

The Two Phases and Constructed Objectives of Public Diplomacy in the People's Republic of China – A Historical Review

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In the study of general public diplomacy, China can be regarded as a special example with regard to all case studies. E. Gilboa defines a 'framework of analysis' in which public diplomacy is broken down into three parts: a short initial period, a medium period, and a long period. The article will focus on the latter period of the framework of analysis, represented by the two periods since the founding of the People's Republic of China. For this academic inquiry, M. Leonard's instruments for public diplomacy, from domains such as those of NGOs and political parties, were analysed. In addition to these tools, external propaganda was also researched. The period from 1949 to 1978 was the first phase of the public diplomacy of the PRC. At the beginning of the founding of New China, the official diplomatic space was relatively narrow because there were few countries that had established diplomatic relations with China. Public diplomacy could have played a larger role. The article analyses mostly the diplomatic environment and the modes of practice for the main actors within Chinese public diplomacy. It also takes China's diplomatic relations with Japan as a case study of success. It examines all public diplomacy practices from 1949 until the present time. China faces the task of interpreting itself through public diplomacy and shaping its image for the rest of the world. This article also pays close attention to China's public initiatives, offered to the outside world through the One Belt One Road initiative. The author analyses the construction process of the objectives of public diplomacy and reveals its intrinsic direction, from idealism to realism, and eventually back to idealism. The article also examines the relationship between public diplomacy and China's traditional official diplomacy.

Keywords: PRC, public diplomacy, long-term, NGO diplomacy, political party diplomacy, external propaganda, constructed objectives, realism, idealism.

Introduction

Firstly, the connotations of public diplomacy should be briefly examined. Edmund Gullion was the first to propose the concept. Most scholars date the first usage of 'public diplomacy' to 1965, when Edmund Gullion, a career diplomat, used the term

in connection with the founding of the Edward R. Murrow Center at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. The Murrow Center described the practice of public diplomacy as: 'the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy [...] the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another [...] (and) the transnational flow of information and ideas'.¹

The definition provided by American scholars such as Joseph S. Nev can also be used: 'Public Diplomacy – which consists of systematic efforts to communicate not with foreign governments but with the people themselves – has a central role to play in the task of making the world safer for the just interests of the United States, its citizens, and its allies.'² In addition, Joseph S. Nev also analysed the relationship between public diplomacy and soft power from the following three perspectives: 1) Daily communication, which involves explaining the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions; 2) Strategic communication, which develops a set of simple themes such as a political or advertising campaign; 3) The development of lasting relationships with key individuals over many years through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels.³

Nicholas J. Cull also presented public diplomacy from the perspective of cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, and international news broadcasts based on an analysis of several successful cases.⁴

Numerous scholars have also studied China's public diplomacy framework. Zhao Qizheng, the former director of the State Council Information Office of the PRC, illustrated the use of public diplomacy in major cities in the Yangtze Delta, such as Shanghai, Wenzhou and Nanjing, and that of Chinese enterprises in his *Report on the Development of Public Diplomacy of PRC*. He also discussed the global spread of public diplomacy and non-governmental public diplomacy.⁵ In the recently published *The New Mode and Trend of World Public Diplomacy*, Li Hua offered some instructive suggestions for China's public diplomacy based on the current situation of global public diplomacy, but his designs for the next level of non-governmental diplomacy are not as

¹ See: C. Alzugaray, 'Academic Exchanges and Transnational Relations: Cuba and the United States', *Latin American Perspectives*, 2006, Vol. 33, No. 5, *Cuba and the Security Frame* (September), pp. 43–57, http://pdaa.publicdiplomacy.org/?page_id=6 (accessed on 6 October 2017).

² 'Hyde Introduces Reform of U.S. Public Diplomacy; Will improve American's Outreach to International Mass Audience', 14 March 2002, reprinted in L. Kennedy, S. Lukas, 'Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy', *American Quarterly*, 2005, Vol. 57, No. 2 (June), p. 310.

³ J.S. Nye, 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, Vol. 616, *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*, March, pp. 94–109, 101–102.

⁴ N.J. Cull, 'Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, Vol. 616, *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World* (March), pp. 31–54.

⁵ Z. Qizheng, *Report on the Development of China's Public Diplomacy (2015)*, Beijing: Social Science Academic Press (China), 2015.

rational.⁶ Su Liming analysed the theory and practice of non-governmental diplomacy in *Studies on Non-Governmental Diplomacy of New China*, in which the strategy of leading groups encouraging officials since the founding of the PRC in 1949 has greatly enlightened the author of this article. *Cultural Diplomacy and China*, authored jointly by Zhao Yi and Zhao Jian,⁷ focuses on features of China's cultural diplomacy from the perspective of the relationship between the traditions of Chinese culture and diplomacy and how they have influenced the strategies for China's cultural diplomacy and its implementation.⁸

In more recent times, many English-language scholars have studied China's public diplomacy. China's centralised public diplomacy style fits rather uneasily with the evolving concept of public diplomacy in Europe and North America, although China is less constrained by such considerations in relations within the developing world, where foreign aid and public diplomacy go hand in hand.⁹

At the same time, there exist some English-language articles on China's public diplomacy. For instance, in *Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power*, Wang Yiwei wrote: 'In comparison to the United States, China needs an enduring and effective public diplomacy strategy and needs to improve its skills to make full use of the modern media. The peaceful rise/peaceful development policy in Chinese grand strategy has sought to integrate Chinese hard power and soft power.'¹⁰ In an article, Justyna Szczudlik-Tatar, also attempted to clarify China's cultural diplomacy and statements made by China's leaders and scholars on soft power and cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, she discussed the effectiveness of China's cultural diplomacy.¹¹

For this academic inquiry, M. Leonard's instruments for public diplomacy, from domains such as NGOs and political parties were analysed.¹² In addition to these tools, external propaganda¹³ was also researched. In this article, public diplomacy refers to external diplomatic practices under the guidance of the government

⁶ L. Hua, *The New Mode & Trend of Global Public Diplomacy*, Beijing: Current Affairs Press, 2017.

⁷ S. Shumin, *Study on New China's People-to-People Diplomacy*, Beijing: China Economic Publishing House, 2011.

⁸ Z. Yi, Z. Jian, *Cultural Diplomacy China Volume*, Beijing: World Affairs Press, 2014.

⁹ See: A.F. Cooper, J. Heine (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 442.

¹⁰ Y. Wang, 'Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, Vol. 616, *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World* (March), p. 257.

¹¹ See J. Szczudlik-Tatar, *Cultural Diplomacy as an important element of Chinese soft power*, in M. Jacoby (ed.), *China Past and Present. New Polish Papers in Chinese Studies*, Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2010, pp. 50–62.

¹² See: M. Leonard, *Public Diplomacy*, London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2002, pp. 57–71.

¹³ 'The Chinese more usually use the term *duiwai xuan chuan* or *waixuan* (external propaganda) and emphasise advertising Chinese achievements and boosting the country's image overseas. Unlike its English counterpart, in Chinese, *xuan chuan* (propaganda) has a positive connotation associated with essentially benign activities such as news, general shaping of ideology, or even advertisement'. See: Y. Wang, op.cit., p. 259. Soong Ching-ling, one of the early leaders of the People's Republic of China, pointed out in 1950 that

of the PRC (instead of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or foreign trade) aimed at fully exercising cultural soft power. It should be pointed out that public diplomacy shares many overlapping traits with cultural diplomacy, people-to-people diplomacy, and propaganda work.¹⁴ China is in the process of implementing multi-track diplomacy and some branches operate according to the direction of the Chinese Government. For instance, the cultural centres set up in some foreign countries are managed by cultural counsellors appointed by the Ministry of Culture of the PRC. Unquestionably, the Confucius China Studies Program implemented by the Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban) of the Ministry of Education and its cultural centres is part of public diplomacy.

Now, we shall discuss the two phases of the development of China's public diplomacy. E. Gilboa defines a 'framework of analysis' in which public diplomacy is broken down into three parts: a short initial period, a medium period, and a long period.¹⁵ This article will focus on the final period of the framework of analysis, represented by the two periods since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The Public Diplomacy of the PRC from 1949 to 1978

The unique position of China's public diplomacy was largely influenced by the Cold War. The basic guidelines proposed by Chairman Mao Zedong were to 'Start all over again', 'Clear the domestic condition', and 'Firmly insist on socialism',¹⁶ which meant that China would abolish all unequal treaties, eliminate the forces of imperialism in China and re-establish friendships and partnerships with other countries. The main advantage of this strategy was that China shook off the chains of imperialism and won the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries during the early phase of socialist construction. However, the limitations this created for China were equally obvious. Namely, a limited number of countries established diplomatic relations with China, numbering just 21 by the end of 1954. The main Western countries, including the United States, and the third-world countries of Asia and Africa, had not established diplomatic relations with China. Simultaneously, Taiwan was a member of the United Nations. Even worse, the US put in place a diplomatic blockade of China, which placed China in a bind on the international stage. John W. Garver wrote: 'U.S. policy toward China hardened rapidly after June 1950. Economic sanctions against the PRC were

international propaganda is an important task. See: China Welfare Council, *Always with the Chinese Communist Party*, Shanghai Publishing House, 1983, p. 107.

¹⁴ Z. Kejin, *Public Diplomacy between China and the United States in Soft-War Era*, Beijing: Shishi Press, 2011, p. 67.

¹⁵ E. Gilboa, 'Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, Vol. 616, *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World* (March), p. 73.

¹⁶ See: *Selected Readings in Mao Zedong's Diplomacy*, Beijing: Central Party Literature Press, World Affairs Press, 1994, p. 80.

strengthened, while hostile propaganda and diplomatic maneuvers designed to isolate “Red China” intensified’.¹⁷

Table 1. Countries with diplomatic relations with PRC before 1955¹⁸

No.	Country	Date of establishment of diplomatic relations
1	Russian Federation	3 October 1949
2	Bulgaria	4 October 1949
3	Romania	5 October 1949
4	Hungary	6 October 1949
5	Democratic People’s Republic of Korea	6 October 1949
6	Czech Republic	6 October 1949
7	Slovakia	6 October 1949
8	Poland	7 October 1949
9	Mongolia	16 October 1949
10	Albania	23 November 1949
11	Socialist Republic of Vietnam	18 January 1950
12	Republic of India	1 April 1950
13	Republic of Indonesia	13 April 1950
14	Sweden	9 May 1950
15	Denmark	11 May 1950
16	Myanmar	8 June 1950
17	Switzerland	14 September 1950
18	Liechtenstein	14 September 1950
19	Finland	28 October 1950
20	Pakistan	2 May 1951
21	Norway	5 October 1954

Source: *China’s Foreign Affairs 2010*, Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, Beijing: World Knowledge Press, p. 400.

At this time, traditional diplomacy overseen by the the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was very limited. Thus, it was wise of the Chinese government to develop public diplomacy to counteract this limitation. The Chinese government started to give priority to developing friendships and partnerships with other countries through

¹⁷ J.W. Garver, *Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1992, p. 44.

¹⁸ See: *China’s Foreign Affairs 2010*, Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, Beijing: World Knowledge Press, p. 400. The names of countries used here are the current ones. Some are different from what they were in the 1950s. Czechoslovakia became two separate countries in 1993.

public diplomacy. On 2 April 1952, Premier Zhou Enlai stated in *China's Diplomatic Guidelines and Missions* that 'diplomacy is the tie among countries and among people. Diplomatic work should not only be country oriented, but also take people into full consideration. We should unite people from fraternal countries, even original colonial countries, semi-colonial countries, and capitalist countries.'¹⁹ He also directly pointed out that 'Currently, diplomacy does not necessarily start from government, but is firstly established among people to accelerate the establishment of relations among countries instead.' Chen Yi, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, once said that to 'Make the most of both governmental and non-governmental diplomacies, especially the latter, is a breakthrough achieved by China, which has made a great foundation for further diplomatic work. Hence, the very aim of China's current public diplomacy is "Developing governmental diplomacy through people-to-people diplomacy"',²⁰ which accounts for the creation of China's public diplomacy within its independent foreign policy.

We can analyse the current public diplomacy of the PRC's political party and NGOs, for example through the executive (International Department of the Central Committee CPC, or IDCC CPC, and various non-governmental communities), the international conferences attended, publicity and other aspects. It should be noted that in China, the main players in public diplomacy, such as the Communist Party of China, NGOs and so on, have characteristics which are unique to China. In the practice of political party diplomacy, the CPC is the ruling party, while some NGOs are also funded by the government.

Firstly, let us examine the main actors in the phase when the IDCC CPC was a special executive institute of China's public diplomacy. In January 1951, Liu Shaoqi, the director of the Central Secretariat, informed Wang Jiaxiang of the creation of the IDCC CPC by letter and Wang was appointed its first director. The IDCC CPC is the functional department for the diplomatic work of the Communist Party of China (CPC). Its main goals can be defined as follows. Firstly, study the main parties in foreign countries, report to the Central Committee of the CPC and provide suggestions. Secondly, oversee the reception of party delegations from other countries. Thirdly, attend party congresses of foreign countries and visit other parties to strengthen friendship.²¹

At the beginning of the 1950s, the CPC initiated its first contacts with the national parties of some Asian, African and American countries. As for the socialist parties of Western Europe, the CPC appealed for developing inter-party contacts, on condition of no changes to their respective ideologies. The leadership of the CPC, represented

¹⁹ *Selected Readings in Zhou Enlai's Diplomacy*, Beijing, Central Party Literature Press, World Affairs Press, 1990, p. 52.

²⁰ *Memorabilia of the Major Diplomatic Activities of Zhou Enlai*, Beijing: World Affairs Press, 1993, p. 148.

²¹ L. Sen, 'A Brief Analysis of Wang Jiaxiang's Idea on the Construction of International Department of Central Committee of CPC', *Literature Works on the History of CPC*, 2008, No. 10, pp. 22–23.

by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, met with the UK Labour Party, the Italian Socialist Party, and a delegation from the Socialist Party of Iceland which visited China at the invitation of China's non-governmental organisations. Before the 8th National Congress in September 1956, the CPC had established relations with Communist parties and Labour parties in 54 countries. Simultaneously, the Communist parties of Pakistan and the USA were invited to attend the congress and also sent observers, which demonstrates the significant role of the IDCC CPC.²²

Public diplomacy between associations also played a vital role in this period. The Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) was established on 15 December 1949, supported by Zhou Enlai, the premier and minister of foreign affairs (serving from October 1949), as the first social community on diplomatic policy, global issues and people-to-people diplomacy in the PRC. Premier Zhou was appointed the honorary chairman of this institute. Chen Yi, the vice-premier and minister of foreign affairs, was also its honorary chairman since 1964. The purpose of the institute was to study diplomatic policies and global issues and to organise symposiums and similar events bringing together its key members. The institute devoted itself to enhancing mutual understanding between the Chinese people and those from foreign countries through exchanges, with foreign guests visiting China. Developing people-to-people diplomacy became a vital part of working together on foreign policies and global issues. Moreover, receiving foreign guests gradually became the main vehicle for people-to-people diplomacy. The institute had great success with countries it had yet to establish formal diplomatic relations with. For instance, during the 16-year period from 1952, when exchanges with the Japanese people were re-established, the institute hosted 107 Japanese delegations and over 780 dignitaries from the domains of politics, economy and culture, including Japanese political parties, members of parliament, the military and so forth. As a result, the institute became a significant means for connecting with the Japanese people and was also endowed with some official capacity in bilateral relations, such as visa applications, expatriate returns and similar matters. In the 1970s, China developed diplomatic relations with other Western countries further, and in 1972 the institute became the main channel between China and the United States for people-to-people diplomacy.²³

Furthermore, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC) was jointly established by ten national social groups on 3 May 1954, with Chu Tunan as its first chair. It was originally called the Chinese People's Foreign Cultural Association, later renamed the Chinese People's Association for Foreign Cultural Friendship in 1966, again changing to CPAFFC in 1969. Whilst located in Beijing, branches of CPAFFC were also established in the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities and in some cities, districts and counties within China.

²² http://www.idpc.gov.cn/ztzl/wstpz/kgystzr/dyj_1886/201607/t20160714_84677.html (accessed on 6 October 2017).

²³ <http://www.cpiifa.org/class/view?id=10> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

In addition to organisations created to support public diplomacy, China's participation in various international conferences to foster international public diplomacy is also worth noting. It is well known that at the Bandung Conference in June 1956, Premier Zhou Enlai proposed 'The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence' (omitted here). However, this article describes the history of China's participation in the World Peace Council (WPC) and its use of public diplomacy. In April 1949, the World Congress of Partisans for Peace was held in Paris and established the World Committee of Partisans for Peace; Marie Curie's son-in-law, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, was elected its president, with Guo Moruo as its vice-president. On 2 October 1949, the China World Peace Conference was held in Beijing and China's WPC committee was elected. Guo Moruo and Soong Ching-ling entered the committee, Mao Zedong became the honorary chairman, and the China World Peace Conference Declaration was adopted. From May 1950, led by the China Secretariat of the WPC, Beijing launched a large-scale signature collection for the purpose of the peace campaign. In June 1950, the Korean War broke out and the number of signatures began to increase significantly. By the end of the year, 1.84 million people had signed, 90% of Beijing's population at the time. In December 1952, when the Third Congress of People for Peace was held in Vienna, China sent a 60-person delegation. In 1949, the WPC decided to create the International Peace Prizes. Over the years, winners have included Czech writer Julius Fučík, American singer Paul Robeson, Spanish painter Pablo Picasso, and Chinese painter Qi Baishi. Since 1952, the WPC has also recognised famous individuals who have influenced world culture, including Victor Hugo, Leonardo da Vinci, Nikolai Gogol, Qu Yuan or Nicolaus Copernicus. On the 2230th anniversary of the death of Qu Yuan, in 1953, the WPC selected Qu Yuan as one of its 'four giants of human culture'. China's participation in supporting the world peace movement, through participation in the WPC, also increased understanding of Chinese culture around the world.²⁴

External propaganda was also an important part of the public diplomacy of the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1978. In October 1949, the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government set up the International Information Bureau, with Qiao Guanhua appointed as director and Liu Zunqi as deputy director. The duties of the International Information Bureau were: preparation of foreign press releases for the Xinhua News Agency and the Central People's Broadcasting Station; publication of foreign language books, publication of a series of Mao Zedong's works on the Chinese revolutionary experience as well as other political books published by the Foreign Languages press; publication of foreign-language magazines, and the creation of the *People's Daily* editorial department.

²⁴ Z. Zhongyun, 'The Changing Relationship between China and Soviet Union – From Inseparable Friends to Squabbling Opponents', *Yan-Huang Historical Review*, 2014, No. 12, pp. 24–33. See: C. Wensheng, '1950 Beijing Peace Signature Movement', *Studies on Contemporary Chinese History*, 2012, No. 6, Vol. 9, pp. 85–92; Y. Lijun, 'The World Peace Campaign: Socialist Countries' Ideology and Activities Against the Cold War of Western Countries', *Heilongjiang Social Science*, 2013, No. 1, pp. 133–138.

It founded the English and Russian versions of the *People's Daily*, and the English version of the *China Reconstructs* magazine was officially published under the auspices of the China Welfare Institute, which was led by the vice-chairman of the country, Soong Ching-ling.²⁵ Additionally, the bureau was responsible for receiving foreign journalists and setting up of liaison offices.

In terms of public radio, the Beijing Xinhua radio station was renamed Beijing Xinhua in September 1949 and again in December of the same year the Central People's Broadcasting Station. On 1 October, the People's Republic of China was established, and 300 000 people in Beijing participated in a great ceremony to celebrate this fact. Every language channel of the Beijing Xinhua radio station broadcast the announcement by the Xinhua News Agency, declaring the creation of the People's Republic of China. After the founding of New China, the Central Broadcasting Administration was reorganised into the Broadcasting Bureau, which was led by the Information Administration of the Subcommittee for Education and Culture of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government.²⁶ By July 1950, there were 524 staff in the Broadcasting Bureau, including 58 in the international editorial department, with branches including the Overseas Chinese Broadcasting Division, Japanese Division, English Division, and Oriental Language Division. International focus continued to grow in such a way that by 1960, the Central People's Broadcasting Station produced 16 programmes, including Beijing News (in Japanese), Historical Figures, People in New China (in Japanese and Spanish), Peace and Friendship (in Spanish), Peaceful Reunification of the Road (in Korean), Tiananmen – Barting (in Vietnamese), Chinese Commonwealth Questions and Answers (in English and Hindi).²⁷ In April 1951, a Chinese-Polish cultural cooperation agreement was signed in Warsaw. Article 2 of the agreement provided that 'recordings of radio programmes would be exchanged'.²⁸

China's foreign broadcasting attracted the attention of the international community. In June 1960, the United States News Agency declared that the United States had greatly fallen behind in the international broadcasting war, saying that China's radio broadcasting had developed at a rapid pace and that it might exceed the reach of *Voice of America* by the end of the year. And by the end of 1960, the BBC annual report stated that China's foreign language radio had supplanted its own position to become the world's third largest foreign radio station, only behind that of the Soviet Union and the USA. 'China has defeated the British in the broadcast war for the world's listeners, and only four years ago, the Communist Party of China's external broadcasting was still

²⁵ Y. Yao, *New China's Propaganda History: Constructing Modern China's International Discourse Power*, Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2014, pp. 89–91.

²⁶ <http://www.cri.com.cn/2014-1-14/e1ce-dd76-51fc-3565-c4d4be0df3b7.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

²⁷ <http://www.cri.com.cn/2014-1-14/b28eec99-2e01-dfa8-6783-4ddf48f19140.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

²⁸ <http://www.cri.com.cn/2014-1-14/fd12ac11-949d-184b-f4df-4ecd4ba31e01.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

in a very indifferent position, now it has been recognized over the BBC and competes against the *Voice of America*' (this is exaggerated).²⁹

In the period from 1949 to 1978, China's public diplomacy towards Japan should be recognised as a case study of success in terms of China's overall public diplomacy, with the goal of 'promoting government by the people' and 'promoting government by culture'. Su Shumin and other scholars believe that during the 1950s and 1960s, China's civil diplomacy towards Japan was the most successful example of 'promoting government by the people'.³⁰ After the founding of the People's Republic of China, and in fact already after China's victory in the Sino-Japanese war, Chinese leaders recognised the Japanese rulers as distinct from the Japanese people, which informed the ideological basis of China's public diplomacy with Japan. In April 1952, Mao Zedong pointed out: 'The imperialist government and the people of these countries should be distinguished, and the people who determine the policy and the general officials in the government should be distinguished.' Zhou Enlai then immediately conveyed to Liao Chengzhi, who was responsible for relations with Japan: 'Chairman Mao's instructions are the central committee's decision on the policy towards [the] Japanese.'³¹ In the early 1950s, China established trade relations with Japan through unofficial channels, but this is beyond the scope of this article. From October to November 1954, a delegation of the Chinese Red Cross visited several cities in Japan, which played a role in the development of friendly relations between the two countries. In the early summer of 1956, the famous Peking opera artist Mei Lanfang led a delegation of 86 people to Japan and performed in Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto and other cities; members of the Japanese royal family and some senior officials attended these concerts.³² There were many formal visits to Japan with the mission of developing public diplomacy, some examples of which occurred in May 1955 when Guo Moruo, president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, visited Japan. In addition, from July to August 1960, Liu Ningyi led a Chinese delegation to Japan to attend the 15th meeting of the General Association of Japanese Trade Unions. In 1961, a women's delegation led by Xu Guangping, a delegation led by Ba Jin, and a Chinese cultural delegation led by Chu Tunan all visited Japan. Japanese people from all walks of life also visited China. A large number of Japanese diplomats and dignitaries were also invited to visit China to support developing diplomatic relations between the two nations. In November 1955, former Japanese prime minister Yasushi Kobayashi visited China with 27 political, cultural and business delegates. According to official statistics, from

²⁹ <http://www.cri.com.cn/2014-1-14/ee0c4fbc-7cd4-2506-e58a-1442b1bd630e.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

³⁰ S. Shumin, op.cit., pp. 166–173.

³¹ See: C. Jinhua, *A Compilation of Major Events on Sino-Japan Relations*, Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2012, p. 86.

³² Z. Yongtao, *A Contractive Analysis on the Cultural Diplomacy between China and Japan*, Beijing: China Astronautic Publishing House, 2015, p. 222.

1955 to 1957, a total of 293 Japanese groups including 3 272 individuals were invited to visit China.³³ In 1959, the Sino-Japanese friendship reached new heights, and by the late 1960s, relations between China and Japan were on a considerable scale. In 1961, further highlighting the importance of public diplomacy efforts between China and Japan, Mao Zedong, at a meeting with members of the Socialist Party of Japan, stated: ‘No matter whether the Ikeda government is willing, the exchanges between the two peoples will be more and the goodwill relations between the two peoples will deepen, and a friendly treaty will be signed.’³⁴ In 1971, China had promoted Nixon’s visit to China through ‘ping-pong diplomacy’ and covert diplomatic channels. In November 1971, China regained its seat at the United Nations, and Western countries established diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China. In July 1972, the Tanaka cabinet, which advocated the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, gained power. On 29 September 1972, the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement was signed in Beijing and relations between the two countries were normalised.³⁵

In addition to the abovementioned public diplomacy practices, all Chinese government departments were obligated to carry out public diplomacy at the time, including the China Federation of Trade Unions, China Women’s Federation, Communist Youth League Central Committee, National Sports Commission, and the Chinese Film Association. All supported public diplomacy through the publication of English-language magazines such as *Chinese Workers’ Movement*, *Chinese Women*, *Evergreen*, *Chinese Sports* and *Chinese Screen*, respectively. In addition, their foreign affairs departments engaged in effective public diplomacy (as mentioned above, a Chinese Trade Union delegation had visited Japan).

Since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, public diplomacy has played an important role in Beijing’s foreign affairs set-up. It has broken through the limitations of the narrow official diplomatic space through public diplomacy ‘promoting government by the people’. In the 1970s, China established diplomatic relations with many countries around the world thanks to the modification of the national diplomatic strategy and the promotion of public diplomacy.

The PRC’s public diplomacy since 1979

After 1978, China established diplomatic relations with most countries, and traditional Chinese official diplomacy played a major role. However, with the reforms and opening up of China and its rapid economic development, the nature of China’s image in the world became a new focal point. In the 1980s, the main goal of Chinese public diplomacy was to explain China’s policy reforms and opening up to the world.

³³ W. Yugui, ‘Study on Sino-Japan Relation in Early 1960s’, *Historical Research in Anhui Province*, 2002, No. 2, pp. 84–90.

³⁴ *Selected Readings in Mao Zedong’s Diplomacy*, op.cit., p. 462. See: S. Shumin, op.cit., p. 124.

³⁵ S. Shumin, op.cit., pp. 170–171.

After 1989, the main objective of public diplomacy was to shape the image of China. Between 2000 and 2003, detailed studies on China's economic and political image were widely published by Western scholars in some of the world's major media (*The New York Times*, *Time* magazine, *The Times*, *The Economist*, *Le Figaro*, *El País*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*). However, these analyses gave negative information on issues such as China's political situation, the Taiwan issue, 'policies towards dissent', corruption, ethnic issues and the image of its leaders. When discussing China's politics, references were made to the 'backward political system', 'lack of democracy', 'lack of transparency in government', etc.³⁶ In another study reported by *The New York Times* in the 1990s, Chinese culture was portrayed as full of religious and ideological prejudice in terms of family planning, marriage and family in general.³⁷ Given these reports in international media, shaping the image of China became the main task of China's diplomacy, and therefore the means through which public diplomacy could play its unique role.

Public diplomacy by political parties and government agencies remains a compelling phenomenon. In the previous period, the vehicles used by the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPC (IDCC CPC) were the Communist Parties, Workers' Parties and other left-wing political parties around the world. However, from the 1980s, a need for change was diagnosed, with dialogue expanding to all political parties.

In the work of the IDCC CPC, it could be clearly seen that China's public diplomacy modified its goal from promoting friendship to that of explaining China. This trend became more obvious after 2011, when the IDCC CPC established a 'normal mechanism for the spread of major issues of the party' and founded the Party and the World Dialogue. After the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the Third, Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the CPC or the release of major policy ideas, in view of the international community's attention to these important meetings and major policy concepts, the IDCC CPC held a special briefing for foreign diplomats, foreign-funded firms and reporters in China to share the new major policy concepts with the international community. In addition, the IDCC CPC also sent delegates to key countries and regions to publicise and explain the latest policies of the CPC.³⁸ In 2014, the Party and the World Dialogue was held by the IDCC CPC for the first time. The dialogue focused on the background for reforms, the decision-making process, the implementation of ideas and the promotional roadmap for the CPC as a starting point for China's new round of reforms. Participants included senior officials from

³⁶ L. Jinan, H. Hui, *Image of China: The Current Situation of China's Image Promotion throughout the World and Relative Strategies*, Beijing: Communication University of China Press, 2006, pp. 70–74.

³⁷ Y. Songfang, *Chinese Cultural Image in the Eyes of American Media*, Beijing: Beijing Normal University Publishing Group, 2011, pp. 73–83.

³⁸ X. Fangqing, W. Qilong, *Spreading China's Program, Telling CPC's Story – An Exclusive Interview with Song Tao, the Minister of International Department, Central Committee of CPC*, NEWS CHINA: http://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1548929 (accessed on 6 October 2017).

the Central Committee of the CPC and local governments, as well as experts from China and noted scholars from China and abroad who had studied China and the CPC. In 2016, the Dialogue was held in Chongqing, 72 political parties from 50 countries attended, as well as more than 300 delegates and 30 think tanks. The Dialogue focused on ‘global economic governance innovation: party and government ideas and behaviour’ as the main theme.³⁹ Song Tao, the minister of the IDCC CPC, summed up the purpose of the CPC’s public diplomacy: ‘The party’s external work has always focused on the combination of two dimensions of the traditional culture and socialist core values of China, and made great achievements in our party’s and national image.’⁴⁰

Both China’s Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education were heavily engaged in public diplomacy. The author of this article proposed that China should set up Chinese cultural centres abroad and provide financial assistance to foreign Sinologists.⁴¹ China has now set up Chinese cultural centres in several countries. Hanban, administered by the Ministry of Education, has connected Sinologists worldwide through Confucius Institutes and other means of funding Sinological academic research, including academic training in the form of the Confucius China Studies Program, including teaching, youth fellowships and grants for publications and international conferences.⁴²

The role played by the public diplomacy of various organisations from 1979 onwards should also be noted. With the development of China’s foreign relations, the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) also increased the number and frequency of international exchanges. It has played a unique, diverse and extensive role in people-to-people diplomacy, increasing the frequency of academic research and international academic exchange, and edited and published international political, economic, diplomatic, and security content in the English-language version of the *Foreign Affairs Journal*. It has organised lectures and presentations by both Chinese and foreign dignitaries, promoting an exchange of views on major international and regional issues and bilateral relations. Delegations were created to increase participation in bilateral or multilateral seminars at home and abroad, with national politicians, international activists, international research institutions, experts and scholars, with the stated purpose of establishing connections, discussing issues of common interest, and enhancing mutual understanding and friendship. A total of 165 missions have been sent since 1977, over 180 visits and academic exchanges with more than 50 institutions and more than 10 multilateral organisations in over 30 countries and regions, half of which were seminars of different types and sizes. Since the 1980s, with the deepening and development of China’s reforms and opening up, the increase of comprehensive national

³⁹ <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n1/2016/1015/c64036-28781210.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁴⁰ S. Tao, ‘In-depth Study and Implementation of the party’s external work important thinking of General Secretary Xi Jinping’, *Qiushi*, 2017, No. 7, pp. 9–11.

⁴¹ L. Yading, ‘Opinions of Lookers on – A Brief Analysis on China’s Strategies of Cultural Exchanges with Russia’, *Northeast Asia Forum*, 2002, No. 3, pp. 70–73.

⁴² http://ccsp.chinese.cn/article/2014-06/29/content_542825.html (accessed on 6 October 2017).

strength and the adjustment of foreign policy, the work of the Institute of Foreign Affairs has been further expanded. After the Cold War, the diplomacy of the Institute of Foreign Affairs was focused on topics of international political multi-polarisation, economic globalisation and the reorientation of the major powers. Based on this, meetings with the political circles of various countries became more frequent, especially with major political activists and with some think tanks. The role of think tanks led to a significant increase of contacts with neighbouring countries and related communities, e.g. with the countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, where there were efforts to establish and develop academic exchanges and mutual relations, which gradually developed into a full range of public diplomacy undertakings.⁴³ In addition, during this period, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC) was supported by the Chinese government and sponsored by the community.⁴⁴ National Friendship Associations were set up between Chinese and foreign regions, promoting friendship and cooperation with nearly 500 civil society organisations and organisations in 157 countries around the world.⁴⁵ The CPAFFC organised a series of activities such as Vision China to bring these groups together.⁴⁶

External communication has played a special role in China's public diplomacy since 1979. From the perspective of the leadership system, the Central Propaganda Office was dissolved during the 1988 institutional reforms. However, China's leadership noted distortions of the events of the 1989 'Tian'anmen incident' in the Western media. In October 1990, when Jiang Zemin met with visiting Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, he pointed out the Western media's negative role in China's political turmoil: 'Jiang Zemin said that after the "June Fourth" incident, the West declared that it could intervene in China's internal affairs through television, and that the West acted according to their value system [...]. The Western newspapers belonged to different economic groups and were controlled by them. [...] much Western media coverage of the "June Fourth" incident is not correct.'⁴⁷ In the 1990s, foreign propaganda work was mentioned at an unprecedented level. At the 1990 National Conference on Outreach Work, the Minister of Propaganda of the CPC Central Committee, Zhu Muzhi, said: 'Now we put forward the importance of foreign propaganda and urgency, it can be said that it was forced by the objective situation. We want to adhere to reform and opening up, to achieve four modernisations, many foreigners do not understand China's national conditions, and the international reactionary forces use Beijing's political turmoil to intensify slander. We hope to have a good international environment for building socialism, while the international reactionary forces are doing everything in their power to block, subvert, and infiltrate us. If we do not intensify external propaganda, we

⁴³ <http://www.cpiifa.org/class/view?id=10> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁴⁴ <http://www.cpaffc.org.cn/introduction/agrintr.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁴⁵ <http://www.cpaffc.org.cn/introduction/agrintr.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁴⁶ <http://www.cpaffc.org.cn/content/details14-70417.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁴⁷ *Memoirs of Li Guangyao (1965–2000)*, Singapore: World Journal Book Store, 2000, pp. 709–710.

cannot expand our opening, but also it will be difficult to strive for a good international environment [...] the international situation and the struggle situation force us to raise awareness of the importance and urgency of external propaganda.⁴⁸ In response, the CPC re-established the Central Propaganda Office in 1993, together with the State Council Information Office, which had been created in 1983, forming a new, merged cultural and diplomatic structure. The deputy minister of the Central Propaganda Department took the position of Director of the State Council Information Office. The main function of the State Council Information Office was to promote Chinese media and to explain China to the world, including the introduction of China's internal and external policies, economic and social development, and China's history, science and technology, education, culture and other developments.⁴⁹

The growth and expansion of vehicles for media-related public diplomacy in this period is even more compelling. In international broadcasting, Xinhua News Agency, *People's Daily* and other traditional media established many initiatives to promote China to the world (details omitted here). In the area of broadcast radio: China Radio International (CRI) is now broadcasting in 65 languages and is recognised as the international communication agency using the most languages. Furthermore, in 2010, CRI opened China International Broadcasting Network (CIBN). CRI established six business divisions: broadcast media, print media, video media, online media, film and television, and the general media industry. By the end of 2016, CRI had 101 overseas radio stations; it broadcast nearly 3000 hours a day; covering more than 50 countries, capitals and major cities, and reached approximately 500 million people. It created nearly 100 institutions such as regional stations, external press stations and broadcast studios. It broadcast Confucius classes to 4115 listener clubs overseas, with languages covering more than 98% of the world's audience, with the total number of listeners reaching 260 million in 2016. The interactive audience engagement was up to 55.3 million. It had also set up 228 social media accounts with approximately 81.17 million fans, and daily readership was at 26 million.⁵⁰

In the domain of television, in April 2010, CCTV established and broadcast a new English news channel (CCTV NEWS), building upon the original English Channel (CCTV-9). This was China's first comprehensive English news channel, and also became the global Chinese community's first English news channel. The revised version of the daily news programme increased its broadcast time from the initial 4 hours to 19, including the creation of special reports from overseas. It also strengthened the depth of coverage and financial reporting. Later, in December 2016, China merged the various CCTV channels to establish China International Television (China World Wide Web), also known as the China Global Television Network (CGTN). The new broadcaster

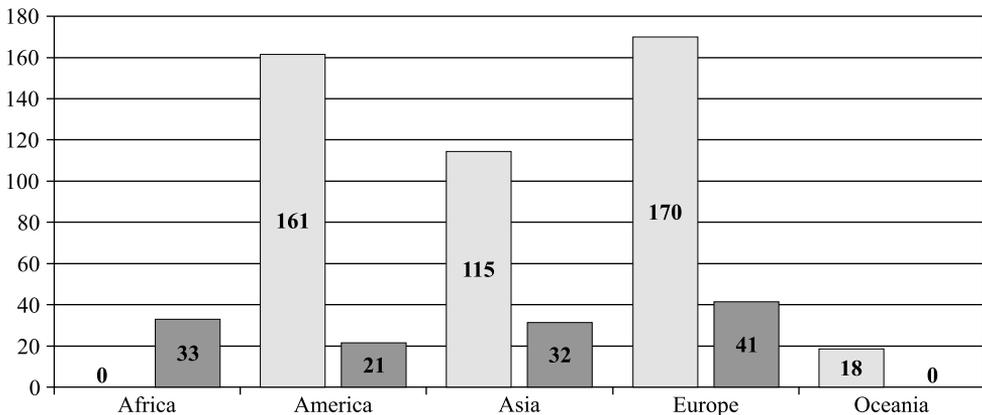
⁴⁸ Zhu Muzhi, *The Recent 70 Years of China* (Part 1), Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2007, p. 266.

⁴⁹ <http://www.scio.gov.cn/xwbjs/index.htm> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁵⁰ <http://www.cri.com.cn/about> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

included six TV channels (including in Spanish, French, Arabic and Russian), three overseas sub-stations, a video news agency and a new media cluster with rich content and professional quality for a global audience.⁵¹

In media publications, the National Bureau of Foreign Languages published journals such as *Beijing Weekly*, *China Today*, *China Pictorial* and *People's China*, in Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish, Japanese, Korean and Tibetan, with 14 kinds of text versions, for more than 180 countries and regions. It was an important way for overseas readers to understand China.⁵²



The darkly gray bars show the number of Confucius Institutes, the brogthy gray bars show the number of countries which have established Confucius Institutes per continent.

Figure 1. Distribution Table of Confucius Institutes

Source: <http://www.cipg.org.cn/sygi/qkcm>.

During this period, education also played an instrumental role in public diplomacy. The Confucius Institute has played a significant role in international Chinese education. According to the Confucius Institute charter, its remit is to teach Chinese, train teachers, provide Chinese teaching resources, carry out Chinese examinations and teacher qualifications, provide Chinese education, culture and other information and organise Chinese/foreign language and cultural exchange activities. The Confucius Institute began its activities in 2004 and, as of December 2016, was represented by 512 Confucius Institutes and 1073 Confucius Classrooms across 140 countries and regions. There are 115 institutes in 32 Asian countries, 48 institutes in 33 African countries, 170 institutes in 41 European countries, 161 institutes in 21 American countries, and 18 institutes in 3 countries in Oceania.⁵³

⁵¹ <https://baike.baidu.com/item/> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁵² <http://www.cipg.org.cn/sygi/qkcm/> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁵³ http://www.hanban.edu.cn/confuciousinstitutes/node_10961.htm (accessed on 6 October 2017).

In the period after 1979, China carried out public diplomacy and provided public services to the international community through international conferences and international organisations in the context of China's One Belt One Road initiative. China has actively promoted overseas cooperation between peoples within the appropriate international organisations. For example, at the 17th Meeting of the Council of Heads of State of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), Xi Jinping promised 'to enhance people-to-people bonds [...] China is ready to work with other parties to ensure the success of the SCO University, as well as SCO's brand projects, such as the youth exchange camp and the summer camp for elementary and middle-school students. China would like to host SCO activities such as the cultural and art festival, women's forum and skills contest of workers, and strive for solid progress of SCO cooperation in health, disaster relief, environment protection, sports and tourism. China will launch a "China-SCO cooperation program in human resources development"'.⁵⁴

Apart from the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, Beijing has actively provided public goods to the international community through the One Belt and One Road initiative through BRICS cooperation mechanisms. The facts show that China has changed its role on the world stage during this period. China has evolved from a self-interpreter to a more confident and enthusiastic participant. At the same time, it also shows that Beijing's public diplomacy has played an increasingly important role.

Conclusion

By reviewing the two phases of the exploration and practice of Chinese public diplomacy, we were able to further consider the objectives of China's public diplomacy and its relationship to China's overall diplomacy.

Firstly, the basic goal of China's public diplomacy during the period from 1949 to 1978 was to break through the narrow space of official diplomacy caused by a lack of diplomatic relations with other countries, to make friends in various countries around the world, to promote official diplomacy with civil diplomacy, and to supplement official diplomacy with cultural diplomacy. But the growth strategy of China's diplomacy has been adjusted in response to the international context and the internal situation: from the 1950s to the Soviet Union; 'one-sided', it gradually evolved in the 1970s. The objective of public diplomacy was also evolving: turning from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries towards the third-world and then towards first- and second-world countries. The inherent rationale for the evolution of these public diplomacy goals and methods has already been discussed.

⁵⁴ Chinese President Xi's speech at 17th SCO summit: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-06/09/c_136353884.htm (accessed on 6 October 2017).

From an ideological point of view, public diplomacy in 1950s China, which was aimed mainly at the Soviet Union, Eastern European and third-world countries or the people of capitalist countries, was consistent with the PRC's national positioning. Article 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China states that 'the People's Republic of China is a socialist country under the leadership of the working class and a people's democratic dictatorship based on the alliance of workers and peasants'. From a strategic point of view, China's public diplomacy and the Chinese Communist Party's strategy of 'encircling cities from the countryside' during the democratic reform period are similar. This is also reflected in the idealism of China's public diplomacy at the time. That is why China paid such attention to 'poor friends' in the 1950s and 1960s but later, from the 1970s onwards, focused on capitalist countries to establish a different kind of relationship. This can be confirmed by the results of Chinese diplomacy in the 1970s and represents the transcendence of realism and a move towards idealism.

In the second period, after 1979, the goal of China's public diplomacy was also constantly updated. At the beginning of the period of Chinese economic reforms, China communicated with its foreign friends and paid great attention to learning from the advanced experience of the West. After 1989, China paid more attention to explaining its policies. These aspects could be defined as realism. After 2010, China's public diplomacy was more focused on the exchange of administrative experience and providing public goods for the international community in the context of the One Belt One Road initiative. The evolution of public diplomacy towards this goal is related to China's updated concept of the world order. With its peaceful development, China has proposed the idea of a community of shared destiny for all mankind. In 2011, a white paper, *China's Peaceful Development*, proposed an elaborate new set of common universal interests and values. The author believes that this is an ideal successor to the traditional Chinese concept of *datong* (otherwise known as Mencius's concept of Great Harmony) and the Kantian culture described in Alexander Wendt's structure of friendship.⁵⁵ As a newly emerging form, public diplomacy has met the higher requirements of China's diplomatic thinking, and is building an appropriate operational programme. This seems to be a return to 1950s idealism.

Secondly, we should simultaneously note that there are problems within China's practice of public diplomacy, which scholars have criticised. Some scholars have pointed out that in Chinese-English communications, the target audiences are mixed, so the effects are limited.⁵⁶ Certain foreign scholars have also pointed out some of the shortcomings of public diplomacy in China, such as El-Shahat: 'I think different people need to be spoken to in different ways depending on their values, history and heritage. China is not speaking to the developed or developing world in a language

⁵⁵ See Q. Yaqing, *Classical Readings of International Relations Theory*, Beijing: Peking University Press, 2009, pp. 232–237.

⁵⁶ G. Jing, 'The Current Situation & Trend of Spreading English TV News of China', *Media*, 2016, No. 2 (Part 2), pp. 29–50.

that they can understand.’⁵⁷ Chinese scholars have pointed out the problems with the creation of Confucius Institutes and suggested a reduction in their ideological hue, a strengthening of the market, and separating the role of government from the responsibility of the teaching institutions.⁵⁸

As with the practice of public diplomacy around the world, the main actors of Chinese public diplomacy are exploring its modes of practice, at times through trial and error. Because of this, China’s public diplomacy is worth examining.

Thirdly, as shown with the two phases described above, public diplomacy has played an important role in China’s overall diplomacy. Of course, China did not use the term ‘public diplomacy’ in the first phase but referred to it as ‘people-to-people diplomacy’,⁵⁹ ‘cultural diplomacy’⁶⁰ or ‘external propaganda’. This phase could also be defined as the exploration stage of China’s public diplomacy. As mentioned before, this kind of exploration was quite fruitful. Because of the gradual evolution of national diplomatic strategy, with the help of the concept of ‘promoting government by the people’, it broke through the limitations of the narrow space of official diplomacy and established diplomatic relations with many countries during the 1970s. In the second phase, the Chinese leadership and diplomatic community was clearly aware of the importance of public diplomacy, gradually putting it into force. China’s public diplomacy had entered a phase of ‘voluntary’ development.

In July 2012, the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Hu Jintao, pointed out at the 11th Conference of Chinese Diplomatic Envoys Stationed Abroad: ‘We should adapt to changes of the world system, to carry out diplomatic work in an all-round, multilevel fashion. We should focus on managing relations between big powers and deeply construct the surrounding geopolitical strategy base. We should also consolidate the basic position of developing countries in China’s overall diplomacy,

⁵⁷ Z. Qizheng, *Wisdom of Public Diplomacy Cross-Border Dialogues*, Beijing: New World Press, 2012, p. 42.

⁵⁸ C. Xi, ‘The Progress of Confucius Institute: A Contrast between Domestic and Foreign Perspectives and Its Policy Implications’, *Social Science in Guangxi*, 2015, No. 26, pp. 198–202.

⁵⁹ In the People’s Republic of China, people-to-people diplomacy was mainly promoted by Zhou Enlai, who pointed out that Sino-Japanese relations could be broken down into a two-step process, first developing this type of diplomacy to later promote a semi-official one. See: *Selected Readings in Zhou Enlai’s Diplomacy*, op.cit., p. 228. ‘People-to-people relationships are the lifeblood of any bilateral partnership between countries, the foundation on which all other long-term engagements are built. Long before formal diplomatic relations were established, Americans and Mongolians were meeting together, sometimes in unlikely places.’ See: U. Mahajani, ‘American “People to People” Diplomacy: The Peace Corps in the Philippines’, *Asian Survey*, 1964, Vol. 4, No. 4 (April), p. 777.

⁶⁰ ‘Cultural diplomacy, as the name suggests, refers to the diplomatic form of cultural ties. It refers to the diplomatic activities carried out by the sovereign States in order to safeguard their own cultural interests and to achieve the national foreign cultural Strategy, under the guidance of a certain foreign cultural policy, with the help of cultural means.’ See: Z. Qingmin, ‘China’s Cultural Diplomacy in a Globalized Environment’, *Diplomatic Review*, 2006, No. 2. In the 1950s, Zhou Enlai said: ‘Cultural exchanges, economic exchanges, are the two wings of diplomatic work.’ See: P. Jianzhang, *Zhou Enlai’s Diplomatic Thoughts and Practice*, Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 1989, p. 44.

actively engage in multilateral diplomacy, and vigorously strengthen diplomatic work in all areas. We should strengthen public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, carry out various forms of foreign cultural exchange, and ensure a solid spread of China's excellent culture'.⁶¹ This year, the CPC Central Committee issued the *Notice on Strengthening and Improving Publicity Work*, and made it clear for the first time that 'Publicity work is one of our party's important works with practical and strategic significance and part of our overall diplomacy'. 'We should fully, correctly and spontaneously promote China's image.'⁶²

Aft the start of the century, China's leadership and diplomatic circles paid more attention to public diplomacy and diplomats in Beijing also gradually attached more importance to its role. The Chinese government first placed the term 'public diplomacy' in the summary chapter of the annual *White Book of China's Diplomacy* (published since 1987), in 2010. The section was titled 'To Carry Out Public Diplomacy Actively and Give Expression to China's Soft Power'.⁶³ In 2011, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi published an article entitled *Trying to Develop a New Situation of China's Public Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics*. He pointed out that due to differences in ideology and values, the influence of Cold War mentalities, and the difficulties of adapting to China's rapid development, there are still prejudices, misunderstandings and doubts concerning China on the part of other countries. Theories such as 'China Threat', 'China Responsibility', 'Tough China' and 'Haughty China' appear almost endlessly. Faced with a complicated external public opinion, China must actively guide the international community to establish an objective and comprehensive view of China by conducting public diplomacy and helping understand Chinese history and culture, its path of development, governing ideals, and internal and external policies. China should try to establish and maintain a peaceful, responsible national image, targeting development and cooperation, strengthening international dialogue and ensuring smooth implementation of its national development strategy and foreign policies. Yang's article also revealed that the information division of China's foreign ministry had set up a 'public diplomacy office'.⁶⁴ This shows that the Chinese Foreign Ministry has itself begun to participate in the practice of public diplomacy. From a higher level perspective, in November 2012, Hu Jintao clearly stated in the *Report of the 18th CPC National Congress*: 'We will take solid steps to promote public diplomacy as well as people-to-people and cultural exchange, and protect China's legitimate rights and interests overseas. We will conduct friendly exchange with the political parties and organizations

⁶¹ <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/1024/9687354.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁶² Cited after: G. Xianfeng, *The History of China's News Publicity*, Fuzhou: Fujian People's Press, 2004, p. 218.

⁶³ See: *China's Foreign Affairs 2010*, Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Beijing: The World Knowledge Press, p. 27.

⁶⁴ Y. Jiechi, 'Trying to Develop a New Situation of China's Public Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics', *Qiushi*, 2010, No. 4, pp. 43–46.

of other countries and encourage people's congresses, national and local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, local governments and people's organizations to increase overseas exchange so as to consolidate the social foundation for enhancing China's relations with other countries.⁶⁵ In December 2013, when President Xi Jinping explained the Chinese Dream of improving national soft power, he stressed that we should pay attention to the shaping of our country's image and clearly define the basic path for the Chinese government to spread Chinese culture, retell the Chinese story and interpret Chinese values. This is also the main theme of China's public diplomacy.⁶⁶

As a practitioner and researcher of public diplomacy in China, Zhao Qizheng explained that 'public diplomacy has been elevated to a national strategic level in China.'⁶⁷ And with Zhao's statement, we shall end this article.⁶⁸ The author of this article hopes that more scholars will pay attention to the practice of public diplomacy in China.

⁶⁵ <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/1024/9687354.html> (accessed on 6 October 2017).

⁶⁶ See: Z. Qizheng, *Report on the Development...*, op.cit., p. 2.

⁶⁷ See: Ibidem, p. 3. Zhao Qizheng was the director of the Information Office of China's State Council from 1998 to 2005.

⁶⁸ This article was translated from Chinese into English by Wang Yijun, Ph.D. candidate at Sichuan University and professor at the Hubei University for Nationalities. The author wishes to express his heartfelt gratitude.