China changed the instrument that use in order to pursue its goals, than through history China uses soft power that at one point combined with hard power and ended up with smart power. This point would be more elaborated latter in this paper.

Looking in more detail at China's Public Diplomacy, four major goals can be distinguished:

1. China wants to be seen as a country that works hard to give its people a better future and seeks understanding for its political system and policies.
2. China wants to be seen as a stable, trustworthy and responsible economic partner, a rising economic power that does not have to be feared.
3. China's leaders want China be seen as a trustworthy and responsible member of the international community, capable of and willing to contribute actively to world peace.
4. China wants to be respected as an ancient culture with a long history.<sup>16</sup>

In order to effectively use instruments in order to pursue these goals, China distinguish between two target groups; target countries and target groups and fine- tune their message or tone accordingly. Each of the above mentioned goals involves one or more specific target group. One of the more general target groups on which China is focused is the enormous group of overseas Chinese communities.<sup>17</sup>

By the clear defined vision in mind, distinguished target groups, China uses variety of instruments to "shape" opinions and beliefs of specific target groups in order to achieve already identified goals. China uses the same public diplomacy instruments as other countries: the media, internet, events and projects, celebrities and publications, but the way that they are used sometimes differs, mainly because of the fact that in this case many of the "instruments" are state controlled.

China's domestic media were one of the main instruments used in order to inform outside world about the China. There have been English- language Chinese newspapers and journals target at foreign audience since the early days of the existence of this country. China also has an English- language

---

<sup>15</sup> Women as Cultural Emissaries, Consider Women as "Diplomat Brides"; n.d.

<sup>16</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, op.cit

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

television channel that can be received all over the world. They have their own “Voice of China”, called China Radio international, with broadcasting in all the major world languages.<sup>18</sup>

Today, in addition to its own media, China’s PD makes more than ever use of international media. Nowadays, Chinese leaders often give press conferences during their visits abroad. A good example is ex. China’s Ambassador to the Netherlands, Mrs. Xue Hanquin, when after her arrival in Hague she gave several interviews to the Dutch press.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, China uses effectively the internet as one of the instruments of PD. In order to get information you need from Chinese websites, you do not have to speak Chinese, rather you can visit accessible, and mostly beautifully designed websites in English or several other languages. Many of these websites are developed specifically for the purpose of propaganda/ public diplomacy and are controlled by Information Office.

You can contact any Chinese ministry, including Ministry of Foreign Affairs on facebook and tweeter. Moreover, many blogs are available for discussions on various topics.<sup>20</sup> Or, if you rather prefer to have information about tourist visit in China and Chinese attractions, attractive tourism web-sites translated in few languages are available.<sup>21</sup>

Even though the importance of publication as a means to reach out to a wide audience has decreased with the development of internet, China increasingly uses events as one of the instruments. China became an eager organizer of big events which increased China’s visibility in the world. “In the 1990s China hosted the Asian games and the UN International Women’s Conference. In 2001 Shanghai spared no expense to impress participants in the APEC Summit, and in 2001 Beijing finally won its bid for the Olympic Games of 2008.” However, China also organizes a lot of smaller events that are dedicated to Chinese culture or international trade (Chinese Culture Weeks, A National Conversation with the Chinese Ambassador, etc.).<sup>22</sup>

China a lot of its efforts use in order to promote its culture and language using the Confucian Institute, which is aimed at “promoting friendly relationship with other countries and enhancing understanding of the Chinese language and culture among the world.” This institute is designed for the specific aim-selling Chinese culture. This institute organize lessons in Chinese language, culture, and organize cultural exchanges. One example of exchange is the agreement between China and Russia to designate 2009 Russian year in China and 2010 China year in Russia, with corresponding language teaching initiatives. The occasion for the celebration is the sixtieth anniversary of the Soviet recognition of and

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Chinese Ministry of Education/Sport/MFA, etc. <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Chinese-Ministry-of-Education/110810945614465> (More details in Bibliography section)

<sup>21</sup> China Travel Guide, n.d.

<http://www.thereareplaces.com/newguidebook/pdest/Asia/chipts.htm> (Others provided in Bibliography section)

<sup>22</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, op.cit

friendship treaty with the PRC. You can visit this institute online and get the information you need at the attractive, multi-lingual web-page.<sup>23</sup>

However, promotion of Chinese language is not limited only by this institute. Moreover, the number of primary and middle schools all over the world that offer Chinese as part of the curriculum increased. Furthermore, virtual environment is providing more and more platform for language and cultural exchange, such as multi-player online games and Chinese language programs using podcasting.

China promotes its culture through numerous Chinese restaurants all over the world. The biggest restaurant in the world is the Chinese restaurant in New York. In any of these restaurants you can enjoy Chinese cousin served usually by Chinese women in their traditional dress, listen their music and even watch their dance.<sup>24</sup>

Inviting foreign students to China has become another powerful diplomatic instrument. The statistics in 2005 when more than 141, 000 foreigners studied in China provided illustration of the international attraction to China's language and culture, and demonstrating the wide range of scholarships offered.<sup>25</sup>

One of unusual and interesting instrument that China uses for the purpose of its PD is Chinese gardens and theme parks that have been opened in many Western countries. They are usually of non-political character and should convey the message that China attaches great value to the Tibetan and Uyghur cultures within its borders.<sup>26</sup>

Using all above mentioned China is trying to send the message: "China is back as a world power after a two hundred year hiatus; Chinese culture is admirable and China's intentions are benign." This last is variously expressed as a 'peaceful rise' and, from 2007, an intent to 'build a harmonious world.' The message comes directly from Premiere Hu Jintao and flows outwards from the party ideological apparatus.

Sending this message they try to reach the audience. The audience for China's Public Diplomacy is twofold. The primary audience is global and seems to include both masses and elites. School children are increasingly targeted. While all nations are approached, the campaign plainly has special resonance with the Chinese Diaspora. This said, Chinese Public Diplomacy is also conducted with a domestic audience in mind. "The Chinese government wishes above all to give the Chinese people the gift of the admiration of the world, to buttress their own legitimacy and counter any doubt that the CCP might not be the best stewards of China's destiny." Such sentiments may readily be detected in set-piece speeches by Lui Yushan, with their emphasis on western admiration for Chinese achievement in both its economic success and management of adversity.

---

<sup>23</sup> Confucius Institute Online, <http://www.chinese.cn/>

<sup>24</sup> Cynthia Fuchs, "The Biggest Chinese Restaurant in the World", 2010

<sup>25</sup> China Scholarship Council, 2011

<sup>26</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, op.cit

In order to see that China's Public Diplomacy is not based on one way communication, sending the message, rather that China listen to the audience. China is certainly listening to the world. We know from official statements that China is tracking both the course of anti-Chinese sentiment around the world, and international opinion about China. Negative opinion was a major driver of the rebuilding of Chinese Public Diplomacy. Positive foreign statements about China are fed back to the Chinese people as evidence that foreigners admire the accomplishments of "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" and accept China as a world power of the first rank. China uses opinion polls to track its relationships. The chief mechanism for listening is the growing network of embassies and consulates across the world. China is investing heavily in developing regional expertise within its diplomatic corps, sending thousands of its best students overseas to study their target state and society first hand. Unlike the western penchant for the generalist, the Chinese Foreign Service encourages officers to work entire careers in their specialist geographical area. The rising generation of diplomats will be well placed to learn from their experience and to inject local knowledge into the making of Chinese foreign policy for years to come.

In parallel with the informational engagement with international audiences, China pays close attention to the diplomacy of deeds, seeking to win friends around the world by programs of aid and 'good works': these activities range from aid and development work to targeted investment. China makes a particular point of not requiring any political concessions of the sort expected by western donor nations, famously going so far as to court pariahs like the regime in Sudan or Zimbabwe. Chinese aid sometimes includes assistance with media development. In Venezuela China has assisted the development of Hugo Chavez's satellite TV channel Telesur. In Zimbabwe China provided the equipment to enable radio jamming by the Mugabe regime.<sup>27</sup>

A sub-field of China's diplomacy of the deed is the entry of Chinese public figures into the realm of Celebrity diplomacy. Venturing where westerners including Princess Diana and Angelina Jolie have gone before, Chinese celebrities are now identifying themselves and China with international aid work around the world. The pianist Lang Lang is now a UNICEF goodwill ambassador and basketball-player Yao Ming and actress Zhang Ziyi are both goodwill ambassadors for the Special Olympics.<sup>28</sup>

However, China pay a lot of attention to its public diplomacy, but also use it in the way that PD of PRC and instruments used are the pillars that supports foreign policy goals, at least in the theory. The power China decided to use for effective persuasion of its foreign policy goals will help us to understand better this relationship, but before that we should find out which model of PD China use.

"Models are needed to develop knowledge because they focus on the most significant variables

---

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, "The Frame: Public Diplomacy and Soft Power", 2009

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

and relations between them.” Gilboa used five variables in order to make distinguish between several models: major actors, goals, initiators, means and techniques and type of media. This formula resulted in the three PD models: The basic Cold War model, Nonstate Transnational model and Domestic PR model.<sup>29</sup>

From my point of view, here we have all three models present. Cold War model is used by states in order to achieve long-term results in foreign society.<sup>30</sup> The starting point is that if PD achieve to influence the target group in the desired way, it will resulted in the foreign pressures on their government to alter existing hostile attitudes and policies. This model China use in order to explain its economic development as that “China’s intentions are benign.“, meaning that China's rise will be beneficial for the entire world, and that China will not use its power for other proposes such as war, armament and it is expressed as a “peaceful rise“ which intent to “build a harmonious world.“

The Nonstate Transnational model is used to investigate the PD activities of groups, NGOs and individuals using PD across national boundaries.<sup>31</sup> This model explains prodemocracy campaigns in China, which aimed to force reforms on the Chinese government through external pressure; “an opposition group in China using global communication to mobilize public opinion in the West to actively support their cause.“ Even though some authors recognize this as Nonstate Transnational model is can be argued that this is not actually the PD of People’s Republic of China, rather it is PD of the other countries.

On the other hand, Domestic PR model explains hiring PR firms and even lobbyists in the target country to achieve its aim.<sup>32</sup> The case of this model is the event in the 1989 (Tiananmen Square), when Chinese leaders understood that they had to break through isolation and they hired one of the largest public- relations firms in the world- Hill & Knowlton in order to help repair the China’s image.

So, as we can see China in different periods of time sought for different PD models. Nowadays, perhaps the most present is Cold War model in order for China to achieve long-term results in foreign society. Nevertheless, we can examine the use of power in PD as a dimension of foreign policy.

However, besides the complex understanding of PD, present is also complex understanding of power. While Nye defined power as “the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants”; in Chinese power is usually translated into Chinese as *Quanly*. Moreover, in traditional Chinese, *Quanly* has two basic meanings: “steel yard” or “against scripture while for principal”. This term is often connected with the- *Quanshu*, which means tactics or strategy. In Chinese philosophy, it

---

<sup>29</sup> Gilboa, 2008, op.cit

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

is believed that “power comes from morality and morality from the nature.” And that morality inside brings power outside; which is associated with Confucius claim: “become sag from inside and an emperor from outside”.<sup>33</sup>

This is the understanding of the power in Chinese tradition, but once we come to the PD it is clear that China uses smart power which is combination of soft and hard power.

Soft power was used even before this concept and concept of PD was introduced. Promoting culture, winning hearts and minds, attracting, from enemies making friend was rooted in Chinese history by the concept of “Chinese bridges”. However, many scholars argue that China started it recently to use the soft power parallel with the term soft rise; and that for year China was dealing with hard power. Chinese hard power can be seen in the terms of foreign aid that China provides as a valuable instrument of the public diplomacy. While the actual price of China’s foreign aid is unknown, it is believed that in 2004 it was between \$731.2 million and \$ 1.2 billion depending on the definitions of “aid” one accepts. This aid is aimed for the countries with diplomatic ties to China, suggesting that countries which recognize Taiwan would enjoy substantial economic benefits if they switched their recognition to Beijing. However, “de-recognition” of Taiwan is fundamental precondition for Chinese aid. Moreover, this strategy worked because only 24 countries maintain full and formal relations with Taiwan. So, China get from the Taiwan what it wants using military threat and from the rest of the world by “paying” for the “favours”. However, “in diplomacy you can not buy friends, you can only rent them”.<sup>34</sup>

When it comes to the soft power, scholars believe that it expanded in 2007 by the “peaceful rise of China”, and that Chinese public diplomacy tried to transform China’s rise from a hard rise to a soft rise. “China hopes to rise in peace, by peace, and for peace”.

During the course of 2007 the Chinese government began to focus on soft power as a dimension of foreign policy. In February 2007 soft power was the subject of the annual conferences. Participants acknowledged the scale of the challenge that lay ahead. The year culminated in October with a formal call by President Hu Jintao at the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party to enhance the soft power of Chinese culture through methods including management of the internet and investment in cultural institutions at home. “The great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation” he argued ‘will definitely be accomplished by the thriving of Chinese culture.’<sup>35</sup>

He added:

*“The influence of a country’s culture depends on whether it possesses unique charm but also depends on whether it possesses advanced propaganda methods and strong propaganda capabilities. Especially in today’s informative society every country that has advanced propaganda methods and strong propaganda capabilities can widely spread its cultural ideals and value concepts, and it can*

---

<sup>33</sup> Yiwei Wang, 2008, op.cit

<sup>34</sup> Gary D. Rawnsley, “China Talks Back: Public Diplomacy and Soft Power for the Chinese Century”, RHPD

<sup>35</sup> J. Cull, op.cit

*grasp the speaking power to influence the world and popular feeling. Cultural propaganda capabilities have already become a decisive factor for a national culture's soft strength.*<sup>36</sup>

### **1.3 Conclusion**

“Do well to our neighbours, treat our neighbours as partners and maintain friendly relations with them, make them feel secure, and help to make them rich.” These words are driving force for Chinese Public Diplomacy. The aim of this paper was to examine the PD of PRC; identify foreign policy goals, PD model, instruments used, strategy, and finally offer the statistics that will present nowadays result of Chinese PD. However, the hypothesis was confirmed, China make efforts to promote its country not only as an economic power, but also as an attractive country with long history and tradition using smart power. China do not have combination of the hard and soft power from recent time, as many scholars argue but rather that smart power is rooted in Chinese public diplomacy from the early days of PRC.

China may not have a “grand PD strategy” but is far from saying that China is not doing well; PRC public diplomacy is even ahead of many Western countries in PD.

However, making the final assessment it is important not to neglect the personal touch. Chinese tourists and students are flocking overseas in ever greater numbers: in 1992 just 6,540 Chinese students studied abroad; by 2002 that number had increased to 125,179. By 2007 more than 100,000 students were studying abroad annually, making China the largest exporter of students. This is “outreach”, however, in terms of “in reach” the figures are similarly impressive. China received more than 162,000 students from 185 countries and regions in 2006 that is three times number in 2000. Between 1978 and 2005, the total number of foreign tourists in China increased from 0.23 million to 20.26 million. Beijing will attract an estimated 4.6 million, largely because of the Olympics.<sup>37</sup>

These are some statistics that may indicate success of the Chinese public diplomacy, but there is the other side of the story. Have you ever tried to arrange an interview with the Chinese ambassador? If you tried you probably know what I am trying to say. Almost an impossible mission. After redirecting you to the numerous different numbers, e-mail addresses, and persons within embassy all you get from the effort of arranging an interview is- no answer. From my point of view, this is the contradiction of their public diplomacy- Is the public diplomacy only a few conferences and interviews to the limited audience? Is that openness and transparency? I think not. This is an example that even if you have a huge number of instruments used, objects and goals defined does not mean that you have successful public diplomacy. To speak does not mean necessarily to reach the others. To invest in and design it does not mean that you implemented it, unless you really do it.

This is good example that demonstrates the lack of the communication which as the final effect can affect the view on Chinese public diplomacy. Moreover, in order to demonstrate the lack of

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Gary R. Rawnsley, op.cit

implementation and reach of the target audience, enough is the statistic that shows that 90% of the Chinese broadcasting (24 hours television and radio broadcasting in few languages) is watched by domestic audience. They claimed that they watch or listen these channels in order to improve their English.

At the end it seems that the case of China best fit in Manheim's idea of strategic public diplomacy: "It is, within the limits of available knowledge, the practice of propaganda in the earliest sense of the term, but enlightened by half a century of empirical research into human motivation and behaviour."

However, one should not forget that this is only a one piece of China's PD and one view of it. Moreover, many other studies with different points could help for better and deeper understanding of PD of People's Republic of China.

## **1.4 Bibliography**

1. China Scholarship Council, 2011  
Available at: <http://en.csc.edu.cn/> (March 1, 2011)
2. China Travel Guide, 2011  
Available at: <http://www.thereareplaces.com/newguidebook/pdest/Asia/chipts.htm>  
(March 3, 2011)
3. China, 2011  
Available at: <http://www.travelchinaguide.com/essential/when-to-come.htm> (March 3, 2011)
4. Chinese Ministry of Education, n.d.  
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Chinese-Ministry-of-Education/110810945614465>  
(March 16, 2011)
5. Chinese MFA, n.d.  
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs-of-the-Peoples-Republic-of-China/109465255746229> (March 16, 2011)
6. Confucius Institute Online, 2011  
Available at: <http://www.chinese.cn/> (March 11, 2011)
7. Cull J. Nikollas, "The Frame: Public Diplomacy and Soft Power", 2009
8. Cynthia Fuchs, "The Biggest Chinese Restaurant in the World", 2010
9. Dreye June Teufel, "China's Foreign Policy", February 2007, Vol.12, No.5  
Available at:  
<http://www.fpri.org/footnotes/125.200702.dreyer.chineseforeignpolicy.html> (March 20, 2011)
10. Gilboa Eytan, "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy", The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 2008 616: 55-77
11. Hocking Brian, "Reconfiguring Public Diplomacy: From Competition to Collaboration", In Engagement: Public Diplomacy in Globalized World
12. Hocking Brian, "Rethinking the "New" Public Diplomacy", The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations, edited by Jan Mellison
13. Ingrid d'Hooghe, "Public Diplomacy in People's Republic of China"; the New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations, Edited by Jan Melissen

14. Jan Mellisen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice"; *The New Public Diplomacy*, Edited by Jan Melissen
15. Rawnsley D. Gary, "China Talks Back: Public Diplomacy and Soft Power for the Chinese Century", *RHPD*
16. *Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor
17. *Women as Cultural Emissaries, Consider Women as "Diplomat Brides"*, n.d.
18. Yiwei Wang, "Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power", *Annals, AAPSS*, March 2008, 616:257-273