

Master's Thesis

State-Led People to People Diplomacy in China

---- Where should it go?

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Abstract

Official diplomacy has no longer be the only measure for the government to deal with the diplomatic issues with the foreign countries. Different countries have different ways to describe the supplementary measures. In China, people to people diplomacy is the supplementary measure to complete the official diplomacy. It has made many achievements in the past, but recent years, the insufficiency of state-led people to people diplomacy has obstacle the development of people to people diplomacy. This thesis is to analyze the factor of the insufficiency and to give the solution proposals.

The development of people to people diplomacy will be considered from two aspects: the academic aspect and the practical aspect. There will be theoretical discussions about the people to people diplomacy. Discussions about civil society will also be mentioned in the theoretical/conceptual part for the civil society is the foundation of people to people diplomacy.

There are three cases of people to people diplomacy described in the analysis part and the factor of the insufficiency will be summarized from them. With the definitions of people to people diplomacy given in the theoretical/conceptual discussion part, the fundamental insufficiency is over state-led which directly lead to the immature of Chinese civil society. Civil society is the power resource of people to people diplomacy. So the solution proposals are to find the way to loose the governmental control and develop civil society in China.

Based on this conclusion, suggestions are given in the following part. The suggestions are from two perspectives: the practice and the academy. The practice perspective is about the government's policy and supports, the development of private companies' and non-government organizations' capacity and consciousness of responsibility. The academy perspective is some comments and expects about Chinese academic environment.

Key words: people to people diplomacy, public diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy, civil society

1 Introduction and Problem formulation

Ever since 1949, the “independent foreign policy of peace” principle has guided the Chinese government to a great achievement of diplomacy. In the 1950s, Premier Zhou Enlai put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to deal with the relations among nations. Geneva Conference and Bandung Conference extended the Chinese government’s impact in world. Economic development and improvement of international status made Chinese government see her spring of diplomacy. The normalization of the relations with America and Japan, the establishment of diplomatic relations with more nations, founding the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, holding APEC, and the entrance of WTO, etc., all of these achievements were important and proud, but negative events and comments about China and Chinese people also accompanied, for example, the China threat Theory, and the attacks towards Chinese in the Philippines. Even though the Chinese government has always emphasized the Five Principles of Peace Coexistence¹, and has always been so generous and hospitable to the nations in need, still the increasing negative events and comments imply that endeavor from the governmental diplomacy is not enough.

Actually, diplomatic activities conducted by citizens and non-governmental organizations have been existed in many countries for a long time, including China. Different countries have different names for these similar phenomena: “civil diplomacy” by Canada, “civilian diplomacy” or “multi-track diplomacy” by America and “People to People Diplomacy” by China.² These concepts may differ from each other, but they share one most important character --- the attendance of the people. After the 9-11, some Non-governmental organizations in American initiated an activity called “ Civilian Diplomacy” to expect some changes to the state’s images.³ They expected to make the

¹ Ding Xiaowen, *The Thoughts of “Zhong He” and China’s Diplomacy*, *International Studies*, 6th, 2005, p28.

² Zhang Shengjun, *The Studies of Chinese People to People Diplomacy in New Century: the Problem, Theory and Significance*, *Inter national Review*, 5th, 2008, p14.

³ Ibid. p13.

Americans “Civilian Diplomats” and let the Americans take every chance of the communication with foreigners to change the negative images in their mind about America.⁴ Lee Miller once explained that “civilian diplomacy” meant every American citizen should have the responsibility and obligation to help shape the nation’s diplomatic relations when he/she shook hands with foreigners, no matter they were students, athletes, officials, rock stars or commercial representatives.⁵ 9-11 also stimulated the development of public diplomacy. Non-governmental behaviors also been covered into the subjects, which made the new public diplomacy share more commons with Chinese people to people diplomacy. The history of people to people diplomacy started from 1930s. Zhou Enlai was the first man to develop large scale people to people diplomacy in China. In 1938, Zhou founded the International Propaganda Institution in Wu Han, which was always considered as the premonition for the development of people to people diplomacy after 1949.⁶ He once asserted that the diplomacy of China should consist of governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental diplomacies.⁷ He believed that governmental diplomacy should not impact the friendly contacts between the peoples.⁸ The development of people to people diplomacy in China has been through the stages of “Ren Min diplomacy” (“人民外交”), “Guo Min diplomacy” (“国民外交”) and “people to people diplomacy” (“民间外交”).⁹ The establishment of China and Japan’s diplomatic relation has always been considered as a great achievement of China’s people to people diplomacy. It has been used in practice frequently, but its concept has always been blurring. Studies about people to people diplomacy from an academic aspect are very rare for years. During 1990s, the concept of public diplomacy was introduced into China by the Chinese scholars from the field of international relations, international politics and diplomacy.¹⁰ As the studies went on, more different diplomacies were introduced and used in China.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. p13

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Zhang, Zhizhou, *The Study of People to People Diplomacy’s Connotation*, *International Review*, No. 5, 2008, p19.

⁸ Ibid. p20.

⁹ Ibid. p20-21.

¹⁰ Tingting Liang, *Understanding Public Diplomacy in Different Nations and Eras*, *Journal of International Communication*, 2011. 05. p47.

The word “diplomacy” and its countless “babies” swarmed into the academic field and made the understandings of people to people diplomacy more confused. Concepts like public diplomacy, public affairs, Ren Min diplomacy, and people to people diplomacy, civil diplomacy were always abused both in practice and academy. For example, the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign countries and its activities are considered as people to people diplomacy in some reports and academic papers but also be called as public diplomacy in other publications. Same to the Confucius Institute, some reported it as public diplomacy while still many scholars write papers and mention it as people to people diplomacy. To the governmental officials, they seem more like to praise Confucius Institute as a great improvement of people to people diplomacy when they face the newsman. These two examples will be detailed discussed in the Analysis part as two of the three cases. The reason why I consider them as people to people diplomacy will also be explained there.

After 80 years’ development, people to people diplomacy proved its importance with achievements in practice, and the necessity to study it was also admitted by the scholars in academy. It has harvested a lot, but also encountered problems, for example, the event that Confucius Institute are expelled in America.

Just like Premier Zhou said, China’s diplomacy should combine the governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental approaches. As a supplementary approach to the governmental diplomacy, people to people diplomacy has worked well during the cold war period, but why it cannot work as well as that time now? As the expansion and penetration of the Chinese economy in the whole world, more and more Chinese people go abroad to do business, to travel or to study, there are more channels for the world to get to know China’s culture, society, politics etc. Under such condition, people to people diplomacy should have played a more effective role, but the limit of China’s “state-led” tradition in Chinese society make the development of people to people diplomacy stuck.

Above all, the problem formulation of this thesis is why people to people diplomacy need to play its due role without the active involvement of the state.

The problem will be studied from three questions:

As people to people diplomacy is a concept created in the Chinese context, and the studies and opinions are still various in China, so the first research question this thesis is going to discuss is **what exactly people to people diplomacy is.**

The second question is what the factor of the insufficiency of state-led people to people diplomacy.

The last one will be how to resolve the situation.

2 Methodology

In the introduction part, I have described the problem formulation of this thesis and the reason to choose it. It is a world of multilateral diplomacy. Governmental diplomacy is never enough for a state to protect her interests and fulfill her aims. Different state has different way to fill up this gap. To China, people to people diplomacy is chosen to take over this task. Although it has been used and developed for almost a century and achieved a lot, problems also has accompanied and become more and more severe. Studies about people to people diplomacy has been done for years, but still stay at the stage of beginning. This thesis is to discuss the factors of these problems and try to find the solution. So there is going to have two main processes in this thesis: first, to analyze the insufficiencies of state-led people to people diplomacy; second, to make solution proposals.

2.1 Process one: the insufficiencies of state-led people to people diplomacy in China

This part is to describe how to analyze the cases to identify the “factors” of insufficiencies of people to people diplomacy.

I will use case study method and comparative method to describe three cases in Analysis part. Case study and comparative methods are the basic methods for social science

study and usually used in the studies with a small quantity of cases.¹¹

Case study can make the analysis more profound and meticulous but still, it is one case study, any conclusion based on one case cannot refute the mature ones.¹² So this method should connect with other study method, for example, the comparative method closely.¹³ Some types of case study even can be considered as a part of comparative study.¹⁴ There are six types of case study method: (1) Atheoretical case study; (2) Interpretative case study; (3) Hypothesis-generating case study; (4) Theory-confirming case study; (5) Theory-infirming case study; (6) Deviant case study. I am going to use (1) (2) (4) to analyze the establishment of China and Japan's Diplomacy, The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and its activities, and the Confucius Institute Event to discuss the factors of the insufficiencies of state-led people to people diplomacy in China.

With comparative method, I am going to compare these three cases to find their commons and differences. Comparative method is so basic and easy to use that we seldom think about it critically when we use it in our study.¹⁵ It is very necessary to be explicit about the pros and cons when this method is used.

According too Arend, the amount of variable quantities is the universal problem for social science studies, but less of cases is the particular problem of comparative method, which made the prior problem more difficult to solve.¹⁶ There are four ways to deal with these problems: First, to study more cases as much as possible; Second, to narrow the property-space of analysis; Third, to focus on the comparable cases that share more common or similar quantities; Four, to focus on the key variable quantities.¹⁷

These three cases I use in this thesis share some common characters and are also different with each other. The first case --- the establishment of China and Japan's diplomatic is usually considered as the representative of people to people diplomacy in last century. The second case --- The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with

¹¹ Ibid. p19

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. p13.

¹⁷ Ibid. p14-19.

Foreign Countries is the organization that works on the affairs of people to people diplomacy, it has held lots of actives to improve people to people diplomacy in this century. While the third case --- the Confucius Institute is also considered as an approach of conduct people to people diplomacy in foreign countries, the event of expelling teachers in America is a severe frustration to the improvement of people to people diplomacy. By comparing these three case with the conceptual analyzing of people to people diplomacy, I will summarize the characters of state-led people to people diplomacy in China and analyze the factors of the insufficiency of state-led people to people diplomacy. The analysis will be used as the basis for the solution proposals.

2.2 Process two: the solution proposals

Based on the analysis in the first process, the solutions will also go to two perspectives. The first perspective is to solve the insufficiencies in practices. In this perspective, the function of civil society and how to build a functional civil society in China will be discussed because people to people diplomacy is about the diplomacy conducted by non-governmental behaviors. In Chinese situation, non-governmental behaviors can be comprehended as “common people society” (民间). In the western context, it is called “civil society”. But these two names have different natures. No matter China’s people to people diplomacy or the western public diplomacy, the multi-track diplomacy, they are all based on the society, so it is inevitable to discuss about the differences between the Chinese “common people society” and the western civil society. This perspective will start with a case about a private culture promotion company’s success in Australia, which I am also enrolled. To analyze the reason of the company’s succeed and base on the analysis, I will raise the solution proposals to the Chinese government. After that, examples of two successful Chinese non-governmental organizations will be discussed as the basis to raise the proposals for the government offer supports and freedom to the non-governmental organizations. Companies and non-governmental organizations should also make endeavors to pursue their rights and improve their capacity.

The second perspective will be some opinions towards the traditional way of academic studies in China. The characters of Chinese traditional study pattern will be introduced and compared with the western pattern. Studies about people to people diplomacy has been done for tens of years, but the situation is still confused. It is necessary to build an efficient pattern for academic study that suit the Chinese condition as well as the international society.

2.3 Theoretical/conceptual discussions in connection with the two processes

The Theoretical/conceptual discussions part will be prepared before the analysis part. Here in this part, I will explain the reason I do these theoretical/conceptual discussions for each processes and how to do the discussions.

2.3.1 Theoretical/conceptual discussions for the first process

In the analysis of the first process, I will use the case study and comparative method to analyze the three cases to find the insufficiencies of state-led people to people diplomacy. Studies about the people to people diplomacy are still at the stage of beginning. The concepts, connotations, extensions and other primary elements are still controversial and ambiguous. In order to study these cases, I need to use a relative explicate description of people to people diplomacy.

According to the studies done by the Chinese scholars about people to people diplomacy, there are mainly two ways to define it: The first which is also the most frequent way, is to compare the public diplomacy with people to people diplomacy. The second way is to compare the multi-track diplomacy with people to people diplomacy. In order to get a explicate explanation of people to people diplomacy, I will discuss both of the two ways and make a summary. That is so say that I will describe people to people diplomacy,

public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy separately.

The discussions about people to people diplomacy, public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy will use the case study [type (1)(2)(4)] method and comparative method, which means to study the three as cases and compare them from the aspects of development history and concepts, focusing on the quantities of behaviors and aims. The summary got from the comparison will be used in the analysis part as a theoretical/conceptual support to compare the three cases.

This part actually solve the first research question that what exactly people to people diplomacy is.

2.3.2 Theoretical/conceptual discussions for the second process

The second process is to make solution proposals to solve the insufficiencies founded in the first process. The solution proposals are made from two perspectives. The first is to give some opinions to the Chinese government about how to build a functional civil society in China. But in China, the word “common people society (民间)” is used to describe the society that opposite with the government. It has different meanings with the civil society in the western world even though they refer to the same group of people. In this case, in order to explain the solution clearly, it is necessary to make the concept of Chinese common people society and the western civil society clearly.

The methods used in this part will be the same in the previous part, case study [type (1)(2)(4)] and comparative method. The description will mainly focuses on the nature and characters of them.

Above all, in the Theoretical/conceptual discussion part, there are two groups of theories will be described. The first group will be the discussions of people to people diplomacy, public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy for the first process. The second

group will be the civil society and Chinese common people society (民间) for the second process.

2.4 Limitations of this thesis

The comparative method and case study method will contribute to the analysis, but it is necessary to point out the limitations. Studies about people to people diplomacy in China still stay at the stage of beginning. Different scholars have different understandings about people to people diplomacy and its relative concepts. In this project, I can only discuss the existing and most quoted literature because of the limited words and time. That is also the reason I choose the comparative and case study methods to suit the limitations for they are good for studies with a small number of cases.

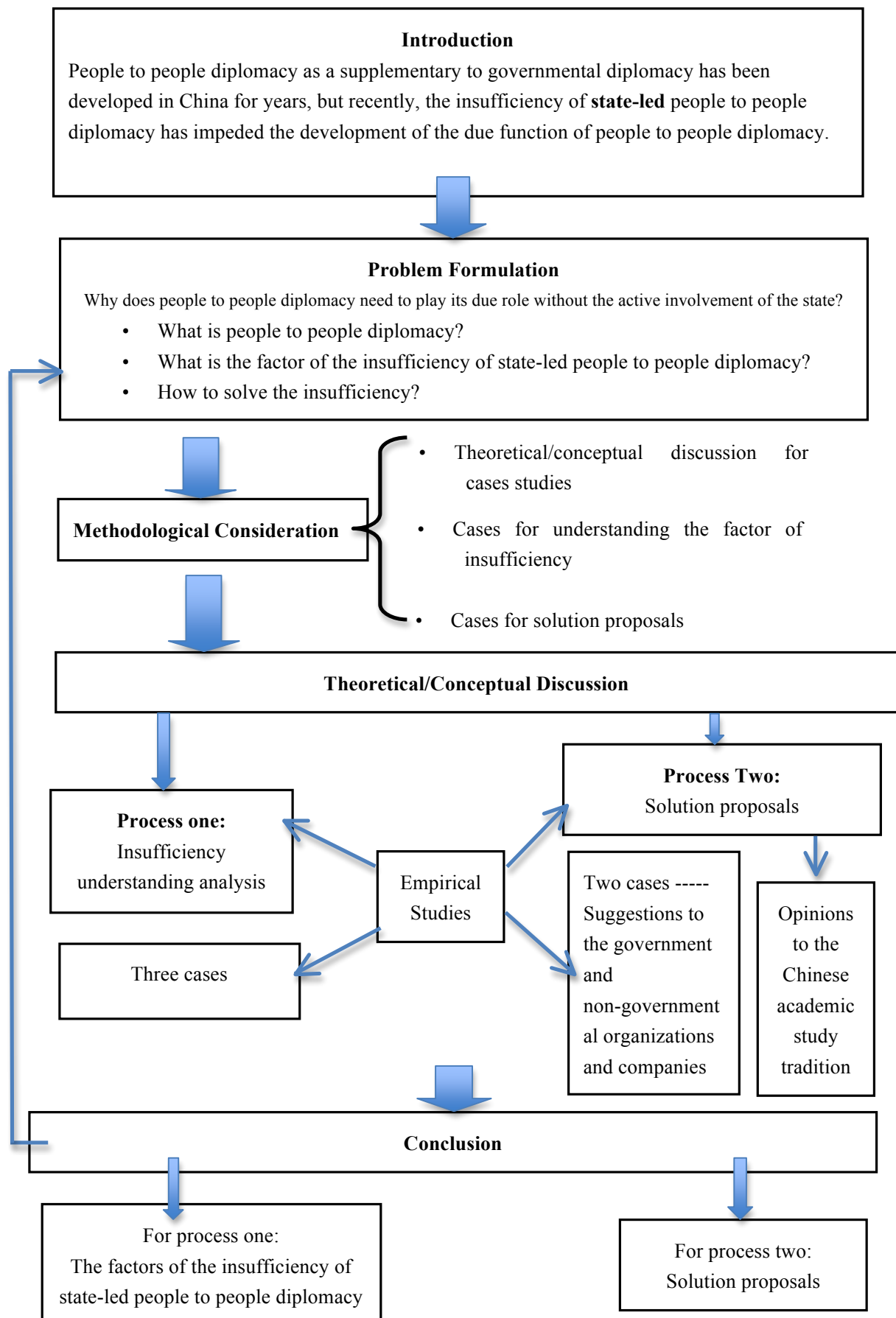
This thesis is to discuss about the factor of the problem of state-led people to people diplomacy and find the solutions but mainly from the aspect of diplomacy. Theoretical discussions in this thesis are mainly diplomatic ones except the concepts of civil society and Chinese common people society. So the analysis of the insufficiencies and the solutions are from diplomatic perspectives. There will have other insufficiencies from the aspects, economy and culture for example, but I cannot cover all the aspects in this short thesis.

It is also very necessary to point out that the analysis about the insufficiencies and solutions all focus on the domestic society. That is to say that I will analyze and discuss the factor of the problem as well as the solutions from the domestic perspective only. People to people diplomacy as an approach of diplomacy implies the contacts and exchanges happening among different countries. If obstacles and problems happen during the conduction of people to people diplomacy, it is not only because the insufficiencies of China, but also some other reasons from the outside which I will not cover in this thesis.

All in all, this thesis cannot discuss all the factors of the problems of state-led people to people diplomacy. It also cannot cover all the solutions to solve the problems. It can only

provide some ideas and suggestions from the aspect of domestic society and diplomatic field, but I hope this work can inspire more wonderful studies about this topic and guide the improvement of people to people diplomacy in practice to a more bright future.

2.5 Methodology Diagram



3 Theoretical/conceptual discussion

This part is offered to discuss the theoretical/conceptual basis for the Analysis part. There are two sections in this part. The first section is used to prepare the basis used to discuss about the factor of the problem of state-led people to people diplomacy. It consists of the discussions about people to people diplomacy by comparing it with public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy and other relative ones. The materials about people to people diplomacy, public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy will be rethought critically especially the ones about people to people diplomacy. The second part will be used to discuss about the Chinese common people society by comparing it with civil society in the western world and the analysis will be used in the solution proposals.

3.1 Theoretical/conceptual debates for discussing the problems of state-led people to people diplomacy

Chinese scholars has different attitudes towards people to people diplomacy.

Scholars like Han Fangming edits the book *Introduction to Public Diplomacy* and makes an elaborate introduction to the theories of public diplomacy and also makes some improvements. He mentions people to people diplomacy with several lines words, and considers it as a “political term” but not an academic issue.¹⁸ Once there is government’s willing in the communications between people from different countries, then the communications should belong to public diplomacy, otherwise these communications are only contacts between people but not people to people “diplomacy”.¹⁹

Different from scholars like Han that makes a clear separation of political terms and academic issues, some scholars like Su Shunmin as the writer of *A Study of People to People Diplomacy* has done a relative complete study about people to people diplomacy

¹⁸ Han Fangming, *Introduction to Public Diplomacy*, 2nd edition, Peking University Press, March 2012, p11.

¹⁹ Ibid.

in her book without mention the status of people to people diplomacy. But her book and her study imply that Su admits the status of people to people diplomacy in academic. In her book, she tries to build a complete structure for it and expects to offer a more effective guidance to the practice. Su has compared the concepts of public diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy and other diplomatic concepts with people to people diplomacy. Through these comparisons, she gets her concept of people to people diplomacy. She also describes the development of people to people diplomacy ever since the foundation of the new China and raises her opinions about how to develop people to people diplomacy in the future both in practice and academy.

Another type of scholars like Zhao Qizheng studies the development of public diplomacy in China. They actually extend the connotation of public diplomacy and consider people to people diplomacy as a part of it.²⁰

The first type scholars like Han, they keep more original characters (the western characters) in their studies of public diplomacy. And their studies are also stricter than the other two types. But the other two types pay more attention on the China's condition. They work on the development of these western theories in China and try to build theories born in the earth of China and suit for China's condition. Most of these studies are still immature and not strict, but they have great significance to the reconstruction of Chinese academic structure. I will discuss this issue into details in the solution proposals part.

As I have mentioned several times above, to analysis the three cases, I need a relative complete and explicit discussion of people to people diplomacy as the theoretical gist. I respect the strict attitude of the scholars like Han but I prefer to consider people to people diplomacy as a new start of Chinese academic reconstruction. It is dogmatical to ignore people to people diplomacy and totally focus on public diplomacy and it is also arbitrary to include people to people diplomacy into the realm of public diplomacy without a clear explanation for it. I would adopt the same way as Su to consider people to people diplomacy as an academic issue and study it by comparing with the foreign

²⁰ Zhao Qizheng, *Public Diplomacy and Communication between Cultures*, China Renmin University Press Co., LTD. p3-4.

theories like public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy. Actually, people to people diplomacy is an issue has its own root grown in the Chinese history that even can be tracked back to five thousand years ago. The name of people to people diplomacy was created in the same period of public diplomacy and also has been through different stages of development like the latter. The lack of people to people diplomacy is that the studies about it are still immature and incomplete.

All in all, in this project, I will consider people to people diplomacy as independent academic issue as other related issues for example the public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy, but not an accessory. After all, as a nation with the largest amount of population and a huge economic entity, it is necessary and naturally to build her own theories to guide the diplomatic activities of her people.

Still, it is necessary to admit that the studies of public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy are much more mature than the studies of people to people diplomacy. In order to improve the studies of people to people diplomacy, scholars have to study from the experiences of mature ones. In this part, I will use the comparative and cases study methods to discuss people to people diplomacy by comparing it with public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy. Besides comparing with the two popular concepts, I will also discuss about some other related concepts to make the description of people to people diplomacy more complete.

3.1.1 People to people diplomacy and public diplomacy

Generally, the similarities of people to people diplomacy and public diplomacy are the attendance of the non-governmental behaviors and the diplomatic activities. But different scholars have different extensions for these two concepts and that leads to the different understandings of the relations between people to people diplomacy and public diplomacy. Some scholars consider people to people diplomacy as a part of public diplomacy, some think that they share some commons and others deny people to people diplomacy as an academic concept.

In China, during the period of three sovereigns and five emperors, the era before Xia dynasty, officials called “Dragon” were in charge of the etiquette affairs.²¹ According to *Shih Chi*, in the very ancient time, the central country had built the friendly and peaceful relations with the peripheral states and tribes.²² These relations included both official contacts and the communications among people.²³ During the period of the Spring and Autumn, it had been very popular to use different ways to impact the foreign countries’ people’s attitude to pursue national interests.²⁴ In the western history, diplomacy as a political phenomenon had existed for several thousand years before the born of Christ.²⁵ The envoy in the *Manu-Smrti*, and the elocutionist in *Iliad*, they had the obligation to represent their states to build relations with another states.²⁶ Their responsibilities were to give speeches to the foreign states’ people and officials to spread their home states’ willing and pursue the national interests.²⁷

Han Fangming considered these historical materials as the origin of public diplomacy.²⁸ There is no doubt about the western historical materials as the origin of public diplomacy. But it is confused to consider Chinese historical materials also as the origin of public diplomacy which has not been introduced into China until 1990s. The theory of public diplomacy has been born and grown in the western conditions, while in China, diplomacy also has its own growing stories. Rather than considered the upward Chinese historical materials as the beginning of public diplomacy, I prefer to call it the origin of Chinese diplomacy including the governmental diplomacy and people to people diplomacy.

The ways of study, the attitude towards academy and some historical reasons, the theoretical developments of public diplomacy in the western and people to people diplomacy in China run into different tracks and different levels. It is important to study from the advanced but it still important to look into mirror and maybe there are

²¹ Han Fangming, *Introduction to Public Diplomacy*, 2nd edition, Peking University Press, March, 2012, p2.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

sparkles shining in it. What the Chinese scholars need to do is to work on the improvement of the theoretical structure of people to people diplomacy based on the Chinese conditions and offer effective guidance to the practice.

This part will be offered to discuss public diplomacy and people to people diplomacy and describe people to people diplomacy through comparison.

3.1.1.1 People to people diplomacy (民间外交)

Before the description, it is necessary to explain that “人民外交” and “民间外交” are both translated as “People to people diplomacy”, but in fact there are still differences between them. In order to make the description clearly, I will use “People’s diplomacy” to refer “人民外交” and keep “people to people diplomacy” to “民间外交”.

As I have mentioned above, the connection between people with diplomatic affairs could be found in the beginning of Chinese history. In the modern times during the Anti-Japanese War, it has regained the attentions from the politicians. In the year of 1938, Premier Zhou Enlai founded the International Propaganda Institution in Wu Han and this event was considered as the premonition of the people’s diplomacy led by him after 1949.²⁹ People’s diplomacy was the predecessor of people to people diplomacy.³⁰ Premier Zhou once described that the relations between two countries’ people should not only rely on the professional diplomatists from the government, but also and more rely on the peoples.³¹ He also said that government’s diplomatic work was aiming at the relations between countries but the foothold of the diplomatic work was for the people.³² This may be the foundation of Premier Zhou’s theory of people to people diplomacy.³³ In the early years of the foundation of the new China, some countries do not like to contacts with the Chinese government, but their people would like to be friendly to

²⁹ Zhang, Zhizhou, *The Study of People to People Diplomacy’s Connotation*, *International Review*, No. 5, 2008, p20.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

China.³⁴ In this case, Premier Zhou believed that it was necessary to separate the government and the people. Failing to build official diplomatic relation should not be the excuse to forbid the communication among the peoples.³⁵ At that time, the Chinese government founded the Chinese People's Diplomacy Institute, the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, China-Japan Friendship Association and many other organization to promote the relations between peoples from different countries, but these organizations and institutions are official and semi-official ones.³⁶ A successful case of people's diplomacy is the development of the relations between China and Japan.

Later, the word "People's diplomacy" has been replaced by "people to people diplomacy" to be more precise to describe the changes in political practice, which to emphasize the nature of "people to people" and to reduce the sense of party and ideology.³⁷ Chen Haosu, the former president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries once described people to people diplomacy and governmental diplomacy from two aspects. The different thing is people to people diplomacy is operated by nongovernmental organizations and individuals. The same thing is that they all have to work in the foreign countries or make contacts with foreigners in domestic.³⁸ This description is simple but has point out the behaviors of people to people diplomacy should be non-governmental and private.³⁹ Then the questions come. Many activities and organizations operated and operating in China are named after people to people diplomacy, but actually not as the same as Chen's description. For example, the heads of Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries are officials from the government and led by the Chinese Communist Party; Some diplomatic activities operated by Chinese Communist Party are obviously not private and non-governmental; Some Chinese embassies usually describe some of their activities for the people in foreign countries as people to people diplomacy, which are also confused according to

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid. p20-21.

³⁹ Ibid. p21.

These facts above imply two problems: first, the concept of people to people diplomacy is not precise and could not match the reality perfectly and this directly leads to the second problem: the name of people to people diplomacy is abused even by the government. In the year of 2005, the assistant of foreign minister at that time Shen Guofang has published an article about several hot topics of the Chinese diplomacy and mentioned the improvement of people to people diplomacy.⁴¹ In his article, he said that the government encouraged non-governmental organizations and individuals to attend into the diplomatic activities and the Chinese non-governmental organizations should try to connect and attend into the organizations of the United Nations.⁴² Here, from his words we can read the important information that the “real” non-governmental diplomatic behaviors like non-governmental organizations are emphasized and encouraged by the government. The development of the non-governmental and private behaviors will improve the development of people to people diplomacy.⁴³ The behaviors of people to people diplomacy will be more diversified and the definition will be more precise in the future, but now, during the stage of development, it still need to do a distinguish between the narrow sense definition and the general one to suit the situation in China.⁴⁴ It will be discussed precisely later.

3.1.1.2 Public diplomacy

Even though the origin of public diplomacy could be found thousand years ago, for the long time it has been considered as the auxiliary phenomenon of military, safety, economy and other affairs.⁴⁵ Not until the Second World War, people started to pay attention to public diplomacy. As to the scholars, it was 1960s that started the

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Han Fangming, *Introduction to Public Diplomacy*, 2nd edition, Peking University Press, March 2012, p4.

systematical studies of public diplomacy.⁴⁶

Public diplomacy was earliest used by the America diplomatists to name the cultural activities done by the government to the foreign countries.⁴⁷ It was first used by scholars in the year of 1965. Edmund Gullion later defined public diplomacy in his textbook as a diplomatic way beyond the traditional diplomacy, mainly referring a government's diplomatic activities to the foreign people.⁴⁸ After the 9-11 in 2001, Americans started to think why this terrible thing happened in America.⁴⁹ Later, the Gallop research showed that 53% people didn't like America in the world.⁵⁰ Then after a meeting attended by the experts from the field of government, media, public relations, religion and area study, public diplomacy become the central factor of the American diplomacy, which started a new era for the study of public diplomacy in America.⁵¹ The understandings and connotation of public diplomacy started to change and developed into what we called "new public diplomacy".

Practices related to or similar to public diplomacy has been operated before the 20th century in many countries.⁵² Ever since the concept of public diplomacy was created in America, it started to spread in the other countries like the UK, Japan, Canada and so on, but different countries has made different understandings about public diplomacy.⁵³ Canada and some middle and small countries recognize public diplomacy as a way to enforce the social diplomacy operated by the non-diplomatic department like some non-governmental organizations.⁵⁴ The Chinese government set up the public diplomacy office under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the year of 2004, but the Chinese government's understanding about public diplomacy was to let the diplomatic policies and affairs crystal to the domestic public and let the public attend into the diplomatic affairs.⁵⁵

As I have mentioned before, the Chinese scholar have different understandings about

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p7.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p5.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. p6.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

public diplomacy. Scholars like Han Fangming recognizes public diplomacy as the endeavor made by the government to make connections among different cultures and to improve the understandings to each other.⁵⁶ The behaviors could be the domestic and foreign social behaviors but they should be oriented by the central government or the authorized local governments or other departments.⁵⁷ The receivers should be the global public and the aim is to spread information and knowledge to create a good environment for the achieving of the national interests through broadcasting, media and public relation management.⁵⁸ The characters could be summarized as follows:

First, the public diplomatic activities must be dominated by the central government or the authorized local governments.⁵⁹

Second, the objects of public diplomacy must be the public of the foreign countries but not their governments.⁶⁰

Third, the measures to operate public diplomacy are equal and peaceful connections and communications like public relation management, broadcast, culture exchanges and humanity aids, but not any compulsive measures.⁶¹

Forth, the aim of public diplomacy is to impact the foreign public's attitude and to facilitate interests of the home country.⁶²

Zheng Hua has made a similar definition of public diplomacy but emphasized the attendance of non-government organizations and private associations but still should be dominated by the governments.⁶³

Other scholars like Zhao Qizheng who studies the development of Chinese public diplomacy. He considers people to people diplomacy as a part of public diplomacy,⁶⁴ which extending the range of the western public diplomacy. Liang Tingting has made a relative clear explanation of the Chinese public diplomacy. She describes that the

⁵⁶ Ibid. p8.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p9.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Zheng Hua, *China's Public Diplomacy from the Perspective of New Public Diplomacy*, World Economics and Politics, No.4, 2011, p146.

⁶⁴ Zhao Qizheng, *Public Diplomacy and Communication between Cultures*, China Renmin University Press Co., LTD. p3-5.

connotation of Chinese public diplomacy including every approaches of contacts expect the “government to government” approach, including “government to people”⁶⁵ (including the communication between the government and the domestic public)⁶⁶ and “people to people”.⁶⁷ It is significant to study a western theory’s development in China but it should be more strict at least to make it clear that what is people to people diplomacy before including it into the Chinese public diplomacy. It is also confusing that the studies of Chinese public diplomacy doesn't match the government’s practice. Qin Gang, the former Chinese foreign ministry spokesman has summarized the five items that the public diplomacy office has operated in the recent years in an interview. The first item is to make public diplomacy plans for the country’s leaders when they visit foreign countries or attend important international meetings.⁶⁸ Second item is to set up news center for the foreign medias to spread the information and policies of the important meetings of Chinese government and Chinese Communist Party.⁶⁹ The third and forth is to create opportunities for the domestic media and public to be clear about the government’s diplomatic affairs.⁷⁰ The last one is to complete the construction and function of the public office including enforcing the connection between the central government and the local governments as well as different departments to make a same voice to the outside.⁷¹ These five items could be summarized into two categories: the government’s activities to the foreign public and the government’s activities to the domestic public and governments, but no contents about the people to people diplomacy as the scholars has describe in their studies about Chinese public diplomacy. The studies of Chinese public diplomacy has just started, and it is necessary to start from analyzing the facts and practice happened in reality but not add different contents into it randomly without proves and explanations.

⁶⁵ Liang Tingting, *Understanding Public Diplomacy in Different Nations and Eras*. Journal of International Communication, No. 5, 2011. p49.

⁶⁶ Zhao Qizheng, *Public Diplomacy and Communication between Cultures*, China Renmin University Press Co., LTD. p3-5.

⁶⁷ Liang Tingting, *Understanding Public Diplomacy in Different Nations and Eras*. Journal of International Communication, No. 5, 2011. p49.

⁶⁸ *Qin Gang: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Works on Five Items to Improve Public Diplomacy and Has Made Good Achievements*, China News, 22nd, Feb. 2013. <http://www.chinanews.com/gn/2013/02-22/4588588.shtml>

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

3.1.2 People to people diplomacy and Multi-track diplomacy

As people to people diplomacy has already been discussed in the previous part, so this part will mainly about the multi-track diplomacy and some discussions about it and people to people diplomacy.

As people to people diplomacy is a concept in the Chinese context, actually there is no concept in the western could totally be matched with it, but many scholars consider multi-track diplomacy as the most similar concept to it.⁷²

Track II diplomacy was first put forward by the American diplomatist Joseph V. Montville in the end of 1970s and the beginning of 1980s and got popular in academic field later.⁷³ It was first defined as the measures that distinguished with the formal governmental diplomacy which was called track I diplomacy.⁷⁴ Montville wanted to use the track II diplomacy to repair the relations with the Soviet Union.⁷⁵ In 1991, he made a definition for track II diplomacy and explained it as the non-official and informal interactions among the members of the hostile countries or organizations.⁷⁶ The aim was to help the official to make policies to deal with the conflicts by offering information, consultation and impact the public opinions.⁷⁷ John McDonald thought this definition was not clear and too general, and it was not right to limit it with "hostile".⁷⁸ So McDonald delivered diplomacy into five tracks and kept track I diplomacy for the traditional governmental diplomacy.⁷⁹ Track II to track IV diplomacy shared the same aims that were to carry out the non-governmental diplomacy or civil diplomacy and help reduce or resolve the international conflicts, but the participants were different.⁸⁰ Participants for track II diplomacy should be professional, well-informed private citizens, track II diplomacy should be businessmen, track VI should be the common citizens, and track V should be

⁷² Su Shumin, *A Study of New China's People to People Diplomacy*, China Economic Publishing House, 2011, p12.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p14.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p15.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

the media.⁸¹ He added more tracks later to make the classifications more detailed.⁸² Even though, items like “professional” “well-informed” are still not clear concepts, and it seems has no clear standard to distinguish these tracks.⁸³

Chinese scholar Wang Yizhou has made an understanding of three tracks diplomacy. He keeps the original explanation for track I diplomacy. Track II could be divided into different levels.⁸⁴ Activities and contacts operated by the associations with some official nature like the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, the International Communication Association and some institutions studying international relations should belong to track II diplomacy.⁸⁵ Activities like “Football diplomacy” “Table tennis diplomacy” and the economic interactions among peoples could belong to track III diplomacy.⁸⁶

It is clear that the understandings about the concepts of multi-track diplomacy have not reached a consensus among the scholars except track I diplomacy.

Picture 1⁸⁷

Channels of diplomacy	Multi tracks	Two tracks	Three tracks
Government The official	Track I	Track I	Track I
Non-government The professional Informal official diplomacy	Track II	Track II	Track II
Commerce	Track III		Track III
Common people	Track IV		
Institution of studies and education	Track V		
Social activities	Track VI		
Religion	Track VII		

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p16.

Funds	Track VIII		
Communication and media	Track IX		

From the picture we can see that a generalized understanding of multi-track Diplomacy is to divide the governmental, official diplomacy from the other channels and named as track I diplomacy, while the other channels are organized into track II diplomacy. Some Chinese scholars like Su Shumin considered the connotation of the track II diplomacy is equal to the connotation of people to people diplomacy.⁸⁸

Some Chinese scholars take the understandings of multi tracks and three tracks and consider people to people diplomacy belongs to the track II diplomacy or track III diplomacy.⁸⁹ This kind of opinion actually takes the narrow understanding of the connotation of people to people diplomacy, and diminishes the extension of people to people diplomacy's function in practice⁹⁰ and as the standards about the channel's contents are still not clear, it is not appropriate to use the theory of multi-track Diplomacy to define the concept and contends of people to people diplomacy.⁹¹ Besides, western scholars' studies usually focus on two points: conflicts resolving and security cooperation,⁹² while people to people diplomacy could be used in more fields. It is appropriate to take multi-tack diplomacy as a comparison when study people to people diplomacy but not advisable to explain them with each other or make one covered by the other.

3.1.3 Other relevant concepts

"People's diplomacy" (人民外交)

People (人民) in Chinese condition is a word opposite with enemies. As I have describe in the part of people to people diplomacy above, people's diplomacy is a stage during the

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Zhang Shengjun, *The Studies of Chinese People to People Diplomacy in New Century: the Problem, Theory and Significance*, *Inter national Review*, 5th, 2008, p14.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid. p15.

⁹² Su Shumin, *A Study of New China's People to People Diplomacy*, China Economic Publishing House, 2011, p17.

development of people to people diplomacy in the early 20th century. By that time, people's diplomacy was semi-governmental diplomatic activities and aiming at promoting the establishment of official diplomatic relations between the New China and other countries especially the countries with hostile attitude and policies towards China, for example, Japan.⁹³

Chinese scholar Liu Jianping once has made a definition for people's diplomacy: People's diplomacy is based on the theory of class analysis, led by the foreign ministry but is presented as groups of people.⁹⁴ The main objects of it are the reliable foreign political behaviors and non-governmental organizations.⁹⁵ The aim of the activities is to build friendships with peoples from other countries and to build the international united front of political struggle.⁹⁶

In the year of 1949, many groups aiming to build friendship the peoples of Japan and China have been built.⁹⁷ One year later, Japan-China Friendship Association was founded and the trade between China and Japan started in 1952.⁹⁸ There was a climax in the middle of 1950s and people's diplomacy was given the aim to improve the governmental establishment of the diplomatic relations between the governments of China and Japan.⁹⁹ But later, the Japanese government intended to put the people's diplomacy's political aims down and also because of the National flag event in Nagasaki happened in 1958, Chinese people presented great indignation and discontent.¹⁰⁰ Later, in 1958, Chinese government cut off all the contacts with Japanese government and people.¹⁰¹

Because of this setback, Chinese government adjusted the policies and signed the *Memo about Developing the People to People Trade between China and Japan* in 1962.¹⁰² It was the first time that use the word "people to people" (民间) in the agreement, which marked the transformation from "people's diplomacy" towards "people to people

⁹³ Ibid. p37.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

diplomacy”.¹⁰³ “People to people” here is a concept opposite with government but not a political word with the color of class struggle like “people’s” (人民).¹⁰⁴

Civilian Diplomacy

The origin of the concept has already been discussed in the Introduction. The idea started from the wish to make every America have the right and responsibility to contribute to the international image of their nation.¹⁰⁵ According to Wiki, Civilian diplomacy is a political concept and refer to the diplomatic activities that taken by citizens intentionally or unintentionally.¹⁰⁶ It may be used when the governmental channels are not viable.¹⁰⁷ It can use the forms like exchanges of science, culture and international athletic events.¹⁰⁸ It is a complement of governmental diplomacy.¹⁰⁹

Su shumin think that civilian diplomacy is people to people diplomacy in the western context.¹¹⁰ But “citizen” in “civilian diplomacy” is a concept referring to the individual with the rights and duties imposed by the law, while “common people society” (民间) in “people to people diplomacy” is a concept opposite with government in the Chinese traditional context of people and government.¹¹¹ Besides, the contents of civilian diplomacy could only match part of the narrow understanding of people to people diplomacy for not covering the non-governmental originations and institutions activities.

Cultural Diplomacy

The explanation of Culture Diplomacy was first found in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1934 and was explained as a new diplomatic method created by the British Parliament

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.p44.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.p43.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.p44.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.p45.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

to focus on the English education overseas.¹¹² Chinese scholar Li Zhi defines it as the diplomatic activities operated by the countries with the culture method to pursue some specific political aims or some foreign strategies.¹¹³ Hu Wentao describes culture diplomacy as a diplomatic form conducted by governmental or non-governmental organizations through the ways of culture education exchanges, art perform and exhibition, or trade of cultural products to improve the understandings between countries and their peoples and to build trust.¹¹⁴ He considers culture diplomacy as the third pillar in the field of diplomacy and the first is politics, the second is economy.¹¹⁵

According to the explanation of the Chinese scholars, the behavior of culture diplomacy can be government and non-government organizations and individuals, but culture is the only field that it can cover. That is to say, culture diplomacy shares some common contents with people to people diplomacy. Culture diplomatic activities conducted by non-governmental organizations could be considered as people to people diplomacy, and activities with semi-governmental nature may also be considered as part of people to people diplomacy from the generalized perspective. As to the governmental ones should only belong to culture diplomacy.

3.1.4 Summary: people to people diplomacy

The descriptions above have discussed about the Chinese scholars' misunderstandings about people to people diplomacy and its relations with the relevant concepts. This part will be offered to do a final explanation for people to people diplomacy.

Referring to the concepts of public diplomacy and multi-track diplomacy, the questions of giving a definition to people to people diplomacy could be concluded as follows:

First, who are the behaviors (including the actors and receivers)? ----- The behaviors

Second, what are the activities? ----- The channels

Third, why are these activates conducted? ----- The aims

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

The first question is the one with the most different opinions, especially for the actors. There are scholars who try to give a complete definition to people to people diplomacy in order to describe the practice in reality. Su shumin puts forward a definition as follows:

*People to people diplomacy is the external activities participated by the non-governmental organizations, individuals or local governments without the formal national certification of diplomacy, aiming at the home nation's interests, governmental diplomatic goals, or completing the governmental diplomacy, or protecting the peace of the world and common interests of human beings.*¹¹⁶

Zhang Shengjun has made some changes to Su's definition:

*In the complex and diverse international society, people to people diplomacy is the external and negotiated activities actively conducted by corporate organizations or natural person without the formal national certification of diplomacy, aiming at the home nation's interests, governmental diplomatic goals, or completing the governmental diplomacy, or protecting the peace of the world and common interests of human beings.*¹¹⁷

These two definitions intend to avoid the semi-governmental actors when they describe the extension of behaviors. They only point out the actors without the formal national certification of diplomacy, but not mention the actors with "informal" authorization or supports.

Another problem to the behavior part is that they don't mention the receivers. If we look at the definition of public diplomacy, the receiver part is always been described even though different studies have different opinions. It is necessary to think about the question that who the receivers are. It is quite possible for a common people singing a song from homeland to a foreign official, and will this be considered as people to people diplomacy, or not?

Last problem of these two definitions regards the aims. Both of them point out that the activities should be conducted with clear aims for the home nation's or even the whole world's good. To emphasize this point, Zhang has added "actively" before "conduct".

¹¹⁶ Ibid.p35.

¹¹⁷ Zhang Shengjun, *The Studies of Chinese People to People Diplomacy in New Century: the Problem, Theory and Significance*, *International Review*, 5th, 2008, p15.

How about the companies conducting exhibitions overseas to spread Chinese classical art and culture? The companies' aim may only be to let the foreign friends learn more about China and her culture, but this aim is exactly the one written in the Chinese governmental diplomatic policy. Won't these companies' activities be counted as people to people diplomacy?

With all of these questions, it is necessary to define people to people diplomacy in two ways: a narrow definition and a general definition to explain these questions clearly.

The Narrow definition

People to people diplomacy is the diplomatic activities conducted by non-governmental originations, and individuals without any support or guidance from the governments, to communicate and exchange with the foreign non-governmental originations and individuals without the support and guidance from the governments through the non-official channels like culture exchange between peoples, business affairs, etc. The aims of these activities are to improve the communications and understandings between the home country and foreign countries' peoples, to pursue the governmental aims and interests, to complete the governmental diplomacy, or to improve the world peace and the common interests of the human beings.

It has to admit that this definition is complex and prolix. If we use this definition as a model to find a case of people to people diplomacy in China, I am afraid the result will be rather disappointing. This is because the civil society in China is still immature. Most of the non-governmental organizations actually get supports from the government and even the leaders of these organizations are the central or local officials. Most of the individuals' consciousness and literacy of society and diplomacy have not reached the certain level. They are still worried about their work, their children and their education and many basic problems. It is hard for them to actively spend time and spirit organizing or attending activities regarding diplomacy. But the Chinese government has already recognized this problem and starts to pay attentions on the developing of the Chinese

civil society. As I have mentioned in 3.1.1.1, the speech given by Shen Guofang has showed the information that the Chinese government encourages the development of “real” non-governmental organizations and individuals and to take part into the diplomatic affairs. In this case, this definition is an ideal model for people to people diplomacy in the future.

The general definition

People to people diplomacy is the diplomatic activities conducted by non-governmental or semi-governmental (supported or guided by the government) organizations, and individuals to communicate and exchange with the foreign countries including both governmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals through any non-official and semi-official channels. These activities are positive to improve the communications and understandings between the home country and foreign countries' people, to pursue the governmental aims and interests, to complete the governmental diplomacy, or to improve the world peace and the common interests of the human beings.

This definition actually contains all the external activities benefiting the national interests or human beings, except the governmental diplomacy. It is so general that almost meaningless to exist as a definition in the theoretical study of people to people diplomacy. But what this definition has described is the current situation of people to people diplomacy in China, while the narrow definition above is the ideal model that we are pursuing for in the future.

In the analysis part, I will use this general definition to describe the three cases and with the narrow definition to analyze the factors of the problems in these state-led cases. The conclusion will also be used as the basis for discussing the solutions in the following part.

3.2 Theoretical/conceptual preparation for discussing the solutions

As I mentioned in the previous part, it is hard to find a case that can be considered as

real people to people diplomacy because the immature of Chinese civil society. The concept of civil society is very new to China. In traditional Chinese context, the whole society is composed by only two parts, the part of government, and the non-government part which is called “min jian 民间” in Chinese and is translated as “Chinese common people society” in this thesis. Civil society and the Chinese common people seem refer to the same group of people in the society but they are quite different from many aspects. This part is to talk about the characters of Chinese common people society by comparing it with civil society in the western context.

3.2.1 Civil society

Globalization has many important political phenomena including the development of civil society.¹¹⁸ In the earlier time, civil society and state are the two sectors of the social structure.¹¹⁹ Later, civil society is considered as the third sector between the government and enterprises.¹²⁰ It is composed by different kinds of civil organizations not belonging to any countries or governments including Non-governmental organizations, voluntary clubs, associations, interests groups, and the campaigns conducted by citizens initiatively.¹²¹

Civil society is a power assembled by media, enterprise, religions, grass-root organizations, civil campaigns and other social powers from the civil and not controlled by the government.¹²² It is independent from the government but can give pressures to it.¹²³ The most important characters of civil society are the independence and freedom.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Su Shumin, *A Study of New China's People to People Diplomacy*, China Economic Publishing House, 2011, p120.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid. p121.

¹²⁴ Zhang, Zhizhou, *The Study of People to People Diplomacy's Connotation*, *International Review*, No. 5, 2008, p22.

3.2.2 The Chinese Common people society (民间)

In the western theories of politics, the political rights structure is separated as “state --- society” while in Chinese tradition and political thoughts the structure is “government (官方) --- common people (民间)”.¹²⁵ “Government” may equal to “state”, but “common people” cannot equal to “society”.¹²⁶ The word “society” was not introduced into China from Japan until the end of 19th century.¹²⁷

As the development of “society”, civil society becomes an important sector in the western structure.¹²⁸ Freedom and independency are the nature of it.¹²⁹ But “Common people” in Chinese context can be intervened by the “government” discretionarily.¹³⁰ There is no distinguished boundary between the “government” and “common people” and in this case, even though, “common people” is a concept opposite with “government”, still, it is not a concept with the autonomy of rights and the legal status.¹³¹

3.2.3 Summary and the function in this thesis

Civil society is the basis of people to people to people diplomacy.¹³² In order to develop people to people diplomacy, it is necessary to “socialized” the Chinese common people society.¹³³ It needs to get the legal status, becomes the main actor of the modern society.¹³⁴ That means to transform the traditional Chinese common people society into the modern civil society and encourage the development of civil organizations that represents the their own interests.

As the solution proposals will be discussed from two aspects: the government, the corporates and the theories. The first part is related to the immature of Chinese civil

¹²⁵ Ibid.p21.

¹²⁶ Ibid.p22.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

society. The summaries got in this part will be used to explain the first aspect of the solution proposals.

4 Analysis

People to people diplomacy has been development in China for years. It has got achievements but the insufficiency of state-led people to people diplomacy has also revealed. The Analysis part is to summarize the factors of the insufficiency through three cases studies with the descriptions of people to people diplomacy got in the previous part. With the summarizations, solution proposals will be given in the following part. The descriptions about Chinese common people society will also be used here.

4.1 The factor of insufficiency

The first case is the establishment of diplomatic relation between China and Japan after the war which has always been considered as achievement of people to people diplomacy. The second case is the description about the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, including a brief introduction about it and some activities it has conducted. The last case is the event of Confucius Institute happened in recent years, which is a setback for the booming development of Confucius Institutes. I will explain the reason I consider it as people to people diplomacy first and describe this event later.

At last, I will compare and summarize the characters of the cases and summarize the factor of insufficiency.

4.1.1 The establishment of the diplomatic relation between China and Japan after the war

After the foundation of the new China, Chinese government put forward the aim to rebuild the formal diplomatic relations with Japan, but the Japanese government signed the *Japan-China Agreement* and built diplomatic relations with Taiwan government in 1952, which made the relations between the new China and Japan stalemated.¹³⁵ In this situation, Chinese government adjusted the diplomatic policy and developed people to people diplomacy (in that time should be called “people’s diplomacy”) with Japanese civil organizations and individuals who were friendly to China.¹³⁶ The policy that “Non-governmental diplomacy goes first and improve the governmental one” (民间先行，以民促官) became the main principle to guide the development of the relation with Japan.¹³⁷

In the 1950s, some prestigious people from the economic and political fields started to visit China and signed trade agreements. In 1952, the member of Japan’s parliament Gaoliangfu, the representative of the International Trade Promotion Association of Japan Fanzuiji and the president of the League of Promoting the Trade between Japan and China Changongyaoxi visited China, signed the first non-governmental trade agreements with the International Trade Promotion Association of China and opened the door for the communications between the peoples after the war.¹³⁸

As the development of the trade between the peoples, the friendly exchanges between the peoples of China and Japan were also increased.¹³⁹ Since 1953, a large amount of Japanese who stayed in China for the historical reasons had been helped to go back to their hometowns, which offered a great chance to the promotion of the diplomatic relations between China and Japan.¹⁴⁰ Forced by the willing of the civil, Japanese government insisted the hostile attitude towards Chinese Communist Party but

¹³⁵ Su Shumin, *A Study of New China’s People to People Diplomacy*, China Economic Publishing House, 2011, p166.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid. p167.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

expected the Japanese Communist Party and the Red Cross and some non-government channels to help those Japanese nationals go home.¹⁴¹ Chinese government decided to help the Japanese go home but avoided to have relations with the Japanese government.¹⁴² In January 1953, the Japanese Red Cross and other two non-government organizations came to China to discuss about issues of Japanese nationals with the Chinese Red Cross.¹⁴³ In the following years, more than 30000 Japanese nationals went back to Japan and according to the request from China, thousands of Chinese nationals in Japan were helped to go back home as well as the cremains of those who were plundered to Japan as coolies and died there.¹⁴⁴

Ever since then, more and more non-governmental organizations and prestigious individuals of Japan visited China and signed agreements.¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile, in 1954, Li Dequan led the Chinese Red Cross delegation visited Japan according to the elaborate guidance of Premier Zhou, which was the first Chinese delegation went to Japan after the war and promoted the relations between China and Japan greatly.¹⁴⁶

In 1957, the booming development encountered obstructions. Kishi become the new generation of Japanese government and adopted the hostile policies to the new China.¹⁴⁷ He visited Taiwan and supported Jang jieshi to recapture the mainland of China, which pushed the relations with China into the bottom.¹⁴⁸ In 1958, two Japanese tore down Chinese national flag in the exhibition of Chinese Stamps and Paper Cuttings in Nagasaki, but the Japanese government refused to mete out punishment.¹⁴⁹ Kishi 's policies and the Nagasaki event infuriated Chinese people.¹⁵⁰ Chinese government cut off all the communications and contacts with Japan and the relations between China and Japan got cold again.¹⁵¹

Later, the Chinese government put forward the "Three principles of Politics" about the

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid. p168.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p169.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

relations with Japan to show the will of repairing the relations with Japan. Under this atmosphere, people to people diplomacy worked again.¹⁵² In the year of 1959, the contacts among peoples of the two countries started a new round.¹⁵³ Non-government organizations, delegations of parties, prestigious individuals from art, politics and economy all played important roles in the communications.¹⁵⁴

The relation of China and Japan has rose and fell several times in the 1900s, exchanges between the peoples had made great endeavors to complete the governments' work.¹⁵⁵ The characters of people to people diplomacy during this period are very distinct. According to general definition of people to people diplomacy, the characters could be summarized into three items: the behaviors (actor and receiver), the channels, and the aims.

The behaviors

The actors were organizations and individuals directly led or guided by the central government or even belongs to the government. But they were presented as people's organizations or non-governmental organizations or individuals.

The receivers also had the identity of politics or officials.

In a word, behaviors of people to people diplomacy in this period had close relations with the government.

The channels

The activities conducted in this period were mainly to deal with problems caused by the war. Both of China and Japan had the needs to rebuild their national economies, so the most frequently used channel was the trade. Besides, the economy, to help the Japanese nationals and Chinese nationals go home was also a functional channel.

The aims

Activities conducted in this period all had clear aims to repair the relations between the two countries and complete the governmental relations or to pursue the home country's interests, because these activities were supported and guided directly or indirectly by

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

the central government.

The reasons that people to people diplomacy could make achievement in this period could be considered from the following points:

- The supports of the government. The new China has just founded and the world's political atmosphere was not optimistic to her. The condition of China in that time was also terrible and she needed to build a safe environment around her to focus on the work of reconstruction and development. The Chinese government had to use any possible ways to reach this purpose, so she offered great supports to promote the people to people diplomacy with Japan.
- The explicit and simplex aims. The aims of people to people diplomacy were explicit and the aspiration were very strong in that time. And the aims were good for the interests of the peoples in two countries. After the war, people from China and Japan all wanted a peaceful environment to get their lives back. The government' willing occupied great part of the aims.

4.1.2 The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC)

On May 3, 1954, ten national public organizations initiated to found the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.¹⁵⁶ The Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries was given as her first name.¹⁵⁷ Later, it was called the Chinese People's Friendship Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.¹⁵⁸ Until 1969, the name of it has been confirmed as what it is called now.¹⁵⁹ CPAFFC has set up many regional and national friendship organizations and cooperated with nearly 500 non-governmental organizations and institutions from

¹⁵⁶ The website of The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, <http://en.cpaaffc.org.cn/introduction/agrintr.html>

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

many countries around the world.¹⁶⁰

“The Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC) is one of the earliest national people’s organizations engaged in people-to-people diplomacy of the People’s Republic of China. With the purposes of enhancing people’s friendship, furthering international cooperation, safeguarding world peace and promoting common development, and on behalf of the Chinese people, the CPAFFC makes friends with foreign countries widely and closely on the international arena. It serves the great cause of China’s peaceful development and peaceful reunification and strive for the solidarity and progress of all mankind.”¹⁶¹

The words upward were written by the present of CPAFFC Li Xiaolin on the official website of it to introduce the nature and function of CPAFFC. It is necessary to point out that the president Li XiaoLin is also “the Secretary of Party Committee of CPAFFC”.¹⁶² This means that CPAFFC is under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Even though it declares itself as non-governmental organization, it still has close relations with the party and the government. So it is more precise to consider it as semi-governmental organization.

The main tasks of CPAFFC have been recorded clearly in her statutes, chapter two, and the following is the abridged edition:

“Article 5 The Association carries out friendly people-to-people contacts between China and other countries by organizing exchange of visits of delegations, holding commemorative activities, initiating and hosting exchange activities.....build up trust and develop friendship with people of other countries.”¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/introduction/agrintr.html>

¹⁶¹ Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/introduction/index.html>

¹⁶² Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/content/details34-627.html>

¹⁶³ Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/introduction/rule.html>

“Article 6 The Association promotes international cooperation by establishing contact mechanisms, in economy, science and technology, talents and other areas, to create favorable conditions to achieve win-win results and common development.”¹⁶⁴

“Article 7 The Association effects people-to-people cultural exchanges with other countries by dispatching or.....or exhibitions to promote learning from each other in the cultural field and enhance understanding and friendship.”¹⁶⁵

“Article 8 Entrusted by the government, the Association coordinates and oversees the work of establishing and developing friendship-city relations between China and other countries, promoting exchanges and cooperation between their localities and cities. As a member of United Cities and Local Governments, the Association participates in international cooperation on behalf of Chinese local governments.”

“Article 9 As a nongovernment organization in general consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the Association takes an extensive part in U.N. affairs and actively participates in the exchange activities of other international nongovernment organizations to effectively communicate information about China.”¹⁶⁶

“Article 10 Article 11 The Association engages in the cause of safeguarding world peace and common security of humankind and supports the people of various countries in their just struggle to achieve national development and social progress and defend sovereignty and security.”¹⁶⁷

“Article 12 The Association carries out other activities for the friendly cooperation between the Chinese and other peoples.”¹⁶⁸

From the functions described upwards, the characters of CPAFFC could be summarized according to the general understanding of people to people diplomacy as follows:

The behaviors:

CPAFFC is the main actor of these activities, but under the leadership of the party in power and always represents the central or local government to operate or attend

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

important international events. For example, on December 9, 2014, Li Xiaolin, President of CPAFFC, and Mr. Charlie Flanagan, Minister of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Ireland, signed the “*Memorandum of Understanding on a Framework for Jointly Enhancing People-to-People Exchange and Cooperation Between the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Ireland*” under the witness of the two countries presidents.¹⁶⁹

The leadership of CPAFFC is also “governmental”. If we check the list of *Honorary Advisers and Advisers of the 10th National Council of CPAFFC*, we will found that these honorary advisers are all the Former Vice Chairman of The Standing Committee of The National People’s Congress or the Former Vice President of National Committee of The Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, and they are also the present presidents of China and other countries Friendship Association which are the branches of CPAFFC.¹⁷⁰

The ingredient of the receivers is also not purely non-governmental. Most of the contacts are between the leadership of CPAFFC and the officials from other countries, which is easy to know from her website.¹⁷¹ But still, CPAFFC has conducted some programs for the foreign citizens. Like the *Chinese Characters Exhibition and World Tour* aiming to introduce Chinese characters art to the foreign people and help them understand China and Chinese people.¹⁷²

The channels:

Contacts between the leadership of CPAFFC and the foreign official are usually very official and formal and thus should be considered as official channel or even governmental channel.

Programs cooperated with the other companies, media, like the *Chinese Characters Exhibition and World touring, Ten Person’s Stories* are for the common peoples and cover various fields for instance, culture, environment, art, education and humanitarian assistance.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/content/details21-47700.html>

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/introduction/nowadviser.html>

¹⁷¹ Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/friendly/index.html>

¹⁷² Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/project/contents.html?id=47556>

¹⁷³ Ibid. <http://en.cpaffc.org.cn/project/index.html>

The aims:

It has been explained very clear in the functions of CPAFFC that all the activities conducted by the Association are aiming at the friendship with the foreign citizens, national interests and the human being's common interests.

Comparing with the characters of the first case, CPAFFC shares many commons with the first case:

- Behaviors have close relations with the government.
- The aims are clear and explicit and all for the nations' interests.

But there are obvious improvements:

- The diplomatic activities are more active and frequent.
- The channels are more various.
- The activities still have the political and governmental color but the direct control from the government are reduced. More non-governmental organizations and individuals are invited to take part into the diplomatic activities or cooperate with CPAFFC voluntarily.
- The aim is no longer to repair the relationship with Japan but to improve the friendships with the peoples from all the countries and to pursuing the common interests of the world.

4.1.3 The Confucius Institute event

Chinese scholars and politics have different opinions about the nature of the Confucius Institute Program. Some call it public diplomacy while the others consider it as an achievement and platform for people to people diplomacy.¹⁷⁴

Confucius Institute is under the management of the Office of Chinese Language Council International which is a public institution attached to the Ministry of Education.

¹⁷⁴ Zhao Huangai, *Studies about the Development Situation of Confucius Institute as the Friendship Platform of Chinese People to People Diplomacy*, No. 3 2014, Chinese Studies. p58.

Confucius Institute is a public institution but maintains great relations with the government just like the CPAFFC, a non-governmental organization but led by the Chinese Communist Party.

It has been explained earlier that the general understanding of people to people diplomacy actually could cover all the forms of diplomacy except the traditional governmental diplomacy. Chinese scholars' understanding about public diplomacy actually covered people to people diplomacy into it. Which "diplomacy" should Confucius Institute belong to is determined by the narrow or general understandings of public diplomacy and people to people diplomacy.

In this part, I will use the general understanding of people to people diplomacy to regard Confucius Institute as a case of it and analyze the Event happened in recent years.

The Confucius Institute Event refers to the American government forced the Chinese teachers of Confucius Institute with the J-1 visas to leave America before June 30th in the year of 2012.¹⁷⁵ If the teachers wanted to continue the program in America, they had to go back to China and apply for another appropriate visa.¹⁷⁶ What's more, the America State Department was investigating the academic certification of Confucius Institutes and ordered the Institutes to apply for America identification to continue the education program in the universities.¹⁷⁷ 8 days later, the American government withdrew the requirements and solved this event peacefully.¹⁷⁸ But the things were not end. In this year, the University of Chicago and Pennsylvania State University announced to end the cooperation with Confucius University and it was believed that they were not the only ones that wanted to stop the cooperation with the institute without any academic worth (referring to the Confucius Institute).¹⁷⁹ Doctor Susan Welch from Pennsylvania State University said the reason they would not cooperate with Confucius Institute was they could not reach a common goals with the Office of Chinese Language Council International which was the main sponsor of Confucius Institute.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ *The Development of Confucius Institute Encounters Obstacle, American Universities or to Close the Door to Confucius Institute*, Oct. 3rd, 2014, <http://news.uschinapress.com/2014/1003/994046.shtml>

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

In fact, from June 2014, the American Association of University Professors started to appeal hundreds America universities to end or renegotiate the agreements with Confucius Institutes, because Confucius Institutes were funded by Office of Chinese Language Council International which was led by the Chinese Ministry of Education.¹⁸¹ Thus, Confucius Institutes were the branches of Chinese Communist Party and the aim of them were to spread the party's consciousness, which betrayed the freedom of academy.¹⁸²

America is not the only country unfriendly to Confucius Institutes. The Intelligence Agency ministers of Japan and Canada once regarded Chinese Institutes as "culture spy" and "institute of spy".¹⁸³

The characters of Confucius Institute Program could be summarized as follows:

The behaviors:

Confucius Institutes are sponsored by the government. They are set up in the foreign universities to offer free lessons to the local students and citizens by cooperating with the local universities.

The channels:

As an education institution, its main job is to teach Chinese as a foreign language and spread Chinese culture to its students.

The aims:

Its aim is to let the foreigners know more about Chinese characters and culture and to build the bridge for the communications between different cultures.¹⁸⁴

These characters have no distinguished natural difference with the other two cases.

- Governmental or semi-governmental actors
- Unofficial channels, for example, the culture exchanges
- To contribute to relations with the people from other countries

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ The website of Confucius Institute, http://www.hanban.edu.cn/hb/node_7446.htm

But the criticism from the foreign professors and ministers pointed out the fundamental reason of Confucius Institute's failure ---- the state-led character.

4.1.4 Summary: succeed and fail for the same reason because the times have changed

Government support once was the reason that promoted the development of the relationships between Chinese people and Japanese people. But 50 years later, government supports made Confucius Institutes rejected by the American Universities.

As it has been described in the narrow definition of people to people diplomacy, the ideal model of people to people diplomacy should be conducted by the "real" non-governmental organizations and individuals and received by the "real" non-governmental objects. The behaviors will conduct the activities with the aim of pursuing national or world interests actively, for their consciousness has already reach the certain level. The three cases are all at the beginning level if compared with this ideal model. The most urgent thing for developing people to people diplomacy is to "non-governmentalize" and be more "civilian",¹⁸⁵ and the immature civil society in China is the fundamental factor of the problem.

Civil society has been highly developed in the western world during the 50 years, but the Chinese society is still stay at the traditional level that the boundary between "government" and "common people" is still very ambiguous.¹⁸⁶ The power of "government" covered every corner of the society of "common people" and that make the activities conducted by "common people" colored by the governmental consciousness. The consciousness of being a citizen with legal status, rights and obligations has not been set up in the mind of Chinese people, so they don't have the activeness to take part into the diplomatic affairs. Nowadays, the development of civil

¹⁸⁵ Zhao Huangai, *Studies about the Development Situation of Confucius Institute as the Friendship Platform of Chinese People to People Diplomacy*, No. 3 2014, Chinese Studies. p59.

¹⁸⁶ Zhang, Zhizhou, *The Study of People to People Diplomacy's Connotation*, *International Review*, No. 5, 2008, p22.

society is booming in the world.¹⁸⁷ It not only offer a stage for people to people diplomacy to develop, but also have to become the power source of people to people diplomacy.¹⁸⁸ Non-governmental power will play more and more important part in the process of decision making about diplomacy as the development of civil society in domestic.¹⁸⁹

Thus, the fundamental way to develop people to people diplomacy is to develop the domestic civil society.

4.2 Solution proposals

According to the analysis in the previous parts (including the theoretical/ conceptual discussion and the analysis of factors of insufficiency), the solution proposals will be from two perspectives: the practical and the academic. The practical suggestions are base on the case study of Juntianfang, a private culture promotion company, offering exhibitions and performance in Melbourne and making achievements to people to people diplomacy. As a member of the Juntianfang ensemble, I also take part in these activities in Australia. The academic perspective is about some opinions to the Chinese academic study tradition.

4.2.1 Proposals to the practice

The company I am working for is Beijing JunTianFang Qin¹⁹⁰ Art Communication Company Limited.¹⁹¹ It focuses on the inheritance and development of Qin's traditional craft. It also works on the studies of Qin's art as well as teaching and making performance.¹⁹² Recent years, the working area of Juntianfang has been extended into

¹⁸⁷ Su Shumin, *A Study of New China's People to People Diplomacy*, China Economic Publishing House, 2011, p105.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Qin is a traditional Chinese music instruments with a history longer than 3000 years and the art of Qin occupies an important place in the education in the ancient times and now it becomes the treasure of classical Chinese culture.

¹⁹¹ Summarized from the company's document.

¹⁹² Ibid.

the other areas related to traditional culture like the art of calligraphy, tea ceremony, flower arrangement and the way of incense. It is frequently invited to hold exhibitions and performance both in domestic and abroad. Those exhibitions taking Qin art as a core and interpreting the spirit of Chinese traditional culture into the design of modern people's living space to deliver the philosophy of harmony between man and nature.¹⁹³

In October this year, the company's art ensemble JunTianYunHe was invited by the Melbourne Festival to present exhibition and performance on it. As a member of the ensemble, I also took part in this program.



* the JunTianYunHe ensemble and staffs are taking picture in front of the Melbourne Recital Centre with the former president of Melbourne Festival Mr. Carrilo Gantner (left 9), the Creative Director Ms. Josephine Ridge (right 7), China's deputy consul general Huang Guobin (right 6) and culture consul He Ta (right 4) in Melbourne.

¹⁹³ Ibid.



* I is performing Qin (left) and doing Tea ceremony (right) in the exhibition.



* Incense master Mr. Su Liang is introducing incense culture to the foreign children in the exhibition. (Left)

* Qin Mater Mr. Wang Peng and Taiji Prince Mr. Gao Chong are doing performance for the concert. (Right)



We spent 7 days in Melbourne to offer exhibition and performance for the local citizens. This first day we arrived in Australia, the leader of our group Wang Peng a master of Qin's craft, who was also the founder of JunTianFang, noticed us to mind our personal words and deeds because we were the transmitters of Chinese culture, and we represented the image of modern China and the life condition of Chinese people. It is not to request us to disguise but to show the good and real side of our life.

The activity has received great responses from the local society. Even though the exhibition was only last for two days, it still attracted many local media to give reports. On Oct. 17th, the ensemble was invited by ABC Radio Australia to perform a classical music of Qin. The broadcast has attracted a large amount of people to visit the exhibition. The audiences have showed great interests to what we were presenting and the communications between us were very significant and benefited every one. The Australian audiences got better understandings about classical Chinese culture and their personal qualities and spirits also give us deep impression. The audiences were so quiet and polite when they visited the exhibition or listened to the concert. They stood up and offered warm applause at the end of the concert.

This is a representative successful case of people to people diplomacy operated by the cooperation of a private Chinese company and the foreign organizations. It has to be admitted that the amount of the companies like Juntianfang who working on the promoting and spreading of Chinese culture are very small in China. Companies who have the capacity (including the financial resource, talents resource and the quality of culture) to contribute to diplomatic affairs are even less. But their role in people to people diplomacy should not be ignore or lighter then those huge transnational companies. People to people diplomacy is the co-product of transnational companies and their main aims are to pursue interests for the companies. But for the culture promoting companies, spreading culture is the main aim while economic interests are the co-production and should be used to support the main aim.

JunTianFang is the lucky one among these companies. It has been honored as the "National Cultural Industry Demonstration Base" in 2010. In 2013, it has been chosen as "National Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection and Study Base". It has got some

supports from the government including reputation and status as well as some policy and funds supports. It also has set up cooperation relationships with many governmental departments like the Ministry of Education and Publicity Department. But it is valuable that Juntianfang still keeps its nature as a private company and possesses the freedom of self-management.

The characters of this case can be summarized as follows:

- The high level of qualities of art in the professional field and the capacities of program operations.
- The consciousness of diplomatic responsibilities and the abilities to conduct the responsibilities.
- The government's supports of funds, policies and social reputations.
- The government's trust. The company have the totally rights of self-management.

Civil society is the foundation of people to people diplomacy. A functional civil society will lead to the improvement of people to people diplomacy, other wise, people to people diplomacy would always be state-led that cannot suit the modern international world well. Companies especially those with overseas business like the transnational enterprises are important components of civil society. They will also become a great power to make contributions to people to people diplomacy only if they are well guided and developed. Juntianfang is a good model. From the success of Juntianfang in the field of people to people diplomacy, some suggestions to the government could be summarized:

What the government can do for the companies:

- To set up complete Quality Audit or Product Assessment system to supervise and improve the qualities of the companies products including the companies promoting culture.
- To offer material, fund, policies supports to the companies that have overseas business and export high qualities products. To those with poor qualities, the government should take some measures to help them improve their qualities.
- Besides the supports, the government should trust these companies and give them

more space and freedom to manage themselves related to the overseas business and affairs.

What the companies should do:

Companies who have business abroad are the carrier of Chinese images. Their activities impact the foreigner attitude and understanding about China. Recent years, some companies produce fake goods to pursue benefits and now even the word “China” has become the synonym of fake. To resolve this situation could not only rely on the governments’ publicity or the civil organizations’ activities, but to plant the consciousness of social responsibility into the companies’ culture.

- The companies should rely on their products with trustable qualities to regain the reputation not only for themselves but also for their country and their compatriots.
- The companies should improve the personal capacities both in their professional field and operation abilities, the consciousness of responsibilities of the staff should also be emphasized in the companies’ culture.

Civil society is the foundation of people to people diplomacy, and the foundation of civil society should be non-governmental organizations in the western context. Non-governmental organizations rise rapidly recent years in China as the development of market economy and democratic politics, and impacts the Chinese politics, economy and society greatly.¹⁹⁴ But comparing to the western ones, they are still at the level of baby and facing lots of obstacles:¹⁹⁵

- It is difficult for civil organizations to register in the government because the conditions are hard to reach and the procedure for annual check is complex.¹⁹⁶
- The identities of the civil organizations are ambiguous.¹⁹⁷ Some are too

¹⁹⁴ Yu Keping, *Several Problems about the Studies of Chinese Civil Society*, Vd. 11. No. 6, Dec. 2007, Journal of the Party School of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. p21.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

“governmental” while are more like enterprises.¹⁹⁸

- The qualities of civil organizations are low because the poor working conditions and unclear future cannot attract high quality staffs.¹⁹⁹
- It is difficult to get fund.²⁰⁰
- The government and public do not trust the civil organizations.²⁰¹
- The lack of participation mechanism makes it difficult for civil organizations and their members to participate political affairs even though they are willing to.²⁰²
- It lacks management to the process of the activities operated by civil organizations from the relevant departments.²⁰³

These obstacles could be found even in those relative successful non-governmental organizations like the Grassroots Home and the Migrant Women’s Club not mention the ones lingering on the worsening conditions. I have done a research about the China’ non-governmental originations last year for the needs of semester project writing. Most of the successful non-governmental organizations in China are have close relations with the governments. Some are led by governmental officials or some are supported by the government directly. Because of the complex and inconvenient registered policies to the non-governmental organizations. China’s non-governmental organisations mainly register in the Administration of Industry and Commerce as companies, for example, the Grassroots Home. There was a link on the first page of the Grassroots Home’s website about the leadership constructions with the leaders’ pictures and introductions. Most of them are governmental officials and leaders from communist party, but it is interesting that this link is disappeared when I check the website recently. There is no information about the organization’s leadership only left some words to thanks the government’s supports as well as the information that the organization was founded by a migrant worker.²⁰⁴ With the supports from the government, enterprise, media, and the group

¹⁹⁸ ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid. p22.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Cao Gen, 16, 03, 2010, The website of the Grassroots Home, A brief introduction to Grassroots Home, <http://www.cgzj.org/html/bzdt/guanyubenzhan/guanzhu.html>

of workers, the Grassroots Home is running very well in China. The lack of it is that is seldom have contacts with the foreign society, but the Migrant Women's Club not only work well in domestic but also has connections with the foreign organizations, like United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, Ford Foundation, Global Women. It has frequently share experiences with the foreign organizations. The Migrant women also registered as company. It was founded by a editor of Rural Women Magazine and now the leadership of it contains professors from universities like Beijing Foreign Studies University, media representatives from the China Central Television and operators from companies, but no governmental officials any more, even though most of these people are members of communist party and organizations like universities and China Central Television are actually controlled by the central government, the sense of government-control in the non-governmental organizations has declined and at least not been emphasized any more.

Based on these cases of these successful non-governmental organizations, their characters could be summarized:

- Loose control of the government.
- Support from the government as well as other social powers like the companies, universities, foundations, media and foreign organizations.
- Focusing on domestic affairs. Contacts and cooperation with the foreign society are very rare.

According to these characters, here are some suggestions to the government and the non-governmental organizations.

What the government can do:

- To stipulate the category and nature of non-governmental organizations in the laws, which is the precondition to set up a reasonable system of management.²⁰⁵
- To complete the systematic environment for Chinese civil society by revising and enact laws.²⁰⁶ To trust the organizations and give them more rights to management themselves.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

- To reform the process and system for the registrations of non-governmental organizations.²⁰⁷
- To add funds and policy supports to non-governmental organizations.²⁰⁸
- To complete the system of personnel management for the people who work for non-governmental organizations.²⁰⁹
- To encourage the non-governmental organizations to go abroad and cooperate and contact with the foreign organizations by offering chances and material supports.

Besides the endeavors of the government, the non-governmental organizations should also strive for their own rights and improve their capacities and consciousness of social responsibilities. They should not only focus on the works in domestic, they should try to communicate with foreign organizations and paying more attentions on the international affairs and national affairs to make more contributions to people to people diplomacy.

4.2.2 Opinions to the Chinese academic tradition

China has very different academic traditions from the western.²¹⁰ In China, the terminal aim of academy is to break through the limitation of the family unit to implement the responsibility to the country.²¹¹ There is an old saying in China: “self cultivation, family harmony, country management and world peace” meaning to pursue self-development first then to lead a happy family life and the last to care about the national affairs.²¹² It is basically about the studies of life values, while the western academic tradition is to pursue the truth.²¹³ This different is embodied in the relation between the authority of

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Yang Xuedong, *Some Brief Thoughts about Comparative Politics and the Reconstruction of Chinese Studies Paradigm*, No.3, 2000, Tianjin Social Science, p38.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

politics and the authority of academy.²¹⁴ In China, the authority of politics is the core of all values and there is no independent existence of authority of academy.²¹⁵ That is to say, academy is the servant of politics. This tradition could be found in the ancient time of China.²¹⁶ The authority of politics has been over developed and restricted the development of academy authority.²¹⁷ Not like the western tradition that the authority of academy has got the equal status with the politics authority, the aim of Chinese academy is to protect the harmony of the social system and political system at present.²¹⁸

Take the studies of people to people diplomacy as an example, the phenomenon has been developed for thousands years, but no mature theories about it has been create. The studies about it are either depend on foreign theories or deny its theoretical value and totally focus on the imported theories. The book *A Study of New China's People to People Diplomacy* writhen by Su Shumin is the only relative complete studies about people to people diplomacy but still, almost a half of the contents are to praise the achievements of people to people diplomacy led by the Chinese Communist Party or to give empty suggestions to the government about how to develop it. The words in this book are extremely emotional, official and governmental. The most astonishing thing is the level of similarity among those papers about people to people diplomacy. The papers I have found to be as the materials of thesis writing almost share the same opinions with Su Shumin and some even share the same words and paragraph. These studies have no innovations and personal achievement but to repeat the other people's words. How can the studies of people to people diplomacy develop in such environment of academy?

Maybe it is difficult to change the traditional mind that academy is to serve the politics in a short time, but the studies should not only be used to describe or praise the politics. It has to offer guidance to politics and to be forward-looking and innovating. This needs the scholars to maintain the basic academic spirit of innovation and independence.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid. p39.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

5 Conclusion

This thesis is aiming to solve the three research questions and the problem formulations that put forward in the introduction and problem formulation part.

Based on the analysis in the theoretical/conceptual discussion part, the narrow and general definitions of people to people diplomacy can answer the question that what people to people diplomacy is.

In the narrow definition, people to people diplomacy is a diplomatic approach that conduct only by non-governmental behaviors and also only received by non-governmental revivers. The channels of conducting people to people diplomacy should be non-officials and the behaviors should conduct activities with clear diplomatic aims. The narrow definition is a very ideal model for people to people diplomacy which can barely find a real case in China right now, but it will be considered as a model to be achieved in the future. The general definition is given based on the realities of people to people diplomacy in China. It actually contains all the approach of diplomacy expect the governmental official ones. In China right now, the name of people to people diplomacy has been abused seriously, almost every diplomatic activity and affair that not conduct by the government directly can be called people to people diplomacy. That is the reason I use the cases of Chinese People's Association fro Friendship with foreign Countries and its activities and the event of Confucius Institute to analyze the situation of people to people diplomacy in China. And with the narrow definition and the comparison of the characters of the three cases, and the discussion of Chinese common people society and the western civil society, I analyze the factor of the insufficiency of state-led people to people diplomacy. In Chinese tradition, government's power can always reach every corner of Chinese society and common people's lives. The whole society is separated into the state and the family. There are no spaces and consciousness for things like "civil society". The over state-led limits the development of civil society in China and the immature civil society is the biggest factor of the insufficiencies of state-led people to people diplomacy in China. This answer the question that what the factor of the

insufficiency of people to people diplomacy is.

According to the analysis got in the previous part, the solution proposals part has put forward some suggestions from two perspectives. The first perspective starts with case studies of Juntianfang and two Chinese non-governmental organizations. The characters of them has been summarized and based on the summary, some suggestions to the government have been given. There are also some recommendations to private companies and non-governmental organizations. The government should complete the policy mechanism and offer supports to the companies and non-governmental organizations. It is also important for the government to trust them and to give them more freedom to manage themselves. The companies and non-governmental organizations should also improve their own quality of product and the staff's capacity and professional knowledge and skills. It is also important to emphasize the consciousness of responsibility in the culture and spirits of the companies and non-governmental organizations. The other perspective is about some opinions toward China's academic study tradition. The Chinese tradition is quite different with the western ones. Academic studies in China have been considered to serve the political needs. Academic studies have never been given the equal right and status in law with the authority of politics. So the Chinese academic studies are lack of innovation. It is not surprise that after tens of years development, the studies of people to people diplomacy are still staying at the baby-level. It is the time for the Chinese scholars to rethink about their way and attitude to do the academic studies. Innovations should be made in the studies of people to people diplomacy not only for the practice but also for the academy itself. These two perspective answer the question that how to solve the situation.

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