

Czech University of Life Sciences Prague

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Diploma Thesis

Public diplomacy of China: a case study

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Objectives of thesis

The aim of this thesis is to analyze public diplomacy of China. Main focus is laid on the definition of the current model of the public diplomacy as well as on the identification of functions, goals, tasks and key players in the investigated process.

Methodology

Primary and secondary data analysis will be carried out. The theoretical part deals with the literature and relevant strategies and concepts review, identifying main trends and research questions of the issue. Case study of the Chinese Public Diplomacy is carried out through content analysis. Conclusions are based on the synthesis of the theoretical literature review in confrontation with the outcomes of the case study.

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Declaration

I declare that I have worked on my diploma thesis titled "Public diplomacy of China: a case study" by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the diploma thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break copyrights of any third person.

In Prague on 30.11.2020

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Public diplomacy of China; a case study

Abstract

The increasing role of China in world politics and economics, as well as the recent visible ability of the country to influence the system of international relations, are the subject of research all over the world. For a long time, research focused on the phenomenon of "elevation" of China as the so-called "hard power", based on the military and economic power of the state. A distinctive feature of the last decade was the adjustment of the Chinese leadership of foreign policies of China, including, inter alia, expanding the scope of the use of "soft power", aimed at achieving foreign policy goals by attracting allies to their side. The thesis dealt with this crucial shift, focusing on the definition of the current model of the public diplomacy of China as well as on the identification of functions, goals, tasks and key players in the investigated process. The theoretical part dealt with current literature about the topic to show main trends and directions of the process, the practical part was based on the primary sources analysis, namely on the agreements signed between China and other states, joint declarations and regulatory acts of the PRC. The most important sources included materials from the congresses of the Chinese Communist Party. The outcomes of the analysis can be taken into account for adjusting Russia's, Africa's and Europe's strategy in the field of public diplomacy. Conclusions are based on the synthesis of the theoretical literature review in confrontation with the outcomes of the case study.

Keywords: Public Diplomacy, China, Chinese White Book

Veřejná diplomacie Číny; případová studie

Abstrakt

Rostoucí role Číny ve světové politice a ekonomice, stejně jako nedávná viditelná schopnost země ovlivňovat systém mezinárodních vztahů, jsou předmětem podrobného studia všech výzkumných pracovníků po celém světě. Po dlouhou dobu zůstal výzkum zaměřený na fenomén „povýšení“ Číny tak zvaný „tvrdá síla“, založená na vojenské a ekonomické síle státu. Charakteristickým rysem posledního desetiletí bylo přizpůsobení čínské vedení jejich zahraniční politiky, mimo jiné rozšíření rozsahu použití „měkké síly“, zaměřené na dosažení cílů zahraniční politiky přitahováním spojenců na jejich stranu. Práce se zabývala tímto zásadním posunem se zaměřením na definici současného modelu veřejné diplomacie v Číně a na identifikaci funkcí, cílů, úkolů a klíčových aktérů ve zkoumaném procesu. Teoretická část pojednávala o současné literatuře k danému tématu, aby ukázala hlavní trendy a směry procesu, praktická část byla založena na analýze primárních zdrojů, konkrétně na dohodách podepsaných mezi Čínou a jinými státy, společných prohlášeních a regulačních aktech ČLR ... Mezi nejdůležitější zdroje patřily materiály z kongresů Čínské komunistické strany. Výsledky analýzy lze vzít v úvahu při přizpůsobování ruské, africké a evropské strategie v oblasti veřejné diplomacie. Závěry jsou založeny na syntéze přehledu teoretické literatury v konfrontaci s výsledky případové studie.

Klíčová slova: Veřejná diplomacie, Čína, Čínská Bílá Kniha.

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List of abbreviations

1. PRC
2. NGO
3. USSR
4. EU
5. CPC
6. USA
7. CNKI

1 Introduction

The increasing role of China in world politics and economics, as well as the recent visible ability of the country to influence the system of international relations, are the subject of research all over the world. For a long time, the research focused on the phenomenon of "elevation" of China as the so-called "hard power", based on the military and economic power of the state. A distinctive feature of the last decade was the adjustment of the Chinese leadership of the foreign policies of China, including, inter alia, expanding the scope of the use of "soft power", aimed at achieving foreign policy goals by attracting allies to their side. The author of the concept of "soft power", an American political analyst Joseph Nye, commenting on China's increased activity in this direction, in his article in 2013 noted that, in 1990, when he first presented his concept to the world, no one could expect such people like Hu Jintao or Vladimir Putin will use this term (Nye, 2013). Indeed, in the late 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a period of "unipolarity" began, during which the United States became leaders in all spheres of international life, including ideology. At that time, ideas about the triumph of liberalism and the "end of history" (Fukuyama, 1992) proved to be extremely popular and in demand. "Soft power" in the form in which it was first formulated by Nye also implied that only a country with "universal" (American) values can "Softly" attract supporters and pursue legitimate domestic and foreign policies. (Nye, 2013). However, the further transformation of the world system changed the alignment of forces in the world: new centers of power, including China, were gradually coming to the fore, seeking not only to preserve their own uniqueness, but also advocating the creation of a more equitable system of international relations based on mutual benefits and attraction all countries to solve world problems.

As a result of the boom of research on this topic that began in China in the mid-1990s, the theoretical foundations of China's use of public diplomacy were developed, and a serious basis for their implementation in practice was prepared. The large-scale activities launched in this direction with the arrival of the fourth generation of leaders allowed China in a relatively short time to make progress in increasing the country's prestige in the world arena and mitigate the negative consequences of the spread of the "theory of the Chinese threat." The use of public diplomacy has become an integral part of establishing friendly relations with both traditional partners and new ones.

Thus, the study of public diplomacy of the People's Republic of China(PRC) in a historical retrospective and the identification of its features is of great theoretical importance, since it allows expanding knowledge of both public diplomacy in general and the possibilities of its application by countries with different political systems.

2 Objectives and Methodology

2.1 Objectives

The object of the research is the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The subject of this research is the evolution of public diplomacy in the PRC, its goals, tools and methods at the present stage. The purpose of this study is to identify key features of the formation and development of public diplomacy in the PRC.

To achieve the goal of the thesis research, the following tasks were set:

- To reveal the essence of the concepts of "soft power" and "public diplomacy" in the theory of international relations;
- Reveal the cultural and historical prerequisites for the formation of modern public diplomacy in China;
- Consider the features of the practical implementation of China's public diplomacy in developed and developing countries;
- Assess the role of public diplomacy in the country's foreign policy strategy at the present stage.

2.2 Methodology

Primary and secondary data analysis will be carried out. The theoretical part presents a literature overview, identifying the main trends and research questions of the issue. Case study of the Chinese Public Diplomacy is carried out through content analysis of primary sources, in particular agreements signed between China and other states, joint declarations and regulatory acts of the PRC. The most important sources include materials from the congresses of the Chinese Communist Party. As the outcomes of this analysis can be taken into account both for adjusting Russia's, Africa's and Europe's strategy in the field of public diplomacy. Conclusions are based on the synthesis of the theoretical literature review in confrontation with the outcomes of the case study.

3 Literature Review

The source of the study was made up of documents and materials of various nature. The main sources of work were bilateral and multilateral agreements signed by China with foreign states, joint declarations¹ and regulatory legal acts of the PRC². The most important narrative sources include the materials of The Communist Party of China (CPC) congresses³, annual reports on government performance⁴, speeches by Chinese leaders and dignitaries, both in the form of reports at various events and in the form of analytical articles in the media and scientific journals⁵, materials from press conferences and interviews with Chinese officials⁶, White Papers of the PRC State Council Press Office⁷, materials of the official electronic resources of government departments of the PRC⁸, annual reports on public diplomacy of the PRC published by the Center for the Study of Public Diplomacy of the Beijing Institute of Foreign Languages.

Due to the specifics of the media in China (including the resources of the Internet), which consists in a high degree of consolidation of points of view on key issues, it is obvious to include materials from the Chinese media among the sources. With a critical approach, they turn out to be useful for several reasons:

Firstly, they allow to identify political and social ideas that have an impact in society. Secondly, to assess the specifics of the presentation of the material depending on the target audience, and finally, they are a resource informing about the events taking place

¹ Official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China – Available at http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/ (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

² Electronic database of the PRC, Beijing University – Available at <http://www.pkulaw.cn/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

³ Materials of the Congresses of the Communist Party of China – Available at <http://cn.theorychina.org/ddwx/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

⁴ Reports on the work of the PRC government – Available at <http://cn.theorychina.org/zfwx/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

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⁷ White Papers of the PRC State Council – Available at <http://www.china.org.cn/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

⁸ Official website of the State Council of the People's Republic of China – Available at <http://www.gov.cn/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

in China. In particular, the author analysed the materials of Xinhua⁹, People's Daily¹⁰, China Daily¹¹.

The following resources were used to collect the necessary statistics, opinion polls, and other reference materials: Pew Research Center¹², Gallup¹³, UN Statistics by Country¹⁴.

3.1 The Concepts of Public Diplomacy in the theory of international relations.

The widely spread category "public diplomacy" is still one of the most controversial and controversial in modern social sciences. For the first time in scientific circulation, this term was introduced by the dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy E. Gullion in 1965. Presented initially as a replacement for the term "propaganda", it has undergone significant evolution and rethinking.

For example, Michael Egner's work¹⁵, has identified about twenty different definitions of public diplomacy that emerged between 1965 and 2008. So, the author of the term E. Gullion defines it as "influencing the public perception of other states of your country's policy, the formation of public opinion in foreign states ..." (Gullion, 1965) Hans Tuch offers the following definition: "public diplomacy is the process of communication with a foreign public in order to familiarize it with national ideas, ideals, policies and goals, and, as a consequence, eliminate misunderstandings in relations with a given country." (Tuch, 1990).

Finally, the website of the Center for the Study of Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California (USA) states that public diplomacy "not only formulates

⁹ Xinhua Official Website – Available at <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/china/index.htm> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

¹⁰ Official website of People's Daily – Available at <http://www.people.com.cn/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

¹¹ China Daily Official Website – Available at <http://cn.chinadaily.com.cn/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

¹² Pew Research Center – Available at <http://www.pewresearch.org/> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

¹³ Gallup - Available at <http://www.gallup.com/home.aspx#> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

¹⁴ UN country profiles website – Available at <https://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=CHINA> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

¹⁵ Egner, M.: Between Slogans and Solutions. A Frame-Based Assessment Methodology for Public Diplomacy – Available at http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/rgs_dissertations/2010/RAND_RGSD255.pdf (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

a message that needs to be conveyed to a foreign audience, but analyzes how this message is interpreted in another country; that is, along with tools of persuasion, tools of dialogue are used." (Center for the Study of Public Diplomacy, USC, 2008).

The presence of different interpretations of this term does not limit its ambiguity. In modern science, there are numerous alternative terms, meaningfully or partially overlapping with the concept of public diplomacy. You can often find the use of other terms that are similar in meaning to the term public diplomacy, but not identical to it, as synonyms. For example, it seems inappropriate to use the terms *public*, *private* or *civil diplomacy* as synonyms, since, unlike public diplomacy, they do not imply direct state participation and are programs initiated and carried out exclusively by private individuals (Manzhulina, 2005). The specifics of the use of the concept of *people's diplomacy* in China will be studied in more detail in the next section

- The use of such terms as *cultural diplomacy*, *cultural foreign policy*, *cultural expansion* also remains controversial (Fokin, 2004).

It seems logical that the opinion of the leading British specialist in the field of public diplomacy, Nicholas Cull, is that cultural diplomacy is one of the areas of public diplomacy focused on establishing relations between the state and a foreign audience in the field of culture (Cull, 2009). Overall, Cull identifies 5 basic and one additional element of public diplomacy:

1. Perception. Searching for and collecting relevant information is the most important task, since the strategy of public diplomacy is built on this basis.

2. Implementation. Popularization of their values, clarification of political steps and other informational work helps to correct public opinion.

3. Cultural diplomacy. Stimulating interest in the language, literature and art of the country fosters deeper understanding.

4. Exchanges. The admission of foreign students or specialists allows not only to establish scientific ties, but to acquaint them with the life of the country from the inside.

5. Mass Media. Foreign television and radio programs are the most important source of news about the country.

6. Psychological warfare is an additional element that can be used in crisis situations (for example, during hostilities) (Cull, 2009).

In an ideal model, all five elements should be balanced and each should be given due attention in the process of forming and implementing public diplomacy. In practice, each state, by virtue of its characteristics and capabilities, relies on several elements most suitable for it. (Cull, 2009).

In addition to the above-mentioned terms, it is necessary to mention the term "branding" of the state, which came from marketing. One of the most influential experts developing this concept, Simon Anholt, identified six components for assessing the brand of the state¹⁶:

- a) population,
- b) export,
- c) government,
- d) tourism,
- e) culture
- f) and immigration, coupled with investment.

Particularly interesting is the author's fair comment that a good reputation allows you to look dignified even in a difficult situation, while a dubious one makes even correct actions to be perceived with distrust (Anholt, 2019). At the same time, the author is convinced that a reputation cannot be created, but can only be earned through a successful and legitimate policy. This emphasizes the difference between these policy instruments and

¹⁶ Anholt, S. Nation Brands Index – Available at https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/19-05-50_Anholt_v2.pdf (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

propaganda, which is aimed solely at disseminating certain information among the target group (Anholt, 2019)

In this regard, it is appropriate to note that the question of whether public diplomacy is a euphemism for propaganda is still one of the most controversial. The opinion of A.V. Dolinsky, that “if initially it was about a phrase that had to replace the negatively perceived“ propaganda ”, today public diplomacy is understood as a much more complex sphere of activity in terms of goals, means and circle of participants” (Dolinsky, 2011).

If we turn to the history of the origin of the term propaganda, then it originally appeared in the name of the Catholic organization *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, created in 1622 (Congregation for the spread of the faith) and came from the Latin word *propago* - I distribute. The term acquired a negative connotation during the Second World War, and, as noted by an expert in the field of psychology of mass behavior A.P. Nazaretyan, the most negative connotation was fixed in the language of the countries of the German language group (Germany, England, USA).

Thus, we can agree that in the broad sense of the word, any purposeful dissemination of information among a specific audience can be called propaganda. On the other hand, in the narrower sense of the word, which took root in the 1950s, propaganda¹⁷ means systematic attempts to manipulate people's opinions and beliefs through various symbols: words, slogans, monuments, music, etc. There are several main differences between public diplomacy and propaganda:

- *Difference of goals*: if the main goal of propaganda is to attract the maximum number of followers to its side, to artificially maintain and increase this number, then public diplomacy is designed to build long-term trusting relationships.

¹⁷ Definition of the word "propaganda" in the Encyclopedia Britannica – Available at <http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/478875/propaganda> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

- *Ethical issues:* unlike propaganda, the basis of public diplomacy policy is truthful information, facts that are confirmed by real actions, the unacceptability of falsifying information for profit.

- *Difference in methods:* in modern conditions, when the recipient of information has more and more opportunities to filter sources of information and critically evaluate them, obsessive informational impact can have a rather negative effect. Public diplomacy implies active interaction with the audience, responsiveness to their moods, exchange of opinions and search for a compromise. (Ibid)

Consequently, the tasks of public diplomacy include not just imposing ideas on passive recipients, but a whole range of activities, including the study of public opinion of another country and the formation of politics on this basis, scientific and cultural exchanges, communication through the media and the Internet, various activities to create "Brand" of the state. Moreover, the discrepancy between rhetoric and practice, which is characteristic of propaganda, has a negative effect on the perception of the country by the foreign public, and, therefore, is unacceptable (Melissen, 2005)

Speaking about the nature of public diplomacy, it is obvious to refer to the work of the British scientist Mark Leonard "Public Diplomacy", in which the author identifies three dimensions of public diplomacy: reactive, proactive and the establishment of relations. Reactive measurement involves responding to events, clarifying policies and commenting on certain political steps. Moreover, a balanced and thoughtful response to crisis situations plays a special role. The proactive dimension, on the contrary, is aimed at the purposeful shaping of public opinion through the transmission of certain messages and signs. In this case, it is necessary to pay special attention to the development of a long-term strategy, which implies the identification of the most important goals and the planning of appropriate measures to achieve them. Finally, building relationships is aimed at finding mutually acceptable solutions and compromises that are beneficial for all participants in the relationship (Leonard, 2002).

This implies the involvement of foreign audiences in communication and the establishment of close ties, which would become the basis for the formation of public opinion in a given country (an example of such interaction: training of young specialists

from other countries). Continuing his reasoning, Leonard believes that in essence, public diplomacy can be competitive (aimed at improving one's own image, often at the expense of discrediting the opponent) and cooperative (aimed at developing mutually beneficial relationships) (Leonard, 2002).

3.1.1 New Public Diplomacy

An important aspect for a successful public diplomacy is the preparation and adaptation of information that is transmitted to a foreign audience. Public diplomacy, although it allows you to demonstrate the resources of the state through the media or exchanges, but if the culture, values and policies of the country are unattractive or unacceptable for the recipient country, their demonstration and promotion can have the opposite effect. It should always be borne in mind that information passes through the so-called "cultural filter" of the recipient country and may be seriously distorted or simply misinterpreted. For example, the dragon symbol, traditional for China, evokes negative associations among the Western public due to cultural differences. In 2006, Wu Yufu, vice president of the Shanghai Public Relations Association proposed using the panda as a recognizable symbol of China, which sparked fierce debate in the country at all levels. According to public opinion polls, 90% of residents opposed such an initiative (Wang, 2008). That is why it is necessary to monitor the interpretation of all the actions taken and carefully develop a strategy of public diplomacy, taking into account the specifics of the audience it is targeted at, without prejudice to its own interests.(Wang, 2008)

In recent years, scientists have actively started talking about such a concept as *new public diplomacy*. The need to rethink public diplomacy was caused by such changes taking place in the modern world as the development of information technologies, the acceleration of globalization processes and, as a result, the blurring of the lines between the zone of responsibility of state and non-state actors. Moreover, the failures of US public diplomacy after the events of September 11, 2001 revealed the limitations of traditional methods of international communication. A. V. Dolinsky notes that communication aimed at displacing some ideas by others is not always effective, which is why researchers and practitioners of public diplomacy "recognized the need to use not only the paradigm of rivalry in public diplomacy, but also the paradigm of cooperation" (Dolinsky, 2011). The

"instillation" of values proved to be ineffective and researchers, talking about new methods, come to the conviction of the importance of conducting *a dialogue*, which can be successful only if the participants in the dialogue enjoy mutual trust and authority.

In his work "New Public Diplomacy" the leading researcher at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Klingendael Jan Melissen defines public diplomacy as "the process of promoting interests and spreading values in another country through establishing direct contacts with its population" (Melissen, 2005) without specifying which actors are initiators and conductors of this process. Edward Murrow Center Director Crocker Snow Jr. gives a more specific definition of this phenomenon: "the concept of *public diplomacy* that traditionally represents actions of governments to influence overseas publics within the foreign policy process has expanded today – by accident and design – beyond the realm of governments to include the media, multinational corporations, NGO's and faith-based organisations as active participants in the field ".¹⁸(Crocker Snow Jr., Edward R. Murrow Center, 2005).

Thus, "new public diplomacy", according to the authors of this concept, does not imply the leading role of the state in the implementation of this policy and includes the activities of non-state actors. In this regard, Nicholas Cull suggests that the new public diplomacy is more characteristic of democratic countries, in which the level of trust in state structures is often lower than in NGOs or, for example, the epistemological community, therefore, non-state actors are able to play a more significant and active role in implementation of this policy.(Cull, 2009). Comparisons between new and traditional public diplomacy Cull notes, for example, that new public diplomacy is characterized by a desire not only to improve the country's image, but to create a brand; interaction with the audience goes not only vertically (the state - the public) but horizontally (for example, the epistemological community - the public), the main task is not to convey information to the recipient, but to build relationships based on dialogue, etc. Consequently, in countries with strict state regulation, in which the state still plays the leading role in shaping policy, the techniques and methods of traditional public diplomacy are characteristic (Cull, 2009)

¹⁸ Crocker Snow Jr., Edward R. Murrow Center, May 2005 – Available at https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Public_diplomacy (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

For the PRC, in connection with the political system of the country, public diplomacy is characteristic in its classical sense, with the leading role of the state in the formation and implementation of policy, however, one cannot fail to note the tendency for articles on the need for elements of new public diplomacy to appear in Chinese scientific journals. In them, the authors note that it meets the requirements of the time to a greater extent. For example, Zheng Hua, professor at the Faculty of International Relations at the Shanghai University of Communications expresses confidence that China needs to keep pace with the times and not use old methods in a new environment: “the world has become much more complex, new actors and new technologies have emerged, and, consequently, any a state that plans to be successful in its policy cannot ignore these facts”.¹⁹ (Zheng Hua, 2011).

Continuing the discussion about the distinctive features of the new public diplomacy, Eitan Gilboa, Director of the Center for International Relations at Bar-Ilan University, among its indispensable features, notes, for example, the active use of new technologies and the Internet, which open up a lot of opportunities for interacting with foreign audiences (Gilboa, 2009). The United States of America is the leader in the use of the Internet to achieve political goals, and this direction in the country's public diplomacy appears under different names (digital diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, Web 2.0 public diplomacy), but the general characteristic is as follows: “influencing a foreign audience by placing radio and television broadcasts on the Internet, monitoring discussions in the blogosphere, creating personalized pages of members of the US government on social networks ” (Tsvetkova, 2011).

Undoubtedly, the use of the Internet not only provides new opportunities, but also involves certain risks, since the ability to disseminate information to a wide audience is no longer the prerogative of the state or special structures. Any person with Internet access can not only get the maximum possible amount of information and points of view on a particular problem, but also offer his own. In connection with the general availability of all types of information, another feature of the new public diplomacy seems to be interesting - the splicing of domestic and foreign policy, which implies that any foreign or domestic

¹⁹ Zheng Hua: China's Public Diplomacy from the perspective of New Public Diplomacy, Journal Shijie Jingji he Zhengzhi, 2011, p. 143-160.

political step must now be thought out, taking into account the possible reaction of both domestic and foreign audiences.

Finally, comparatively recently, aid diplomacy has been included among the instruments of public diplomacy. The emergence of such an interpretation is associated with a new look at the activities of the American Agency for International Development (USAID) after the events of September 11, 2001. One of the conclusions of the commission to investigate the tragedy was that many recipient countries of American aid, nevertheless, are opposed to the United States. The toga concluded that aid alone does not have the desired effect on recipients. The joint strategic plan of the Department of State and USAID²⁰ for 2004-2009 noted that the entire process. It was set up in such a way that the recipient is informed about what he is receiving assistance and who is the source of this assistance. It is this approach that would contribute to the formation of a positive image of the United States. In the scientific community, the issue of including aid diplomacy in the instruments of public diplomacy is also debatable. However, it is obvious that researchers believe that if assistance is provided with a specific foreign policy goal²¹ - to improve the image of their country, such inclusion is quite justified. (Lenczowski, 2011)

3.1.2 Assessment of the effectiveness of Public Diplomacy

An important question that, one way or another, is raised in all works devoted to public diplomacy, is the assessment of its effectiveness. This topic is of interest not only to researchers, but also to practitioners, since public diplomacy programs involve significant material costs and an assessment of their effectiveness is necessary to adjust the strategy. Most often, “the number of won minds” is named as the main criterion for the success of public diplomacy, which can be estimated using public opinion polls. Moreover, this way you can track both direct signs of effectiveness (for example, an increase in favor for the country), and indirect (for example, a change in the civil or political behavior of people in another country) (Cull, 2009).

²⁰ US Department of State and USAID Strategic Plan 2004-2009 – Available at <https://2009-2017.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/dosstrat/2004/index.htm> (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

²¹ Lenczowski John: Full Spectrum Diplomacy and Grand Strategy: Reforming the structure and culture of U.S. foreign policy

However, upon a more detailed consideration of this issue, it becomes obvious that it is rather difficult to assess what role exactly the events of public diplomacy played. At the moment, a unified successful model has not been developed that allows to adequately and accurately analyse government programs in this area. There are several problems in this area, which are noted by the authors studying this issue:

1. The results from many public diplomacy activities can only appear in the long term. For example, the effect of educational exchanges appears in 5-10 years.

2. It is difficult to point the role of public diplomacy in achieving (or not achieving) a particular political goal. Most often, a whole set of factors affects.

3. Existing models for calculating efficiency are mostly focused on quantitative indicators (the number of programs conducted, the number of radio listeners, the number of people who took part in a cultural exchange), but they do not take into account qualitative indicators (for example, how many people from those who took part in an educational exchange, became more loyal to the politics and culture of this country).(Cull, 2009)

Indeed, it is rather difficult to assess the role of public diplomacy in isolation from the general political course of the country, since it is an integral part of it and is closely related to the events taking place in the country and in the world. At the same time, a number of American and domestic authors offer their own options for assessing efficiency, which allow us to give an overall assessment of the country's success in this area. For example, in A. Yu. Tsvetkov's thesis "Foreign policy of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China: the effectiveness of public diplomacy" the author offers the following parameters for assessing the effectiveness:

1. Approaching / withdrawing to the goals objectively to be achieved in the framework of public diplomacy; In this case, it is supposed to evaluate the general strategy of the state in the field of public diplomacy on the basis of an analysis of the officially declared goals and their achievement.

2. Completeness / fragmentation of the mobilization of resources at the disposal of subjects of public diplomacy. To assess this indicator, it is necessary to consider the arsenal of resources of the state in the field of public diplomacy, available or potentially available to it (Tsvetkov, 2010).

There is the report of the US Public Diplomacy Advisory Commission, published in 2010, the authors of which propose to analyze the effectiveness of public diplomacy according to the following algorithm:

1. Selecting the criteria by which the analysis that will be carried out:

a) specific goals specific to public diplomacy (deepening understanding of the country's culture, increasing favour for its policies, increasing the country's ability to influence and shape public opinion);

b) social groups to which the efforts of public diplomacy are directed (masses, elite, officials);

c) directions in which public diplomacy programs are being implemented (culture, foreign policy, security, economy, ecology).

2. Revealing the degree of achievement of goals in different directions and among different social groups.

3. Based on the data obtained, drawing up a report on the effectiveness of public diplomacy.(US Public Diplomacy Advisory Commission, 2010).

Obviously, obtaining the most accurate data, any model for assessing efficiency involves lots of work on collecting and analysing a huge amount of information and spending a lot of resources. Most researchers consider these to be the main reasons for the insufficient development of this topic.(Banks, 2011)

3.2 Soft Power

Inseparable with the concept of public diplomacy is another category that has become widespread - soft power. Moreover, it was largely due to the appearance of this term in the early 1990s that interest in public diplomacy was revived, which experienced a serious recession after the end of the Cold War. And second plan was urgent during the period of confrontation between the Western and Eastern blocks. Taking into account the new realities of international relations, the emergence of new threats of the XXI century predetermined the need to return to the detailed development of this topic.

In 2004, Nye proposed a detailed study of soft power in his monograph "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics." According to Nye, if "hard power" involves the use of various instruments of coercion, such as economic sanctions, bribery, the threat of military action or deterrence to achieve foreign policy goals, then soft power is based on the following three basic elements:

- 1) a culture that can arouse interest among a mass audience,
- 2) attractive political values (inside the country and outside)
- 3) a legitimate foreign policy (the actions of a given state must have moral authority among other states).(Nye, 2004)

In other words, the use of soft power allows the state "to create such a favorable international environment in which the state - the bearer of this power will be able to realize its own interests without resorting to direct, harsh force or threats" (Radikov, Leksyutina, 2012).

The idea that the realization of the foreign policy goals of the state is possible without the widespread use of traditional tough methods of influence, which, among other things, cause strong condemnation of the world community. It attracts the attention of scientists and politicians. In this regard, a natural interest has arisen in the analysis of tools that make it possible to increase the level of soft power of the state. (Radikov, Leksyutina, 2012)

3.2.1 Nature of Soft Power

Researchers identify two ways for soft power: *Natural* and *artificial*.

The natural path presupposes the conduct of such foreign and domestic policies, which in itself evoke the approval and sympathy of the world community. It can be an improvement in the quality of life of the country's citizens, the creation of a promising economic model, and active participation in solving global world problems. In this case, the authority of the state in the world arena is steadily increasing, its value system and activities are beginning to be perceived as a successful model, the approval and adaptation of which does not cause discontent among other participants in international relations.(Nye, 1990)

It is obvious that in practice, following only the path of “natural” build-up of “soft power” does not always give the expected result. This is primarily because some states have an order of magnitude more opportunities to influence public opinion than others. In modern conditions, such a leading position is occupied by the United States, which allows them to form

Standards of conduct - based on their own system of values, respectively, the actions of other states which are evaluated according to the "scale" of the United States. The capabilities of the United States in the information sphere allow both to emphasize and limit the coverage of certain events or phenomena, which seriously limits the ability of other countries to form an image of their state independent of American influence. In such a situation, the rest of the countries have two choices: to adapt to existing standards or to strengthen their power to transform them.(Nye, 1990)

The artificial - way of soft power just presupposes the purposeful holding of events to inform foreign audiences - a detailed explanation of the policy of their country, active introduction to their cultural values, tracking and responding to negative assessments, and measures to expand information influence on other countries. Consequently, the “artificial” path, in contrast to the “natural” one, is more active and allows the state to control the

process of building up “soft power”, directing and correcting it if necessary. Public diplomacy is precisely the tool that allows you to make the build-up of "soft power" a controlled, well-thought-out process aimed at achieving specific goals. This is why many researchers refer to it as a key instrument of soft power.(Nye, 1990)

Summing up, we can conclude that since its inception, the concept of "public diplomacy" has undergone significant evolution: if at the time of its appearance it was only a replacement for the unpopular word "propaganda", then at the present stage, programs of various nature, aimed at the formation of foreign public opinion: the activities of the media; cultural, scientific and educational exchanges; programs of assistance to countries in need (improvement of the education and health care system, construction of infrastructure, assistance in case of natural disasters), other measures to increase the prestige in the world (holding large-scale events). At the same time, an important component of successful public diplomacy is the ability to perceive the response of the public and take it into account when adjusting the strategy. .(Nye, 1990)

3.2.2 Perception of “soft power” in China

It is having become widespread in Western scientific literature, the problem of "soft power" and public diplomacy, meanwhile, has not been popular among Chinese researchers for a long time. The first attempts to define public diplomacy can be dated only to the early 1990s (one of the first mentions was in the monograph “Foreign Diplomacy” by Professor of the University of International Relations Zhou Qipeng published in 1990). Since then, discussions about the essence and nature of public diplomacy in the Chinese scientific community have gone through two stages: from an attempt to understand and interpret a borrowed foreign term in the early 1990s to an active study and development of proposals for its adaptation in Chinese conditions in the 2000s. During this period, specific features emerged and formed that determined the specifics of the Chinese approach to issues of soft power and public diplomacy.

3.2.3 The Concepts of Soft Power in the theory of international relations.

The collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War brought about large-scale changes in the system of international relations. With the disappearance of the bipolar system, various assumptions were made about the further development of the world: from the triumph of Western liberalism to the clash of Christian and Muslim civilizations, but as a result, the world community has witnessed the rapid strengthening of the largest state in East Asia, with an ancient history and unique cultural tradition.

Historically, the Western world has never viewed China as the leading actor in world politics. As Gan Yang, a leading researcher at the Center for Asian Studies at the University of Hong Kong, noted in his lecture at Tsinghua University (Beijing), "... there is not a word about China in the Bible. Hegel believed that world history would end with the triumph of German civilization, Fukuyama in his "End of History" simply replaced Germany with America "(Leonard, 2008). It is quite natural that the strengthening of a country with a different mindset, political and cultural tradition has generated a huge number of alarming assumptions and predictions about the future development of China. Moreover, the ill-conceived and even aggressive policy of the PRC in the late 1980s and early 1990s (the events in Tiananmen Square, the Taiwan crisis of 1995-1996) reinforced this negative impression. It is no coincidence that during this period the so-called "school of the Chinese threat" appeared in the West, the main ideas of which are based on the thesis that China, like Japan and Germany, once could become a serious threat to world peace(Kurlantzick, 2008).

One of the first articles of this nature, entitled "China - a Potential Threat", was published in Japan in 1990, but then this topic did not attract serious attention. In 1992, the fall issue of the American periodical Policy Review published an article by E. Monroe, (Director of the Asian Program of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia), entitled "Rise of the Giant Dragon: The Real Danger for Asia Comes from China," after which all major one after another. American publications began to appear articles in which the authors substantiated their fears regarding the strengthening of the PRC. For example, a professor at the University of Chicago, John Mearsheimer, in his article "Why China's rise will not be peaceful", suggested that, according to the laws of the international system, of which China is a part, the country will follow the same path that the United States once

traveled: it will oust the United States from Asia, as once the USA ousted the great powers of Europe from the Western Hemisphere, will form a bloc of weak neighbouring states (Japan, Russia), like Canada and Mexico near the US borders(Mearsheimer, 2005). The author considers such behaviour to be natural for a growing country, otherwise its strengthening is meaningless.

Thanks to publications of this nature, the image of China as an unpredictable, dangerous actor quickly took root in the minds of researchers, in the media, and in the mass consciousness not only in the West, but throughout the world. According to Chinese researchers, more than 90% of the information produced by the United States about China at that time had a negative connotation(Aoyama, Rumi, 2007). It is only natural that the current situation has caused serious concern in China. Arguing about the injustice and absurdity of the accusations against their country, Chinese researchers often refer to Deng Xiaoping, who once remarked: “to show an unfriendly attitude and regard the state as an enemy because of its power, to believe that only your country has the right of priority development is a manifestation of limited nationalism, the ethology of colonialism and great power in its purest form ”.²²

The turning point came in the mid-1990s. During this period, two books were published in China, which immediately became bestsellers: "China Can Say No" and "Who Is Behind the Demonization of China." In them, the authors criticize the new generation of Chinese, who adopted Western values, and completely forgot about their historical heritage, and accuse the United States of creating a false, threatening image of China, both in the West and in China itself. These books have drawn the attention of the general public, academics and leaders to the problem of positioning the country in the international arena. Finally, the rapid economic development and the general increase in China's role in the world have become important psychological factors. As researcher Huang Yui noted, “when you are weak, few people will listen to you, when you are stronger, your words have authority”²³.

²² Shaanxi Institute of Technology magazine vol. 17, 2007, p. 18.

²³ Huang Youyi: China has stories to tell the world – Available at http://www.china.org.cn/china/NPC_CPPCC_2011/2011-03/04/content_22057230.htm (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

The combination of these factors has become an incentive for the intensification of theoretical research in the field of interaction with foreign audiences and the construction of a national image, and as a result, the development of a strategy of behavior in the current situation.

The beginning of an active study of this topic can be dated back to the late 1990s, when the number of scientific works by Chinese authors devoted to soft power and public diplomacy increased dramatically. A quantitative analysis of the mention of the term "soft power" in Chinese specialized journals and periodicals, placed in four sections (literature / history / philosophy, politics / military affairs / law, education / social sciences, economics / management) of the CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure), demonstrates that the term "soft power" for the period 1990-2002 occurs in the titles of 6 works, in 2003-2007 - 535 works, 2008-2012 - 3096 works. The data on the request "public diplomacy" are as follows: for the period 2007-2011, "public diplomacy" was found in the titles of 463 articles, in 2012-2013 - 861 articles. This reflects the rapid growth in China's interest in soft power and public diplomacy over the past two decades. After the terms began to be used by Chinese high-ranking officials, the development of this topic moved to a qualitatively new level.

There are several reasons for the active development of research in this direction. First, along with the rapid economic development, the country's leadership realized the need to increase "Soft power", which in modern conditions is considered one of the attributes of a state that claims to be a major player in the international arena. This thesis found numerous confirmation in the studies of Chinese scholars who studied the causes of the collapse of great empires and powers. Thus, the researcher of the Academy of Social Sciences of the People's Republic of China Shen Jizhu in his works comes to the conclusion that the important reason for the defeat of the USSR in the Cold War was not a lack of power in comparison with the United States, but the lack of "due attention to" soft power "(Li, 2008). Men Honghua is convinced that the rise of the great powers of the past such as the Roman Empire, Britain and France was also based not only on military power,

but also on the attractiveness of values, cultural wealth, innovation and similar factors²⁴. In line with the active study of the experience of the great powers, a 12-episode TV film "The Rise of the Great Powers" was released in China in 2006. During the work on the film, the filmmakers interviewed more than 100 researchers, politicians and scholars from different countries, including former French President Giscard d'Estaing, Nobel Prize laureate in economics Joseph Stiglitz, and Yale University historian Paul Kennedy, whose book "The rise of the great powers" became a world bestseller.²⁵

Secondly, despite the foreign origin of the concept of "soft power", Chinese researchers drew attention to the fact that the use of "soft" methods to influence other countries has always been an important part of the country's cultural and political tradition. Moreover, both Chinese and foreign scholars note that in maintaining a specific system of relations formed around China in ancient times, it was "soft power" that played an important role. Chief Researcher of the Institute of Far East RAS²⁶ A.V. Lomanov, emphasizes that it was "the cultural tradition that greatly facilitated the adaptation of the concept of "soft power" in China. For Chinese intellectuals, the concept of *Nai* looked like a modern development of the judgments of the ancient sages of the Celestial Empire."(Lomanov, 2011) The role of cultural tradition in the formation of the conceptual foundations of China's public diplomacy will be discussed in detail in the second chapter.

One of the difficulties that arose in the study of "soft power" and public diplomacy in the Chinese academic community was the difficulty of finding an adequate translation of these concepts into Chinese. According to researcher Wang Yiwei, this translation is the closest to the original meaning(Wang, 2008). The term "public diplomacy" was first translated into Chinese as *gungong waijiao* in 1990 in the book "Foreign Diplomacy" edited by Professor Zhou Qipeng.

Chinese authors invariably emphasize that "people's diplomacy," unlike public diplomacy, is a specific feature of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and is inextricably linked with the activities of the Chinese Communist Party. The leaders of

²⁴ Men Honghua: Zhongguo ruan shili pinggu baogao (Assessment and report of China's soft power), Guoji guanCha Journal(International observations), 2007.

²⁵ TV documentary stimulates more open attitude to history, China, the world – Available at http://en.people.cn/200611/26/eng20061126_325264.html (Accessed on 15th of November 2020)

²⁶ RAS – Russian Academy of Sciences

the PRC have always considered friendly relations between peoples as a basis for reliable interstate relations. Historians generally associate the emergence and development of people's diplomacy with the name of Zhou Enlai, who effectively used it to advance China's interests. Often, Chinese researchers refer to his phrase that China's diplomacy consists of "official, semi-official and people's diplomacy." Researcher Li Zhiyong cites as an example one of the first references to the term people's diplomacy in the People's Daily in connection with the exchange of athletes between the PRC and Japan before the official establishment of diplomatic relations. Thus, the specificity of the People's Diplomacy of the PRC is that it is not formally considered official government diplomacy, but at the same time it is a way of establishing informal ties between peoples of different countries with the leading role of the Chinese Communist Party and in unity with its political course. By the way, it was this method of establishing ties that contributed to the establishment of relations with the United States (the famous ping-pong diplomacy).

At the moment, various public organizations are engaged in people's diplomacy in China, the largest of which is the Chinese People's Society for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

In the Chinese sense, public organizations are not completely autonomous and are indirectly controlled by the state. Since the PRC government cannot focus on all NGOs (there are more than 350,000 in the PRC), it focuses mainly on organizations that pose a possible security threat. Most of the organizations are quite independent, and the role of the state is limited to approval in making the most serious decisions.(Lu, 2005) Chinese researchers distinguish 3 factors that distinguish these organizations from the state ones:

1. They are not founded on the initiative of the state,
2. They function separately from the state
3. They serve the interests established by the organization's charter.

For comparison, public diplomacy traditionally includes such events as establishing ties between twin cities, organizing local non-state friendship societies, exchanges of theater troupes, creative teams, and volunteer activities.

Due to the fact that the concept of public diplomacy is relatively new for China, there are still ongoing discussions in the Chinese academic community regarding a clear definition of the term and its correlation with the term public diplomacy. Former head of the Press Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Zhao Qizheng highlights the following common features of public diplomacy: “Although, there are some differences in the definition of “ public diplomacy ”by different states and different scientists, there are 3 features that distinguish everything: “it is led by the government, its object is governments and the peoples of foreign states, its goal is to improve the image of the state that implements it”(Zhao, 2011). In 2009, taking into account all the discussions regarding public diplomacy and its differences from state and people's, and also relying on his experience in the field of foreign policy, Zhao proposed a scheme in which he formulated his vision of the interaction of these three diplomacy. In accordance with it, public diplomacy is interaction along the line of the state-society, and public diplomacy - along the line of society-society. At the same time, despite the fact that it is viewed as a communication between individuals and public organizations, this does not exclude the party's leading role as the main curator and ideologist of this interaction.

Studying the works of Chinese scholars on public diplomacy of the PRC, one can also highlight the main characteristics of “public diplomacy with Chinese characteristics”. Firstly, it is the "cultural" orientation of events within the framework of public diplomacy. The idea of relying specifically on Chinese culture and values was voiced back in 1990 by a professor at Fudan University (currently holding the position of head of the Center for Political Research (Policy Studies) under the CPC²⁷ Central Committee) Wang Huning, after whom many Chinese researchers have repeatedly emphasized that it is traditional Chinese values that can become an alternative or, at least, a complement to the Western ones, especially when solving such global problems as poverty, environmental problems and regional conflicts.(Wang, 1993) The use of culture as a powerful force is demonstrated by Chinese researchers in the United States. Fang Changping, a professor at the People's University of China, notes in this regard that even with the general decline, “what America

²⁷ CPC – The Communist Party of China.

is, its essence, is still an attractive product on which the country's power is based".(Fang, 2007)

It is obvious that the emphasis on the cultural component is associated with the traditional perception of Chinese culture as an effective way of influencing other peoples. According to Chinese researchers, such Chinese values as "the coinciding unity of heaven and man" tian ren he and "harmony of the diverse and dissimilar" he er bu tung - the modified CCP into the concept of a harmonious society and harmonious world are a real alternative to Western values, especially when solving problems that are not possible under the dominance of the existing Western model. Lu Suge, a professor at North-western University of Technology, notes that in traditional Chinese culture, great attention is paid to the concept of ren (humanity), which implies compassionate and humane treatment of people, opposing despotism and helping the weak. Such principles as "honesty is the foundation of everything", "trust first" are key in the traditional Chinese system of values and are very viable in the process of solving international issues(Lu, 2007).

However, there is a group of researchers who are of the opinion that culture and ideology alone cannot be a solid basis for "soft power" and public diplomacy. Dean of the Institute of Contemporary International Relations of Tsinghua University Yan Xuetong adheres to the point of view that popularity and respect for Chinese culture alone will not automatically entail respect for the country and improve its image, it is necessary to improve the political system and solve the country's social problems.

At the moment, the idea of the cultural orientation of public diplomacy in the PRC has won the largest number of supporters and support at the level of the country's leadership. On October 24, 2002, Jiang Zemin referred to the concept of "harmony between the diversity and the dissimilar" in his speech at the opening of the George W. Bush Sr. Library in Texas:

“Harmony is the key to development and growth, differences are the ability to complement each other. This is an important condition for the development of relations, and the basis for the joint development of different civilizations”²⁸”.

On December 10, 2003, Wen Jiabao, speaking at Harvard, noted: *"The harmony approach can help resolve conflicts that arise in the modern world, since most of them are initiated not by conflicts of interest, but by ignorance and prejudice."*²⁹

Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi is confident that the unique theories developed by the Chinese Communist Party, in particular the theory of three representations and the concept of scientific development, are also important ideological sources of public diplomacy in the PRC. If we transfer these ideas to the international context, it is obvious that they coincide with the main goal of China's public diplomacy: to deepen mutual understanding of different cultures, support and disseminate the principles of sustainable and harmonious development, and stimulate the establishment of friendly and open relations between countries (Yang, 2011).

The second feature of public diplomacy of the PRC, which is highlighted by Chinese authors, is its focus not only on foreign recipients, but also on the citizens of their country. Although for Western researchers these areas of politics are divided, for the Chinese - building a harmonious society within the country and a harmonious world (in the international sense) is an inseparable process (Glaser, 2009). This idea also comes from an ancient tradition, when politics was not divided into internal and external, since "the emperor is disinterested and extends his beneficial effect on both the Han people and the barbarians, changing them in the image and likeness of the Middle Empire" (Titarenko, 2006-2009). Chinese researchers have repeatedly noted that through public diplomacy it is necessary to explain China's policy not only to foreigners, but also to compatriots. To explain various political steps, lectures and meetings with representatives of the Ministry

²⁸ Speech by President Jiang Zemin At George Bush Presidential Library, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of China – Available at https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/bmdyzs_664814/gjlb_664818/3432_664920/3434_664924/t17105.shtml (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

²⁹ Full text of Premier Wen's speech at Harvard - Available at http://english.people.com.cn/200312/12/eng20031212_130267.shtml (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

of Foreign Affairs, Internet discussions, conferences with the participation of prominent diplomats are held³⁰.

This also includes diplomatic work aimed at Chinese emigrants, whose sympathy can undoubtedly contribute to the growth of China's popularity in their country of residence. In addition, researchers are seriously concerned about the fact that Western culture and way of life have become widely spread in China, therefore the authors see one of the most important tasks in increasing the prestige of their country, first of all, among their own population. These developments also received the approval of the country's leadership, as a result of which the study and popularization of Chinese culture and historical heritage became one of the priority directions of state policy (a phenomenon called the "cultural boom") (Dronin, 1998)

It is not unimportant that broad discussions of the academic community are devoted to the role of Confucianism in China's development strategy. Domestic orientalist A.V. Allabert studied and systematized the discussions in the Chinese academic community on the role of Confucianism in the modernization of modern China and identified important trends (Allabert, 2008).

First, many elements of Confucianism, of course with certain changes, are used in the political practice of modern China: for example, the concept of educating the people ("learn from ...") is rooted in classical Confucian works.

Secondly, the author highlights the specific features of Confucianism, which allowed it to remain relevant to this day.

Among them, for example, are inseparable from the fundamental values of Chinese civilization, flexibility and the ability to renew, focus on strengthening central government and the ability to effectively exercise control over society, smoothing out social contradictions. Finally, despite the criticism of Confucianism by individual researchers, it is nevertheless the spiritual core that can play a major role in resisting the disintegration of Chinese society. At the same time, it is interesting that the majority of Chinese researchers

³⁰ Close Friends Gather Together The Foreign Ministry Holds the First "Public Day" Activity in 2006 – Available at <http://www.chinaconsulatesf.org/eng/xw/t256785.htm> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

do not advocate complete isolation from Western values. On the contrary, they call on the one hand to borrow all the best of other cultures, on the other hand, to offer the best that Chinese culture has to the world, since Confucianism is an integral part of the world cultural heritage.

Thus, it is obvious that the problem of the formation of moral and patriotic guidelines and values of modern Chinese society worries both Chinese researchers and the country's leadership. This seems to be quite reasonable, since the lack of clear ideological guidelines and indisputable value attitudes within the country, which are supported by all members of society, prevents their effective popularization outside its borders.

Returning to the specifics of the PRC's public diplomacy, it is worth noting that researchers highlight special features in its character. For example, researcher Qiu Xing, comparing Chinese public diplomacy with American, notes that throughout its activities in this direction, China did not seek unconditionally to impose its point of view on other countries, let alone interfere in their internal affairs in order to achieve its foreign policy goals.

On the contrary, China has always been very responsive to the opinions of other countries and has sought mutually beneficial cooperation, while the United States has always tended to regard rivalry in this area as a zero-sum game (the gain of one is the loss of the other). An important distinctive feature is the fact that China does not seek to spread false information about other countries through public diplomacy, and even more so to provoke changes within another country. The main task of Chinese public diplomacy is to tell the world about the real China. In support of his words, Qiu Xing gives a simple example: “One has only to take a quick glance, it immediately becomes clear that the content of all kinds of official international media in China: periodicals, television and radio broadcasts, news and video on the Internet is mostly a story about yourself rather than discussing others, and by no means a rash criticism of the domestic policies of other states. This fundamentally distinguishes China's public diplomacy”. (Qiu, 2010)

In his book *Public Diplomacy and Dialogue of Cultures*, Zhao Qizheng notes: “*Some large states use an approach that can be described as follows: “ I alone deserve respect ” and even “ attack others, exalt myself ” China is trying to find common ground,*

despite the existing differences, calmly and with restraint talks about the situation in the state".(Zhao, 2011)

Thus, China's public diplomacy is designed to show that the time has come to think globally and regard the dialogue of cultures as the only possible way of joint harmonious development. In this regard, an important task for Chinese researchers is China's ability to change the so-called Cold War mentality, which implies dividing the world into opposing camps according to an ideological principle, and to build relations between countries in a spirit of cooperation.

Closely related to this is the question of the limits of China's use of public diplomacy: should it be only reactive or become more active. There is still no consensus on this issue in the Chinese academic community. Advocates of the defensive nature of public diplomacy believe that the main task for China is to improve the country's image and eliminate the stereotype about

The "Chinese threat". The adherents of this point of view believe that *"the Chinese model of development will not be able to replace the Western one, moreover, too aggressive behavior in this direction will affect relations with the United States and will only increase the fear of the Chinese threat."*(Glaser, 2009) Qu Yuanping emphasizes that this approach reflects the essence of the concept of China's peaceful development, which presupposes the peaceful and harmonious coexistence of states that differ in political structure and cultural heritage, and not general unification under someone's auspices(Qu, 2010).

The second group of scientists believes that the Chinese model of development should be actively "exported". Professor at the University of International Relations Zhang Mingqiang believes that the experience of China is very valuable, its development model can be an alternative to the Western one, and countries themselves can decide which development model to choose".(Glaser, 2009) Yang Zemyan, director of the Shanghai Institute for International Studies, interprets China's role in the changing international system as follows:

“The main question for China now is how to form a 'set of values with Chinese characteristics', implement them in the international system and make the Chinese model attractive to developing countries.” (Yang, 2008)

Although there are clearly fewer supporters of more active public diplomacy, one cannot fail to note the fact that in recent years the economic and political successes of China, the rise in the country's status have significantly influenced the self-consciousness of the Chinese. If earlier liberal democracy was recognized as an "ideal" to strive for, now this is no longer an immutable truth, on the contrary, difficulties in trying to adapt to Western standards are no longer viewed as flaws of the state, but as the failure of these very standards. Chinese intellectuals note that after the Second World War, all international institutions, and the entire system of international relations, was constructed by Western countries on the basis of their ideas about universal values. The idea that those countries that do not fit into this system are flawed has become an axiom in international relations. It is quite natural that the Chinese principles of peaceful coexistence, such as non-interference in internal affairs, respect for political choice and equality of parties, attract many countries, and Chinese researchers are increasingly emphasizing this thesis when commenting on China's increased activity in the field of public diplomacy.

An interesting trend that can be traced in the works of Chinese researchers is the evolution of views on the main actors in public diplomacy. Until recently, most Chinese scholars did not question the leading role of the state and the party in initiating and holding public diplomacy events, and, consequently, in building up the country's "soft power". At the same time, the complete control of this sphere by the state has traditionally been criticized by Western analysts. For example, Joseph Nye, in his article “Where China and Russia Are Wrong on Soft Power”(Nye, 2013), calls the state's leadership the main disadvantage of China's “soft power”, since mistrust of the country's leadership leads to mistrust of all events under its auspices.

Recently, at the level of expert discussions, the possibility of involving a wider range of participants, for example, NGOs and civil society, has been considered. Pan Zhongin, professor at the People's University of China, believes that the limited ability of NGOs and civil society to participate in building up the country's “soft power” seriously

reduces the effectiveness of all activities in this area³¹. Zhao Qizheng notes that "in the era of economic globalization and informatization, the government should pay more and more attention to the fact that the people have the potential to contribute to state diplomacy, harmony in the world and cooperation, therefore, the active participation of the people in public diplomacy should be supported."(Zhao, 2011)

An important positive point that can be traced in the works of many Chinese authors is the awareness of the need to adapt the Western concept to Chinese conditions and the realities of the international situation, and the ability to critically assess existing problems. Liang Tingting, a professor at the Shanghai University of Technology, in his study "Public diplomacy in different countries in different eras" emphasizes that what should be China's public diplomacy in modern conditions, which tools and activities will be more successful, is influenced by both the specifics of the country and historical moment in time, all this must be taken into account for developing a strategy(Liang, 2011). In this regard, scientists often criticize American policy, noting that the United States rarely tries to understand the specifics of other countries, which is why its policy often brings not a positive, but a negative effect³².

Speaking about the general problems that Chinese authors note as obstacles to effective public diplomacy, the following can be distinguished: firstly, the absence of special structures and institutions, with clear powers and terms of reference, which would purposefully deal with the development and implementation of public diplomacy at a professional level and, consequently, professional personnel. Secondly, the absence of a serious theoretical basis for China's public diplomacy, and as a consequence of a comprehensive strategy. Third, the weak participation of civil society.

To summarize, several important conclusions can be drawn. The active study and implementation of public diplomacy in the political practice of the PRC at the present stage

³¹ Through Chinese eyes: Pang Zhongying (part 1). Interview with Professor Pang Zhongying of People's University about China and global governance by Peter Martin and David Cohen - Available at <https://archive.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/through-chinese-eyes-pang-zhongying-part-1> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

³² Huang Youyi. China has stories to tell the world – Available at http://www.china.org.cn/china/NPC_CPPCC_2011/2011-03/04/content_22057230.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

was dictated by two main points. First, a favorable cultural and historical basis has become a good basis for introducing the concept of "soft power" in modern conditions. Secondly, the negative image of China, which formed in a number of foreign countries in the 1990s, prompted the expert community to study in more depth the issue of interaction with foreign audiences and to construct a positive image of the country in the world.

Until now, discussions continue at all levels about what the PRC's public diplomacy is, whether it is a continuation of propaganda, what directions it includes and how it is being transformed in connection with the new realities of the international situation. In their theoretical research, Chinese researchers have gone from trying to interpret this concept to adapting it taking into account the realities of China. During this period, special features of public diplomacy with Chinese characteristics were formed. For example, the use of culture as a basic element of public diplomacy is associated both with the historical tradition and with the fact that with the active development of the economy and the implementation of political reforms, the development and maintenance of the cultural sphere lags significantly behind and creates an imbalance in development. The desire to popularize Chinese culture, both domestically and abroad, predetermined the second specific aspect of Chinese public diplomacy: its focus not only on a foreign audience, but also on Chinese citizens in order to consolidate the forces of civil society. Finally, discussing the nature of public diplomacy, the researchers emphasize the defensive orientation of this policy, which mainly implies the eradication of the myth of the Chinese threat and the creation of an objective image of China without intentionally discrediting other members of the world community. This approach reflects the general course of the PRC's foreign policy, which is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and the search for options for mutually beneficial cooperation with other countries.

The question of the actors involved in the formation of the strategy and the conduct of public diplomacy events remains open. Gradually, under the influence of the new realities of the international situation and assessing the effectiveness of measures of public diplomacy of the PRC at the present stage, researchers come to the conclusion that it is inevitable to expand the circle of participants and move away from strict state regulation. However, at the moment, public diplomacy of the PRC should be understood as actions

carried out with direct government support, aimed at creating a positive image of China in the world.

Speaking about the problems highlighted by the Chinese authors, the most important are the lack of a clear mechanism for public diplomacy and professional staff, a weak theoretical base and an insufficient maturity of civil society. On the other hand, a critical attitude to the above-mentioned problems and an active search for their solutions, which resulted in a large-scale discussion in the Chinese academic community, can be attributed to a positive moment.

3.3 The influence of civilizational features on the formation of public diplomacy in China.

Despite the fact that public diplomacy is a relatively new term for the Chinese scientific community, many Chinese authors, discussing its essence, find the origins and examples of the policy of winning the favour of foreign citizens by “soft” methods in the early periods of Chinese history. Indeed, analyzing China's traditional foreign policy doctrine, we can single out certain elements that are consonant with the ideas of the concept of "soft power". Thus, the foreign policy doctrine of ancient and medieval China was based on the idea of a two-level system "world-space", where at the upper level, space was organized according to a ternary system consisting of the elements "heaven, earth, man." The main source of everything was Heaven, and the Chinese emperor was the “representative” of Heaven on earth (Son of Heaven). Thus, the ruler of the Middle State acted as the organizer of the entire "world - society" (the lower level). At the lower level of the system was the Celestial Empire (the whole world), in the center of which was the Middle State (China). In other words, the emperor of China was responsible for the entire Celestial Empire (the whole world). "The beneficial influence of the" *de force* "inherent in the Chinese emperor, overflowing the territory of the Middle State, was to spread beyond its borders, that is, to the Celestial Empire, transforming the" barbarians of the four cardinal points "and introducing them to the benefits of Chinese civilization"(Samoylov, 2011).

This understanding of the world and its central place in it determined the specifics of China's relations with its neighbors. However, it is incorrect to perceive the Chinese idea

of the superiority of their nation over the surrounding "barbarians" as nationalism in the Western sense of the word. The Chinese did not consider their civilization to be superior to others; rather, they viewed it as the only center of civilization, rejecting in principle the possibility of the existence of an ethnos comparable in moral and ethical parameters. Henry Kissinger, arguing in his book "About China" about the nature of missionary work of the United States and China, notes that if the United States considered its values universal for all mankind and was actively engaged in their dissemination for the benefit of less successful peoples, China perceived its values as the only possible ones and allowed others cultures to adopt them(Kissinger, 2013). Thus, the fact that the Chinese emperor "introduced" foreigners to Chinese civilization was positioned by the Chinese not as the imposition of a more perfect system of values, but as the introduction of "barbarians" to civilization in general.

A peculiar mechanism of interaction with neighbors was reflected in the prevailing by the VI-X centuries. system of "vassalage". The essence of this relationship was that foreigners were formally involved in a "tributary" system of relations with China: they arrived at the court with a tribute, performed the required ceremonial, thus recognizing the supremacy of the Chinese emperor. In Beijing, this was seen as an expression of obedience to the emperor, and was done not for the sake of economic gain, but in order to maintain the established China-centric political system. The fact that the system worked showed the strength of the emperor and the presence of world harmony.

Arguing about the uniqueness of this perception of the world, J. Fairbank in his work "China's Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective," notes that the Chinese world order existed only for the Chinese side. This statement can only be partially true: indeed, on the one hand, there are cases when foreign embassies refused to take part in the execution of all ceremonial procedures, thereby dooming their missions to failure(Demidova, 2006), on the other hand, there were those who, on the contrary, used this state of affairs for their own selfish purposes (for example, to receive expensive gifts as reciprocal gifts from the emperor). Despite this, the system was not purely formal. Domestic Sinologist V.A. Korsun rightly notes that the neighbors included in the Chinese system of the world "in exchange for the display of humility and self-abasement, as well as some ritual addressed to the lord of the Celestial Empire, received something very significant - security

guarantees from the great dynasty to which they connected ”³³. In addition, it is difficult to deny that the country's large-scale civilizational potential impressed representatives of other cultures and attracted neighbors. This is confirmed by the numerous facts of borrowing by other cultures elements of the Chinese civilization and by the fact that even the conquerors of China did not question its central position, ruled from the Chinese capital and followed all traditions and ceremonies.

The stability and vitality of the system reinforced the Chinese people's confidence in the inevitable "Sinification" of all peoples in contact with their culture. Thus, we can agree that the introduction of other peoples to the Chinese civilization within the framework of the doctrine of "world ordering monarchy" and their inclusion in the sphere of its influence with the help of a powerful cultural component is one of the traditional principles in China's relations with the outside world. Studying this feature of China's relations with its neighbors, Oxford University professor Yuen Foong Khong not only highlights the main features inherent in China's "tributary" relations, but also finds similar ones in the American model of relations with the countries of the world. So, if China is characterized by the belief in the greatness and superiority of the Chinese civilization, for the USA - the thesis about American exclusivity and the greatness of the American nation, for China closeness with "tributaries" is determined by the common cultural heritage, for the USA - by common political values, etc.(Yuen, 2013) This interesting observation also confirms the thesis about the missionary nature of the foreign policy of both countries.

Another characteristic feature of Chinese philosophical thought, which largely reflects the specifics of the “soft” approach in foreign policy, is the desire to avoid forceful influence, instead using humanity and, if necessary, cunning in building relationships. In accordance with the basic tenets of Confucianism, an ideal ruler should rely not on physical strength, but on morality.

Chinese historians, and after them the officials, emphasizing the peaceful nature of the establishment of relations with other countries, often refer to such a moment in Chinese history as Zheng He's sea voyages, organized for the most part with a research rather than

³³ Chinese factor: round table – Available at <http://magazines.russ.ru/vestnik/2006/17/kit6.html> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

an aggressive purpose. Researcher Robert Finlay notes that, unlike the European sea expeditions that marked the beginning of the New Age, after the voyages of Zheng He, nothing has changed in world history: “no colonies, no new routes, no monopolies, no cultural prosperity and no global unity ... History China and world history probably would not have undergone any changes if Zheng He's expeditions had never taken place at all” (Finlay, 1992). The main task of the Chinese mission was to obtain formal recognition of the Chinese emperor as a lord and send embassies with gifts, and not at all the conquest of territories, the establishment of colonies or bases.

Even in the classic treatise on the art of war "The Art of War" by Sun Tzu, ideal victory is defined as the subordination of states by diplomatic methods, without military action: "to fight and win a hundred times is not the best, the best is to conquer without fighting." Joseph Nye points out that Sun Tzu's idea that starting a war is a political failure reflects the central idea of "soft power": the supreme art is to compel an adversary to submit voluntarily without using hard force. Comparing Western military thought with Chinese, Henry Kissinger emphasizes that if Western strategy is characterized by an emphasis on the combat strength of the troops and the number of victories in battles, then for the Chinese - the dominant psychological position and the number of victories, which make battles unnecessary. The idea of avoiding war and achieving goals through the use of cunning is also emphasized in the military treatise of Wu Tzu: "War is not the destruction of the enemy with weapons, but gaining benefits without weapons by deception and cunning" (Wu, 1977).

Summarizing this uniqueness of Chinese politics, the authors of the report on relations with China at the 1966 hearings in the US Congress also point out that throughout history, China has relied more on a complex system of tributaries than military expansion.

Of course, it would be wrong to argue that throughout history China has relied solely on soft methods of solving foreign policy problems. Moreover, the authors who adhere to the thesis about the potential threat from the rising China, quite rightly find confirmation of the country's not peaceful behavior at different periods of history. However, it seems that these assessments do not contradict each other, but rather illustrate the complex and multi-level nature of the country's policy and confirm the impossibility of

unambiguous and categorical assessments. Closely related to a soft approach to achieving goals is another feature specific to Chinese civilization - the stratagemic nature of thinking. In Russian Sinology, the first to study in detail the phenomenon of stratagem was the Russian academician B.C. Myasnikov. He defined a stratagem as "a strategic plan in which there is some kind of trap or trick for the enemy"(Myasnikov, 1995). In the work "Historical experience of stratagem and the principle of" soft power "in the socio-economic reforms of China" D.O. Regzenova, analyzing different periods of Chinese history, notes that the use of manipulative, "soft" means to achieve goals is a feature of Chinese psychology. V.S. Myasnikov, however, stresses that "this does not mean that the Chinese are a nation of clever intriguers, cunning and deceivers. These are people who, first of all, are able to think strategically, draw up long-term plans, both at the state and at the personal level, who can calculate the situation a sufficient number of moves ahead and use stratagem traps to achieve success "(Myasnikov, 1995).

Based on this, we can conclude that the philosophical base that was laid in antiquity served as a fertile ground for the introduction of the concept of "soft power" at the present stage and influenced the nature of China's public diplomacy. First, the serious cultural potential, which was successfully used in relations with neighbors in antiquity, in modern conditions has become the starting point for building a strategy of China's public diplomacy. Secondly, the centuries-old experience of using "soft" means of influencing opponents and the emphasis on diplomatic methods rather than open conflict, turned out to be consonant with the idea of conquering leading positions by peaceful methods. Thirdly, the tools of public diplomacy turned out to be relevant in solving issues related to the country's image on the world stage.

The peculiar relations with neighbors, which differed significantly from the Western model, underwent forced changes at the beginning of the 20th century. The transformation began in the middle of the 19th century, when interaction with European powers led to the forcible inclusion of China in the treaty system of international relations. As a result of this painful process, which was accompanied by mutual misunderstanding (in traditional Chinese consciousness, up to the 20th century, there were no terms adequate to such concepts as nation, society or sovereignty), traditional value attitudes were mixed with concepts brought from outside. At the same time, as V.A. Korsun "the history of

China in the 20th century testifies not to the "breaking "and" washing away "of archaic structures and ideas, but rather to their transformation and layer-by-layer" stringing "on a kind of Chinese-centric core"(Korsun, 2001). The traditions of relations with neighbors and ideas about their place in the world, which have been forming and consolidated in the minds of the Chinese for many centuries, could not disappear without a trace and largely determined the specifics of the further development of China's foreign policy. On the other hand, the new conditions in which the country found itself made their own adjustments in the perception of the world and its place in it.

An important moment of this critical period was the separation of foreign policy from domestic policy, its separation as a separate area of the country's activity, which has its own specifics. In the traditional doctrine, foreign and domestic policies were not separated (for the Chinese emperor, the whole world was a zone of influence, and nothing was "external"). It is interesting that in this regard, the Chinese rulers for a long time did not attach importance to such an attribute of the state, which is natural for a Western person, as the national border(Bokshanin, 1968), consciously not separating the Middle State and the "barbarians", but considering it as one whole. Moreover, there was no structure in the country like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In 1861, within the framework of the policy of "self-reinforcement", the Office for the General Administration of Various Countries was created, under the auspices of which, in particular, the translation into Chinese of "Elements of International Law" by American diplomat Henry Wheaton was carried out. However, on the whole, this structure turned out to be ineffective. Only at the beginning of the 20th century, in accordance with the "Final Protocol" of 1901, which was concluded between China and the countries that participated in the suppression, instead of the Chancellery, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs was created on the European model³⁴. In practice, the transition from the traditional system of "tributary" to "contractual" relations quite naturally turned out to be a difficult and long process, but the very fact of creating a department responsible for relations with foreign states and

³⁴ Boxer Protocol. Peking. 7 September 1901. Peace Agreement between the Great Powers and China. – Available at <http://www.100jia.net/china1900/ereignisse/boxerprotokoll.htm> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

documenting the existence of "other countries" was another step towards involving China into the world system of international relations.

A prominent politician of the era, Li Hongzhang, who played an important role in the formation of China's foreign policy, in his memorandum to the court of 1867, also highlighted some important points of interaction with foreigners. For example, he believed that the most important thing in interstate relations is not to give rise to contempt, since only if foreign states have respect for China, even difficult issues can be resolved on the basis of a compromise. Realizing China's weakness, Li stressed that this is only a temporary condition caused by internal turmoil, just as the advantage of foreign powers is also temporary. As proof, he cites a phrase from Confucius's conversations: "The state must have enough food, there must be enough weapons and the people must trust the ruler"(Williams, Li, 1917). Accordingly, by putting things in order within the country, China can become a strong power in the world arena.

The difficult period of turmoil after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1911 impeded the implementation of a well-thought-out foreign policy, and by the beginning of the 20th century, China had finally secured the image of the "Sick Man of East Asia"(Scott, 2008).

Leading journalists saw a way out of this situation in the creation of a system of China's external propaganda, aimed at changing the country's image in the world and attracting sympathy from the Western public. However, the country's leadership took this idea with restraint due to the traditional reluctance to publicly discuss internal problems, a phenomenon called "Eastern Stoicism" by the American journalist Roy Howard. With the outbreak of the war with Japan, the need to win over Western public opinion became inevitable.

Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Kuomintang Party, which was then in power in China, agreed to rely on the English-language press, widely circulated in the largest port cities of China. Foreign journalists working in these cities were regarded in the metropolises as a reliable source of information about the events taking place in China, therefore, with the help of their publications, it was possible to shape the public opinion of

readers. Dong Xiangguang (English name Holington Tong), a reputable US-educated Chinese journalist, was appointed to lead the process. With the support of Chiang Kai-shek and drawing on his authority and connections, Dong began working with foreign publishers urging them to "show sympathy and support for the situation in China." The issue of the development of our own media, the training of domestic specialists and the use of foreign experience was actively discussed. Journalist Shen Jianhong noted that a well-organized propaganda system would help to present China to the world from his point of view, and not through the prism of foreigners, to eliminate bias in the coverage of events in China.

Evaluating the experience of Western countries, Chinese intellectuals of that time note that any progressive modern government spends huge amounts of money on shaping public opinion in the world and hires the best specialists for this, since the importance of this policy direction cannot be overestimated. With the outbreak, in 1937, of a full-scale war with Japan, China launched an extensive anti-Japanese campaign. In particular, with the support of the International Section of the Ministry of Information, a documentary film directed by Reverend John Magee about the Nanjing Massacre was filmed and distributed abroad. The department also financed the publication in England and the United States of the book "Japanese Terror in China" edited by the pro-Chinese American journalist Harold Timperly (tsuchida, 2010).

Researcher Wei Shuge, studying the materials of the English-language press in China from 1928-1941, notes the increased sympathy for China and anti-Japanese sentiment in most publications. According to the researcher, the active and successful propaganda activities of the Chinese government also became one of the reasons for the growing contradictions between the Western powers and Japan (Wei, 2012). Thus, the English-language press, which was a specific feature of the Chinese realities of that time, turned out to be the basis for building a system of external propaganda and helped to correct world public opinion. China has managed to compensate for its military weakness by influencing public opinion in other countries and thereby realizing its political goals.

Along with the activities of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party of China, which drew experience from the Soviet propaganda system, also launched active propaganda

work. For example, in 1928, the first specialized magazine, Pioneer, was published in San Francisco, which was intended to sanctify the CCP's policies and denounce the actions of the Japanese army in China.(Aoyama, Rumi, 2007) An important event for the CCP during this period was Mao Zedong's acquaintance with the American journalist Edgar Snow, who toured China in 1936 and described his experiences in *The Red Star Over China*, which brought Mao to the Western world.

Summing up, we can conclude that the inclusion of China in the treaty system of international relations had a serious impact on the further development of the country, and the period of turmoil, which earned the country the image of a "sick man of East Asia", made it necessary to adapt to the new realities of the international situation and try new methods of interaction with other states. It was during this period, at the initiative of Chinese journalists educated in the United States, that a new direction of policy began to develop - external propaganda through the media.

4 Practical Part. Public diplomacy of PRC in 2003-2013.

4.1 Development of PRC at present stage

With the change of generation of Chinese leaders in 2003, it can be stated that the beginning of a new stage in the development of public diplomacy started.(Zhao, 2015) In general, while continuing to adhere to Deng Xiaoping's stance that "Hiding in the shadows", a new generation of politicians has embarked on a course for a more active role in international affairs.(Zhao, 2015) It was during this period that a boom in research on "soft power" and China's public diplomacy began, and these two terms began to be actively used by scientists and politicians. In particular, "soft power" has been seen as one of the mandatory components of integrated national power and the development of effective public diplomacy as a priority policy area.(Zhao, 2015)

It is obvious that three main factors were the impetus for the active development of public diplomacy during this period. First, as it has been noted more than once, the country's leadership is seriously concerned about China's image in the world. Secondly, thanks to the incredible economic recovery, China has not only become a significant player in the world arena, but also capable of financially providing large-scale foreign policy initiatives, in particular, public diplomacy events. Finally, China presented to the world a concept of its development, thereby formulating the conceptual foundations of its foreign policy course.

In 2003, at the Asia Forum in Boao, Zheng Bijiang, vice president of the Central Party School, voiced the idea of China's "peaceful rise"(Zheng,2006). In his speech, he noted that China, unlike other powers of the past, which chose the path of aggression and expansion and eventually collapsed, will develop and contribute to the creation of a peaceful international environment. In February 2004, at a ceremony celebrating the 110th birthday of Mao Zedong, the concept was formally voiced by President Hu Jintao, prompting a vigorous debate about "peaceful rise" at home and abroad. As a result of active discussion, the word elevation, which inspired fears in other countries, was replaced by "development". Already in April 2004, at the annual forum in Boao, Hu Jintao put

forward the concept of "peaceful development" of China, and in December 2005, the White Paper on Peaceful Development was released, where its main goal was formulated: creating a harmonious world of common prosperity "³⁵.

Finally, speaking at the UN summit in New York in 2005, Hu Jintao presented to the world community the theory of "harmonious peace", the main idea of which is to resolve issues peacefully on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, countering the hegemony of one country, increasing the role UN and thus the creation of a new world order. Summarizing these three concepts, we can single out the main directions of China's policy within their framework: multipolarity, mutually beneficial economic and political cooperation, the development of an effective system of collective security and the establishment of a dialogue between different cultures.

Public diplomacy has come to be viewed by Chinese leaders as a useful auxiliary tool for solving foreign policy problems. The emergence of the concept of development and the setting of priorities made it possible to clearly formulate the goals of China's public diplomacy at the present stage:

firstly, positioning the PRC as a country whose activities are primarily aimed at internal development and improving the lives of its citizens;

secondly, the statement that China seeks to prove itself as a reliable economic partner, cooperation with which will promote mutual benefit and does not pose a threat;

thirdly, China acts as a guardian and conductor of the ancient cultural heritage, which it seeks to share with the world;

fourthly, China wants to be perceived as a responsible member of the world community, interested in solving world problems and building a harmonious world.

4.1.1. The system of public diplomacy in China

³⁵ Available at <http://in.chineseembassy.org/eng/zt/peaceful/t855717.htm> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

The Propaganda Department is under the direct control of the CPC Central Committee and is the main structure responsible for ideological work, adjusting and monitoring the ideological education of society, creating guidelines for educational institutions and the media. On the official website of the Division on the Internet³⁶ (in Chinese), you can find a variety of information about the CCP. For example, there are documentaries on Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, the formation of the PRC, and popular communist songs. In the "Classics" section, you can download the works of Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi or Deng Xiaoping, in the "Theory" section for detailed explanations of the fundamental terms such as "triple representation theory", "three-step strategy", "revolutionary spirit". On this Propaganda department of China official website you can also take part in answer various questions, for example, “what does Deng Xiaoping's theory include” or “where does the name People's Republic of China come from.”

The press office reports directly to the State Council of the PRC and its main tasks are:

- dissemination of information about China in the world;
- tracking information about China appearing in foreign media;
- holding press conferences;
- creation of printed and electronic products on various issues of politics, culture and social development in China.

³⁶ Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee (official website). – Available at <http://cpc.people.com.cn> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

On the official website of the Office³⁷, you can view the texts of all White Papers issued since 1991, watch the announcements of press conferences or listen to the current press conference online, read news from China, held and planned cultural events. In 2011, the Internet Information Office was additionally created, the main tasks of which:

“Improving the system of legal regulation in the field of Internet information, strengthening control over information and content on the Internet, guiding the planning and development of programs in the cultural sphere by interested agencies, such as online games, audio and video products, Internet publications, responsibility for planning and the creation of leading news sites, as well as the fight against illegal websites”³⁸.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC plays an important role in the implementation of public diplomacy measures. One of the functions of the ministry, stated on the official website: "to organize public diplomacy events, to oversee the affairs of foreign journalists and information structures accredited in China", as well as "to manage the Chinese People's Society for Friendship with Overseas by proxy"³⁹.

Chinese Foreign Minister (since 2007) Yang Jiechi, attaches great importance to issues of public diplomacy in the work of the Ministry. In his speeches and interviews, Yang often touches on the development of public diplomacy in China, and publishes articles on this topic. For example, in an article by the Minister in the journal *In Search of Truth*, the main tasks of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the field of public diplomacy are defined as follows: to strengthen the structure of public diplomacy, to strengthen work in the field of international communication, to strengthen the institutional mechanism of public diplomacy, to improve the staffing in this area (Yang, 2011).

³⁷ Chinese official government's web portal – Available at http://english1.english.gov.cn/official/2005-08/17/content_24165.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

³⁸ The state Chancellery for the internet information affairs in China – Available at <http://paper.people.com.cn/> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

³⁹ Main functions and responsibilities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC – Available at http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/rus/wjb/zhuyaozhize_russ/ (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

4.1.1 Goals, institutions and tools

In 2004, under the Department of Information and Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, a Department for Public Diplomacy was opened, which is responsible for such projects as open days in the Ministry, where everyone can communicate with representatives of the Ministry and ask questions of interest, briefings with the press, and coordination of events public diplomacy of Chinese embassies and missions in other countries. Over the past 10 years, the staff of the Ministry has significantly improved, which has seriously increased its efficiency and image.

According to a 2005 study, more than half of Chinese diplomats are under the age of 35, who not only speak excellent English, but also the language of the host country(Kurlantzick, 2008). In the words of one diplomat, “if before it was easy to be a Chinese diplomat, it was enough to learn a few phrases that determined the foreign policy line, now you need to know everything”(D’Hooghe, 2010).

The personality of diplomats also began to play an important role in promoting the country's positive image. The case of the Chinese ambassador to the Netherlands, Ms. Xue Hanqing, is widely known, who, thanks to her active participation in interviews and even writing her own column in one of the local newspapers, became known not only in diplomatic circles, but also in wider circles and made a positive impression on the host country(D’Hooghe, 2010).. In 2000, in order to increase the efficiency of interaction with the foreign press, the International Press Center was organized under the Ministry, which, in addition to organizing press conferences and travels of journalists, communicates directly with citizens online.

In addition to these main structures, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education of the PRC can be attributed to the system of public diplomacy in China, since cultural and educational exchanges and events have become an important part of public diplomacy. According to the Minister of Culture of the People's Republic of China Cai Wu, as of 2008, China has “established close cultural ties with 160 countries and regions and signed about 800 annual exchange programs with 145 countries”. In 1998, the Department of Cultural Industry was created under the Ministry of Culture of the PRC, and in the "Proposals of the CPC Central Committee for the Compilation of the Tenth Five-

Year Plan for Economic and Social Development" adopted in October 2000 at the 5th Plenum of the CPC Central Committee of the 15th convocation introduced the concept of "cultural industry".(Cai, 2009)

Since 2005, an active discussion began on the effective promotion of Chinese culture "outside" (this term borrowed from the name of the strategy for entering foreign markets in the economic sphere). In particular, in 2005, Proposals for the further strengthening and improvement of the quality of cultural products and services for export were promulgated and in 2006 - the Policy for Support and Promotion of the Export of Cultural Products and Services. The main objectives of this policy area are to create favourable conditions for the promotion of Chinese books, films, music, computer games abroad, to popularize Chinese traditional and contemporary art, to support cultural events, etc.

The spread of the Chinese language and culture abroad has become one of the priority directions of the policy of the Ministry of Education of the PRC and the State Chancellery for the Promotion of the Chinese Language Abroad (Hanban) organized under its auspices back in 1987. The activities of Hanban gained special scope in 2004, when the Chinese leadership set the task of providing an opportunity for foreigners around the world to learn Chinese. To this end, centers for the study of the Chinese language and culture, the Confucius Institutes, began to appear around the world, the first of which opened in 2004 in Seoul.

In addition, China is successfully attracting foreign students to study in China: if in 1998 about 43 thousand foreigners came to study in China, then in 2005 this figure reached 140 thousand⁴⁰. In 2010, the number of students for the first time exceeded 290 thousand, of whom students from Asia traditionally rank first - 64.21%, Europeans - 16.15%, America - 11.05%, Africa - 7.09% and Oceania - 1.50%. The largest number of students came to study from South Korea, USA and Japan 241. An important role in attracting students is played by the Grants Council, which provides financial assistance to foreign

⁴⁰ Ministry of Education launches program to attract 10,000 American students to study in China – Available at https://akvobr.ru/strategiya_kitaya_po_privlecheniu_inostrannih_studentov.html. (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

students to study in China and to Chinese students to study in the best universities in the world⁴¹.

China is systematically improving the effectiveness of the Chinese media in English and establishing close cooperation with foreign media (in 2009, 45 billion yuan were allocated for this purpose)(Aoyama, 2007). In particular, serious attention is paid to the field of information technology: in the report of the International Economic Forum on the state of information technology in 2001-2002, China was in 64th place, in 2005-2006. already by 50, and in 2010-2011. by 36, ahead of Italy, Brazil, South Africa and Russia.

In particular, CCTV (Central China Television) has 7 channels broadcasting overseas, including in Russian and Arabic. Xinhua News Agency has grown in popularity and credibility over the past few years to become one of the most cited news sources, along with Reuters. Although, unlike Reuters, Xinhua is not an independent corporation, and all information is strictly controlled by the Chinese government, references to reports from this agency are regularly found in the works of researchers. Every day, Xinhua publishes an average of 15,000 news stories around the world, 12,000 of which are about China⁴².

In 2008, Beijing approved new regulations for foreign journalists working in China, which significantly relaxed the restrictions imposed by the previous regulations issued in 1990. In particular, foreign journalists wishing to interview individuals or organizations in China are no longer required to obtain permission from the relevant Chinese institutions, and journalists working in areas open to foreigners do not need to obtain permission from local authorities.⁴³

The number of cultural events has grown many times over the past decade. The so-called "cultural years" or "cultural festivals" gained immense popularity, at which residents

⁴¹ China Scholarship Council. Statistics of International Students in China in 2011 – Available at https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Foreign-students-in-China-2011-by-place-of-origin-Source-China-Scholarship-Council-as_fig2_269352036 (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁴² Brief Introduction to Xinhuanet – Available at <http://news.xinhuanet.com> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁴³ Rules for News Coverage by Foreign Media and Journalists, Decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of China No. 573 – Available at http://www.gov.cn/flfg/2008-10/17/content_1125449.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

of foreign countries could get to know more about Chinese culture. A 2006 UNESCO report showed that China came in second in the export of cultural products (its share was 19%).(The art newspaper, 2006) Striking examples of the growing interest in Chinese culture can be called, for example, the success of the contemporary Chinese artist Zhang Xiaogang, one of whose paintings "Comrad No. 120" was sold in 2006 for an unprecedented amount for China of \$ 979,200 at an auction in New York. Later, the artist's record reached over \$ 6 million. In 2012, writer Mo Yan received the Nobel Prize in Literature, which sparked a surge in interest in contemporary Chinese literature.

The scope of foreign aid has been significantly expanded - from foreign investment and regular economic aid to developing countries to training programs for professionals from developing countries and disaster relief. In 2005, China became the third country in the world in terms of the volume of food aid to countries in need, and in their statements, the leaders of the PRC more than once called the provision of aid "the duty of a big country"(D'Hooghe, 2010). Developing countries are particularly sympathetic to the fact that China, as Hong Kong researcher Frank Chin put it, "does not lecture on democracy and human rights...."(Kurlantzick, 2008). This is one of the reasons why many developing countries, based on the obvious example of China's economic success, positively assess its development model, which was called the Beijing Consensus, as opposed to the Washington Consensus, which in 2011 the head of the Navy declared obsolete⁴⁴.

The role of the human factor in the PRC's public diplomacy should not be underestimated either. Participants at all levels, from dignitaries to exchange students, play an important role. The Chairman and Prime Minister of the PRC, as key figures in China's foreign policy, play a vital role in shaping the country's new image. According to researchers, the number of their visits to other countries has quadrupled in recent years²¹. Interviews with journalists, press conferences and communication with ordinary people have become integral parts of the visit program. Also, China is sending high-ranking officials to various local events. Joshua Kurlantsik, author of works on China's soft power, cites as an example the recollection of one American ambassador to Southeast Asia, when the American side sent a low-level representative to participate in the working group on the

⁴⁴ The Sydney Herald: Business Day Available at <http://www.smh.com.au/business/washington-consensus-is-over-says-imf-chief-20110405-1d2vg.html> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

development of a tsunami prevention strategy, while from China arrived high-ranking official. This fact seriously influenced the whole atmosphere of the conference.

A similar situation is observed at the level of the average person. Due to the difference in culture, the behavior and lifestyle of the average Chinese may seem unusual to Westerners. Therefore, following the increase in the number of Chinese students and tourists abroad, the PRC Tourism Agency launched a nationwide program to inform residents about the rules of conduct abroad.⁴⁵ In turn, every year a huge number of people come to China to study or relax. In 2010, more than 260,000 international students from 194 countries came to study in China. South Korea, the United States, Japan, Thailand and Russia are among the five countries of which the most students came to study in China, with the majority of students coming to study Chinese with the aim of staying to work in China. Young people are attracted not only by comfortable conditions of study and living, but also by a rich cultural program. Students studying in China show great interest in Chinese calligraphy, martial arts, literature, medicine, philosophy.

The spread of the Chinese language, as one of the aspects of culture, is also one of the main tasks of public diplomacy. The Confucius Institute is the leading organization, whose activities are aimed at "establishing friendly relations with other countries and deepening the understanding of Chinese culture and language among students of the Chinese language". The fact that China is actively developing this project is evidenced by the rapid increase in the number of institutions around the world: in 2006, on average, one Confucius Institute appeared in the world every 4 days, and the event was invariably accompanied by a magnificent opening ceremony and was actively covered in the press.(Zaharna, 2012)

By the end of 2010, there were 322 Confucius Institutes and 369 Confucius Schools in 96 countries around the world²². In addition, the number of secondary and higher educational institutions offering the study of the Chinese language is increasing annually.

⁴⁵ China campaigns for improved travel etiquette – Available at <http://www.newsgd.com/travel/travelnews/200704280027.htm> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

China also actively uses such an effective instrument of public diplomacy as the organization of international events. In recent years, the country has become the organizer of major international and local events: sports (Asian Games and Olympic Games), cultural (World Exhibition in Shanghai, Year of China in Russia, cultural weeks in Berlin), political (ASEAN summit, UN International Conference on Rights women), etc. Holding such events is not only a good opportunity to once again declare oneself as an active member of the world community, but also to demonstrate the level of development of the country, to give foreign guests the opportunity to feel the "charm" of China.

Finally, in the age of information technology, the PRC leadership is actively introducing the use of the Internet to conduct public diplomacy events. According to statistics, the number of users in China has grown from 620 thousand to 300 million since 1997. Successful examples of such use include the launch of leading English-language resources about China and Chinese media on the Internet, the publication of White Papers, articles and speeches by leaders, and the activation of Chinese bloggers.

Thus, at the present, third stage of the formation of public diplomacy, a set of tools has been defined that China is actively using to achieve its goals. The basic ones that have appeared since the beginning of the formation of this policy direction include the use of the media, publications, cultural and educational exchanges and economic assistance to countries. New directions have also appeared: active dissemination of language and culture abroad through Confucius institutions, cooperation in the scientific field, organization of large-scale events, active participation in international organizations and projects. Returning to the classification of the elements of public diplomacy by Nicholas Call, one can see that China seeks to harmoniously develop all elements of public diplomacy:

it contains:

- "Perception" - monitoring opinions and responses to China's policies, tracking criticism;
- "Implementation" - clarification of political steps (White Papers, interviews on problematic issues) and information work (press conferences);
- "Cultural diplomacy" - the work of the Confucius Institute, the promotion of cinema, art and literature of the country, cultural events;

- "Exchanges" - the reception and dispatch of foreign students, the exchange of specialists, scientists;
- "Mass media" - development of a network of television and radio programs in foreign languages, creation of Internet content.

We can add the "image" direction, which is also actively developing China: it includes the holding of major international events, assistance to developing countries, participation in the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters, epidemics, active donation in international organizations.

It is important that the country's leadership realizes the effectiveness and relevance of using the instruments of public diplomacy to achieve foreign policy goals, which determines the success that China has achieved in building up "soft power" in recent years. Naturally, there are a considerable number of problems and challenges that China faces in this area, but, despite this, one cannot fail to note the significant development of both the tools and the general strategy of public diplomacy.

4.2 Practical implementation of public diplomacy in various regions in the world.

Studying the public diplomacy of China in the context of relations with the countries of the world, one can trace some peculiarities characteristic of politics in a particular region. So, in relation to the developed countries of the West, China continues to systematically popularize ideas about the possibility of peaceful coexistence of states with different political and social systems, the importance of maintaining the identity of different cultures in the era of globalization and the need for each country to choose its own path of development.

4.2.1 Approach to the West

Among the developed countries of the West, relations with the leading world power - the United States of America - occupy a special place in China's foreign policy. When studying China's foreign policy, researchers often focus on various aspects of US-Chinese interaction. This is not surprising: the nature of relations between the two largest players in

world politics affects the processes taking place not only at the local but also at the global level. The rivalry between the PRC and the United States in the sphere of "soft" power clearly illustrates this specificity of US-Chinese relations. At the local level, the Chinese leadership's efforts to promote the Chinese language and culture in the United States are geared specifically to American audiences and are designed to improve China's controversial image among Americans. On the global - the activities of the country's leadership to improve China's image in the world, an active policy to build up "soft" power and popularize Chinese values are a challenge for the American-centric model prevailing in the world.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States remained not only the largest world power, but also a country with no equal in terms of "soft power". American values such as liberal democracy and the market economy were declared global and the benchmark for all other countries. The dominance of information has led to the fact that the popular culture of the United States, American films, music and television have become the absolute leaders of the entertainment market around the world. This allowed the Americans to influence world public opinion and create standards of conduct for all members of the world community. It was on the initiative of Western and mainly American researchers and the media that the "theory of the Chinese threat" emerged in the 1990s, which kept China's image at an extremely low level for a long time.

The situation began to change dramatically in the early 2000s. China's economic successes, the development of a new pragmatic development strategy within the framework of the concept of "peaceful rise", and then "peaceful development" and "harmonious peace" which coincided with the decline of the US authority on the world stage and influenced the balance of power. China not only began to carefully develop a strategy of public diplomacy with the aim of "winning the minds", but also accumulated sufficient material resources for its implementation in practice. The "American" direction of Chinese public diplomacy has turned out to be one of the most complex and controversial.

On the one hand, the rise of China's status in the world entailed a quite natural desire for the country to play a more active role in international relations, to occupy a worthy niche in the transforming world system and to take an active part in the formation

of a new world order that takes into account the interests of China. On the other hand, despite the presence of controversial and even conflicting issues in bilateral relations, cooperation and building a constructive dialogue with the United States is recognized by the PRC leadership as a priority task.

This is reflected not only in joint political declarations - both Chinese and foreign researchers note the inevitability of interaction between the two countries on the widest range of issues: stabilization of the global economic situation, climate change, nuclear non-proliferation, regional and global security challenges are just a few examples. However, in the United States, the strengthening of China is still regarded not as a basis for the development of equal relations with the rapidly increasing political and economic influence of the state, but rather as a detonator of the growth of alarmist sentiments in the United States(Leksyutina, 2009-2011).

Thus, China was faced with a difficult task: to ensure its foreign policy interests and improve its image, but at the same time not complicate relations with Washington. In line with this objective, the main efforts of China's public diplomacy in the American direction were aimed at popularizing Chinese culture and clarifying the Chinese point of view among the US population. In addition to this, China's globally oriented course towards creating an image of a responsible and peace-loving state that does not pose a threat to world stability and for the United States in particular, logically complements the activities in the American direction. This positioning echoes the idea put forward by US Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick, who expressed the hope that China could become not only a major actor, but also a “responsible stakeholder”(Zoellick, 2005).

Explaining the specifics of the Chinese perception of the world and acquaintance of Americans with the original culture of China was chosen by the Chinese leadership as a priority area of public diplomacy in the United States, since the lack of information about China, its biased interpretation, and, as a consequence, prejudice towards China, is considered in Beijing as the main reason for misunderstanding and distrust in bilateral relations. There are two main vectors along which the PRC is working to popularize Chinese culture in the United States: by increasing interest in Chinese art (for example, literature, cinema) and by creating educational programs. Of course, it is quite difficult to

compete with the United States, the undisputed leader in the field of cinema, but in recent years, Chinese cinema has managed to come out on top in the world after America's.

Chart 1. American vs. Chinese Soft Power indicators, 2013.

	<i>Latin America</i>		<i>Africa</i>	
	American	Chinese	American	Chinese
<i>Median % positive view of...</i>	%	%	%	%
Scientific & tech. advances	74	72	83	75
Music, movies and television	63	25	58	34
Ways of doing business	50	40	73	59
Ideas about democracy	43	--	73	--
Ideas and customs spreading	32	30	56	46

Latin American countries include: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico, Venezuela.

African countries include: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q48-Q52, Q60-Q63.

Online: Pew Research Center database, Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2013/07/18/americas-global-image-remains-more-positive-than-chinas/> (Accessed on 29.11.2020)

It is obvious by this chart that America favours a soft power advantage over China among Latin Americans and Africans. The appeal of US soft power majority of it is stronger today in Latin America and Africa than it was during the last few years.

In 2012, the box office grossed \$ 2.78 billion for Chinese films. True, it is necessary to clarify that most of the receipts come from domestic viewers (the share of foreign distribution is only \$ 168 million, the share of the United States is about \$ 400 thousand). At the same time, Chinese films came out on top in popularity among foreign films in the United States. Given the traditionally low interest of American audiences in foreign films, this is a major success.

In 2010, New York hosted the first Chinese Film Festival co-sponsored by the Chinese American Arts Council and CCTV-6 (China Central Television's Chinese Film Channel). This is one of the many activities of the Council, the main goal of which is to

preserve the cultural heritage of Chinese people living in the United States and to introduce Chinese culture to Americans. In 2011, the American-China Cultural Initiative (ACCI) program was launched, a joint project of the American Meridian International Center and the China Association for International Cultural Cooperation. With the support of the association, visits are organized by government officials, business leaders, scientists and artists of the two countries, annual conferences on cultural exchange, exhibitions, concerts, national holidays and festivals are held in order to get acquainted with the cultures of both countries.

Active work began in the field of popularizing Chinese literature. According to experts, ten years ago in China, the ratio of imported and exported literature was 10 to 1, literature was exported mainly to some Asian states, as well as to Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, and the passive balance in literary trade with Europe and America was 100 to 1. Until recently, works of Chinese fiction have rarely been included in the lists of world bestsellers, especially since they were not popular among American readers who prefer Russian literature. In 2012, only 453 of all books published in the United States were of foreign origin, or 3% of the total (of which only 16 books are Chinese). After Mo Yan received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2012, interest in Chinese literature began to increase gradually. The well-known American site Amazon.com launched a section for the sale of foreign books translated into English, and in March 2012, the first book by a Chinese writer appeared there.

The effect of activities in the field of education, in particular the study of the Chinese language, is more noticeable. The USA is the absolute leader in the number of Confucius institutions in the world - 71 institutions. In 2006, the Chinese leadership initiated a program to increase the number of Chinese language learners in American universities - 2500 universities organized pre-admission courses offering Chinese as a future specialization. In 2010, US President Barack Obama announced the launch of the 100,000 Strong joint program, which aims to bring the number of American students studying in China to 100,000 by 2014. According to a report from the Institute of International Education (USA), the number of Americans studying in China is steadily increasing from about 3 thousand in 2000 to over 15 thousand in 2010.

Due to the fact that the lack of information about China and the biased interpretation of facts on the part of foreign journalists contributed to the creation of a negative image of the country, the second (after the popularization of national culture) direction of Chinese public diplomacy was to provide the American public with access to information resources that provide the Chinese point of view on topical questions. As already noted, China has long been working to expand its information presence in the English-speaking sector of the Internet and is increasing the number of English-language media outlets. With regard specifically to the American direction, it can be noted that in 1996, under the auspices of China Daily in the United States, an appendix to the largest American newspaper, The Washington Post, began to be published -China Watch. Since 2009, the American version of China Daily has been released, which can be freely purchased from newsstands in major US cities, or read online. The publication is devoted to various issues of US-China relations, cultural news, economics and politics of China.

In 2012, along with the international English-language channel CCTV-9, the television channel CCTV America was launched, targeting US residents. The channel's mission, according to the site, is “to provide an English-speaking audience with an alternative point of view on world events through detailed coverage”⁴⁶. The channel covers not only events in China, but also significant events in the world from a Chinese point of view. In 2009, a series of 30-second commercials under the general title "Made in China" (made in China), which were intended to dispel the popular stereotype that China produces mainly cheap products of low quality. In 2011, a huge billboard advertising the Xinhua News Agency was placed in Times Square in New York, and a few months earlier, the agency's headquarters were moved from a sleeping area of New York to Manhattan. After Hu Jintao's visit to the United States in 2011 A 60-second series of films about China, Experience China, was launched on the huge screens of Times Square in New York, featuring the lives of Chinese people, landmarks and famous personalities.

Thus, we can conclude that the Chinese leadership is carrying out large-scale work at all levels to improve the country's image among the American audience. However,

⁴⁶ CCTV America: official site – Available at <http://www.cctv-america.com/2014/07/29/cctv-america-internships> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

despite the huge amount of resources that China allocates, progress in this area is not yet high enough. According to opinion polls, China's favorable image in the United States in the period 2007-2013 hovers around 40-50%. It seems that this is due to a whole range of factors.

First, the objective difficulties of ideological competition with the United States, which are not only the world leader in holding public diplomacy events, but also at the moment are practically monopolists in the field of “soft power”. China, on the contrary, not only has to build a strategy from an initially disadvantageous position, but also constantly respond to traditional criticism from the American side. In addition, the idea of the "Chinese threat", which was actively disseminated largely thanks to the American media, is firmly entrenched in the minds of Americans.

Secondly, the effect of many activities appears only in the long term (for example, a positive effect from educational programs may appear decades later). Third, the lack of experience in this area is still a serious obstacle to effective policy implementation. At the same time, the positive aspect of the Chinese strategy is that the country's leadership is pursuing a cautious and restrained policy, does not exacerbate the situation and constantly emphasizes the peaceful, rather than confrontational, nature of the steps taken. It is obvious that the tactics of "crossing the river, feeling for stones" characteristic of modern Chinese foreign policy will be useful in this situation.

4.2.2 The Public Diplomacy of China and the EU

In a slightly different vein, the situation is with the European direction of Chinese public diplomacy, in particular in relations with the European Union. The first important joint documents, which largely determined the vector of further development of relations, were the 1978 Trade Agreement and the 1985 Trade and Cooperation Agreement. In the mid-1990s, when the rise of China's political and economic status became obvious, the European Union realized the need not only to develop the economic vector of cooperation, but also to develop a comprehensive strategy for the rapidly developing Asian power. In 1995, the first such document, "Long-term policy of China-European relations", was adopted. It says, in particular, that, despite the serious cooling of relations after the events

of 1989 in Tiananmen, Europe needs to reconsider its position in the spirit of "New Asian Strategy", to develop long-term bilateral relations that would correspond to the political, economic, regional and global status of China, and would become the cornerstone of the European Union's foreign policy, both in Asia and in the world "⁴⁷. The strategy not only emphasizes the importance of China as a trading partner, the largest retail market and supplier of goods, but also the need for cooperation on a wide range of global issues - from nuclear non-proliferation to economic security. The same document mentions the need for China's active involvement in all international processes and the establishment of mutual understanding between the parties. At the same time, the strategy formalized concern about human rights in China, as the commitment to respect human rights and freedoms is the core of the European policy. Union around the World and China is no exception.

Subsequently, the European Union has consistently included a human rights item on the agenda in its engagement with the Chinese side. For example, in the 1998 document "Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China," its accession to the WTO is viewed as a tool to exert pressure on the observance of human rights⁴⁸. In 1995, the practice of annual China-EU bilateral human rights dialogues was launched. Moreover, under the auspices of the European Commission on Human Rights, various educational seminars are held for Chinese and European experts in this field, where participants have the opportunity to exchange experiences and share their vision of the situation. By the way, the PRC actively uses this platform to carry out its policy: while invariably expressing its readiness to cooperate on human rights issues, China at the same time does not cease to emphasize the importance of the special Chinese path of development, and its right to follow this path.

In the early 2000s, Chinese leaders also realized the need to formulate their own strategy towards the EU. The first such official document appeared in 2003. In it, the Chinese side stressed that, despite the fact that both sides have no conflict of interests and do not pose a threat to each other, differences in historical experience, cultural heritage,

⁴⁷ EU report: A Long Term Policy for China-Europe Relations, 1995 – Available at http://eeas.europa.eu/china/docs/com95_279_en.pdf (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁴⁸ EU report: Building a Comprehensive Partnership with China, 1998 – Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:1998:0181:FIN:EN:PDF> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

political system and level of economic development predetermine differences in views on various problems. which is quite natural. At the same time, if the interaction takes place in the spirit of mutual respect and trust, this will not in any way affect the quality of the relationship. It was also emphasized in this document that the EU should strictly adhere to the principle of "one China" with regard to the Taiwan issue and not maintain relations with the government of Tibet in exile⁴⁹. The main part of the document was devoted to cooperation in various fields: ecology, high technology, agriculture, education, and so on.

The level and speed of development of relations between the PRC and the EU at the beginning of the XXI century allowed experts to talk about the emergence of an example of "exemplary cooperation" between the two subjects of international relations. This was determined not only by strong economic ties, but also by the absence in relations of such an often problematic moment as the "security issue". Unlike, for example, US-China relations, where security issues play a serious role, the PRC and the EU do not perceive each other as an immediate military threat. However, despite successful and fruitful economic cooperation, political relations between the two actors continued to be a weak link.

The EU's tough reaction to the unrest in Tibet in 2008, the meetings of a number of European leaders with the Dalai Lama, despite China's opposition, attempts to boycott the Olympic Games in Beijing led to a sharp deterioration in relations. Opinion polls showed that not only the image of China in the EU countries fell, but also Chinese respondents began to perceive Europeans more negatively. This led to a clear understanding that, despite the good economic side of relations (in 2012, the trade turnover of goods amounted to 433.6 billion euros, services - 49.8 billion euros) it is necessary to build a political and intercultural dialogue, since achieved successes can be canceled in the absence of mutual understanding and trust.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ China's EU Policy Paper, 2003 – Available at <http://gr.china-embassy.org/eng/zgyom> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁵⁰ EU report: Facts and figures on EU-China trade, 2014 – Available at https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/tradoc_144591.pdf (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

Thus, the main task of the PRC's public diplomacy with the EU has become the establishment of more trusting partnerships and smoothing out discussions about China's internal problems (the most acute of which is the problem of respect for human rights). As in the case of the United States, according to the Chinese side, the limited amount of information about China in Europe and its biased interpretation is an important factor that prevents the full understanding and acceptance of each other by different cultures. Representatives of the PRC constantly remind their European colleagues that, despite the differences, China and the EU have much in common - both sides advocate a multipolar world, renunciation of military methods, the leading role of the UN and the solution of global problems such as terrorism and the environment(Yuanhong, 2008).

European researchers, in turn, believe that the main reason is that China and Europe have too different value systems(Arifon, 2013). For Europeans, issues such as the protection of freedom of speech and human rights, the rule of law, etc. are priority, they are traditionally given serious attention. This difference creates a significant barrier that is difficult to overcome simply by raising awareness among Europeans(D'Hooghe, 2010). This point of view is indirectly in general opinion polls, which show that human rights concern Europeans more than other issues related to China. For example, when a survey was conducted in 2008 on which event can be considered the most significant 33% of respondents from France and 26% of respondents from Germany answered that it was the Tibetan problem. For comparison, in the USA this answer was chosen by only 7%(D'Hooghe, 2010).

However, in its strategy of public diplomacy in Europe, China also relies on culture. In October 2007, China and the EU signed a joint declaration on cultural cooperation⁵¹, designed to become a documentary basis for joint events, exchange of experience in the field of culture and the development of policies for fostering intercultural dialogue. Within the framework of this cooperation, in 2010, China and the EU held the first summit on cultural cooperation, and the 13th PRC-EU Summit declared 2012 the year

⁵¹ EU-China Joint Declaration on Culture – Available at https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/education/international-cooperation/documents/china/jointculture_en.pdf (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

of intercultural dialogue⁵². In recent years, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture of China, a number of major cultural events have been held in European countries: the cultural years of China in various European countries, the China Now festival held in 2008 in the UK.

In addition, China took part as a guest of honor at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2009, and in the same 2009, Europe's largest and cultural heritage festival Europalia was dedicated to China. For the second time in the history of this festival, held in Brussels, an Asian country was presented (in 1989 it was dedicated to Japan). At the event, China presented over 500 events: exhibitions, concerts, book fairs, etc.

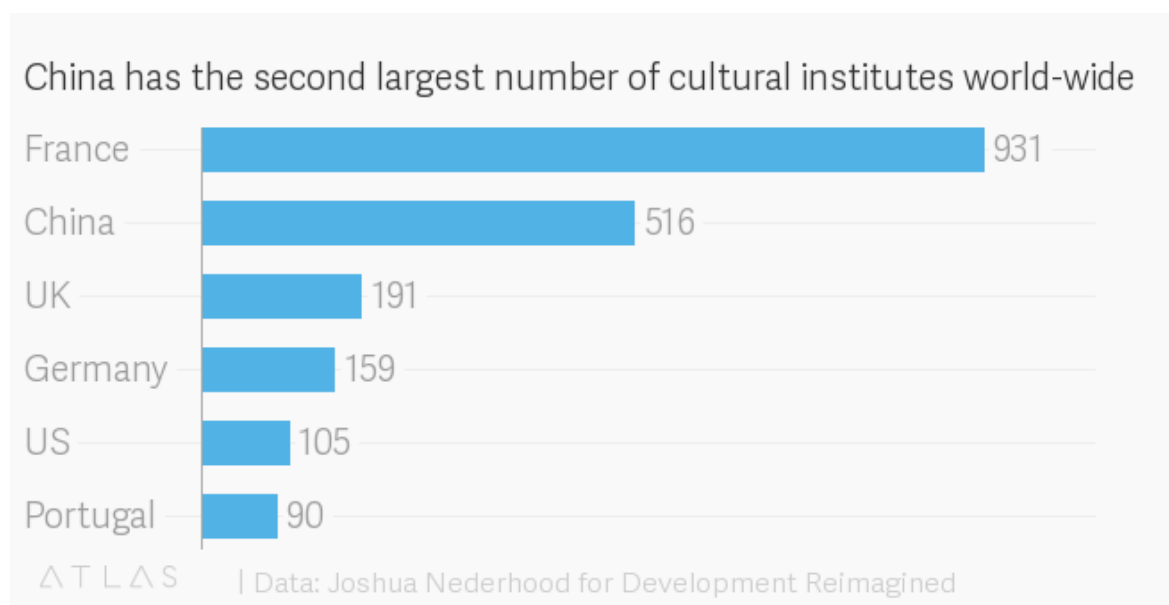
The penetration into the European market of Chinese cinematographic products has intensified. Since 2008, CCTV-6, together with the International Cannes Film Festival, has been organizing an evening of Chinese films (China's night), which is attended by famous Chinese actors, traditional Chinese art is demonstrated, the event is accompanied by a colorful pyrotechnic show. In recent years, Chinese film production has been increasingly recognized at the internationally renowned international film festivals held in Europe. Director Jia Zhangke won the top award for *Still Life* in 2006 at the Venice Film Festival and in 2013 for Best Screenplay at the Cannes Film Festival for *Touch of Sin*. "Black Coal, Thin Ice," directed by Diao Yingan, won Best Picture and Best Actor (Liao Fan) awards at the 2014 Berlin Film Festival. (Li, 2014)

Diversified work is being carried out in the field of education. In addition to China's "calling card" - Confucius Institutes (leaders in terms of their number are France - 14, Great Britain - 13, Germany - 11, Italy - 9), bilateral foundations of cooperation in the field of education through the PRC-EU are actively being formed. In 2007, the parties signed a joint declaration on cooperation in the field of higher and vocational education, in which they recognized the key role of education in improving mutual understanding between the

⁵² European Commission: Press release. Launch of 2012 EU-China Year of Intercultural Dialogue – Available at http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-12-91_en.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

parties and building a comprehensive strategic partnership⁵³. Already in 2007, China launched a language exchange program with the EU, the main goal of which was to introduce Europeans to Chinese culture and language. Within the framework of the program, 100 students from EU countries received grants to study in China⁵⁴.

Chart 2. China's Cultural Institutes in EU, 2018.



Online: <https://qz.com/africa/1505985/uganda-schools-to-teach-chinese-lessons/?fbclid=IwAR3ss0Xtueks6Xcj7J5RGxk31HcyPEehDNLyoSuvz00EWIV9-GoB94VUaTo> (Accessed on 29.11.2020)

The second large-scale project, the EU Window, was launched in 2008. This two-year project targeted Chinese teachers and principals of Chinese-taught schools⁵⁵. In general, in the period from 1997 to 2010, about 10,000 students from the EU countries studied in China under various grant programs. In April 2012, the first round of talks in the framework of the PRC-EU high-level dialogue was held in Brussels, as a result of which a declaration was signed on deepening bilateral dialogue with the aim of building mutual understanding between the peoples of the countries through expanding contacts between

⁵³ Joint Declaration of EU and china on cooperation in the fields of education and vocational training – Available at https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/culture/policy/international-cooperation/documents/joint-declaration-china_en.pdf (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁵⁴ China-EU language exchange program launched – 2008 – Available at http://english1.english.gov.cn/2008-06/03/content_1003766.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁵⁵ European Commission: Press release. "EU WINDOW" China-EU language exchange programme – Available at http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-08-831_en.htm?locale=en (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

citizens. As a result, China approved the following projects: to increase the number of students from Europe in 2012-2016 to 10,000 students, under the Window in the EU program - up to 200 students and up to 2,000 students and teachers under the academic mobility program. In 2012, the PRC planned to invite 1000 students from EU countries to study the Chinese language, as well as 30 officials whose activities are related to China. In addition, it was planned to jointly create centers for the study of cooperation between the PRC-EU⁵⁶.

The number of Chinese journalists in Europe increased from 5 in 2001 to 43 in 2012, and Xinhua opened its headquarters in Brussels and 42 offices across Europe, broadcasting in 25 languages. Often, the Chinese media began to compete with European news companies, for example, they were the first to announce the victory of French President Hollande, even faster than the French media. In addition, Chinese dignitaries have resorted to using the European media as a platform for dialogue with readers from Europe. For example, ahead of his 2011 European tour, Premier Li Keqiang published a number of articles in the largest European media: the Spanish newspaper El País, the German Süddeutsche Zeitung, and the largest English-language newspaper Financial Times. In the latter, the article came out under a loud headline "The world should not fear a growing China" (The world should not fear a growing China).

In it, Li reaffirms China's commitment to a peaceful path of development, interest in solving global problems and cooperation with other countries, stresses China's contribution to overcoming the economic crisis, promoting the peaceful settlement of local conflicts and active participation in the activities of international organizations. The author concludes that the world and China equally need each other to ensure a bright future for the entire world.

In 2013, Lee published an author's article in the media of Central and Eastern Europe under the heading "Greetings to the participants of the second meeting of the

⁵⁶ European Commission. Follow-up Actions Of The First Round of the EU-China High Level People-to-People Dialogue. Brussels – Available at https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/education/international-cooperation/documents/china/follow_en.pdf (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

leaders of China, Central and Eastern Europe”, in which, among other things, he emphasized the historical connection between the countries: “More than 60 years ago Europe was one of the first to recognize the young People's Republic of China. This opened a new era in our friendly cooperation. Despite natural disasters and economic difficulties, we have always helped each other in the most difficult times. As the saying goes, "A friend is known in trouble."

It is this kind of friendship, which has gone through grief and hardship, that is preserved in the hearts of the peoples of China and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe”(Keqiang, 2011).

As a result of the vigorous activity of the PRC in Europe, a rather contradictory situation has developed: on the one hand, cultural events are very successful, Europeans are happy to join the art and traditions of the country, on the other hand, the level of trust in the state is still quite low. In other words, the Chinese people, culture and art are accepted by Europeans, and the attitude towards the political system, social order as a whole remains rather negative and even declines. On the positive side, despite the presence of controversial issues, both parties recognize the need and inevitability of maintaining a constructive relationship. In addition, unlike the United States, the theory of the "Chinese threat" has not received serious distribution in Europe and the main contradiction in relations remains the issue of human rights. China has yet to develop a strategy that would make it possible to more effectively solve the tasks of the country's public diplomacy in Europe, but the parties' interest in each other is fertile ground for further deepening mutual trust.

Summing up the analysis of China's public diplomacy in Western countries, we can highlight the general problems that the country is facing. First, these are serious differences of a civilizational nature, which predetermined the different political and social structure of the parties. With a general rise in interest in Chinese culture, art and language, attitudes towards China's political and social system remain distrustful and alarmist. Consequently, there is still a long work to be done before China achieves one of the main goals of its policy in this region - to change the attitude towards China as a country that does not share "universal" Western values, and, therefore, is ideologically hostile to the West; turn public opinion towards the perception of China as a state developing according to its own

exclusive laws, due to civilizational characteristics. Secondly, it seems that the lack of experience in the implementation of effective public diplomacy, especially when interacting with Western countries, leads to the fact that not all methods are ineffective, and some may even have the opposite result than expected.

4.2.3 The Public Diplomacy of China towards Asia

With regard to policy in developing countries, the PRC leadership refers to the topic of "common destinies" of all developing countries, invariably emphasizes the importance of cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit, the desire to create a more just world order that takes into account the interests of developing countries.

Among developing countries, the states of Southeast Asia have always been of paramount importance to Beijing. China's relations with the countries of this region have deep historical roots: in the previous chapters, we have already mentioned the system of vassalage, in which China perceived this region as territories within the sphere of Chinese domination. At the end of the 19th century, the country had to abandon the rights of the supreme suzerain over these countries. Only after the end of the Second World War and the creation of the People's Republic of China did the period of China return to Southeast Asia.

At the same time, the main incentive for such a return, according to the Russian orientalist D.V. Mosyakov was served not by political or economic benefits, but by the restoration of the country's prestige, and "testified to the fact that, regardless of the leading personalities and their ideology, the idea that the whole of Southeast Asia is a vassal to China is continuously preserved in the Chinese consciousness. a community of states where only China can dominate "(Mosyakov, 2010). Since then, China has tried to resolve the issue of strengthening its positions in Southeast Asia in different ways - from supporting the communist regimes in the 50-70s to building up its military presence in the 70-90s. However, the transition to a pragmatic policy in the late 90s and the orientation towards creating a comfortable environment to ensure development goals contributed to China's foreign policy strategy in this region taking a course towards active participation in the integration processes under the auspices of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

In 1991, the representative from China attended the 24th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Malaysia, where he expressed a sincere interest in cooperating with the organization for the sake of common benefit, and in 1996, at the 29th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Indonesia, China received the status of a full partner in dialogue. It is important to note the significant role that China played during the 1997 financial crisis by refusing to devalue the yuan and providing financial assistance to the countries most affected by the crisis, thereby “courageously taking on the obligations of a major power”⁵⁷. This episode called into question the credibility of the IMF, which turned out to be helpless in resolving the crisis situation. Some Western experts call 1997 the beginning of China's "Charm offensive"(Kolodziej, 2008) policy in Southeast Asia.

In recent years, the country has become the main source of economic and humanitarian aid in the region. Already in the early 2000's, Chinese aid to Southeast Asian countries exceeded American aid. For example, in 2006 China provided 3 times more aid to Laos, and 4 times more aid to the Philippines than the Americans. At the same time, most of the aid went to the creation of infrastructure, energy facilities and road construction⁵⁸. An attractive factor for developing countries in general, and the ASEAN countries in particular, is that, unlike the United States, China does not condition the provision of assistance with ideological or political requirements, on the contrary, it provides loans to countries that have fallen into Washington's disfavour: in 2003, Myanmar, in relation to which the United States imposed economic sanctions on, or Thailand in 2006.

A white paper on foreign aid released by the State Council Press Office in 2011 emphasizes that the lack of political conditions for aid is one of China's unwavering principles of aid. In particular, it says that China respects the right of each country to freely choose a development model and never uses aid to interfere in the internal affairs of the

⁵⁷ The financial crisis will not force China to slow down the pace of expanding openness to the outside world. Available at <http://russian.people.com.cn/31518/6538824.html> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁵⁸ Foreign Aid White Paper – 2014 – Available at http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2014-07/10/content_2715467.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

state or to obtain privileges⁵⁹. This essentially distinguishes Beijing's position from Washington's.

As part of creating an image of a responsible and reliable member of the world community, Beijing has become one of the most important donors of humanitarian aid after natural disasters. So, after the 2004 tsunami in Asia, Beijing allocated \$ 95 million to the affected countries. Despite the fact that aid to the United States and Japan was much larger (about 1 billion US dollars), Chinese aid attracted much more media attention, since, according to J. Kurlantzick, if everyone is used to American aid, then the Chinese side's gesture caused a general admiration(Kurlantzick, 2008). In 2008, China allocated more than US \$ 10 million to eliminate the consequences of cyclone Nargis in Burma, etc. Thus, the opinion of the majority of domestic and foreign experts that the reason for the strengthening of China's positions in Southeast Asia is largely related to economic aspects: both the increasing economic interdependence of countries and the attractiveness of China as a donor of various kinds of economic assistance can be considered quite justified. Despite this, such factors as unresolved territorial disputes and the resumption of active participation by the United States of America in the affairs of the region within the framework of the “return” to Asia require the involvement of additional instruments of public diplomacy to consolidate its positions in the region(Clinton, 2011).

China is actively developing such areas of cooperation with ASEAN countries, such as culture, education, tourism, youth cooperation, exchange of specialists. In October 2003, a delegation from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs attended the first 10 + 3 culture ministers meeting in Malaysia, and in August 2005, the parties signed a memorandum on cultural cooperation, which became the first official document on cultural cooperation signed by China with a regional organization. In it, the parties expressed their intention to actively promote the deepening of cultural awareness and mutual

⁵⁹ Foreign Aid White Paper 2011 – 2014 – Available at http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2011-04/21/content_1849712.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

understanding through cooperation in the field of art, cultural exchanges, joint research, cultural heritage support programs, etc.⁶⁰

In 2004, the first joint youth cooperation forum took place, which resulted in the signing of the Beijing Declaration⁶¹. In it, the parties highlighted areas of cooperation in this area, in particular, the establishment of regular youth exchanges, the stimulation of youth entrepreneurship, the provision of employment opportunities, the identification and satisfaction of the needs of youth from disadvantaged strata of society.

In August 2010, as part of the next week of cooperation in the field of education, the parties approved a plan to bring the number of Chinese students in ASEAN countries, and students from ASEAN in China to 100,000 (on each side) by 2020. By the way, in 2012, the number of students from ASEAN countries in China exceeded 60 thousand and made up 19% of the total number of foreign students in China. Of the top 10 countries, students from which go to study in China, 3 are ASEAN countries: Thailand (4th place), Indonesia (6th place) and Vietnam (7th place). At the same time, more than 100,000 Chinese students are studying in ASEAN countries. An important role in attracting students is played by a system of grants, the number of which China increases every year. In 2010, China awarded 3,337 grants to ASEAN students, an increase of 329% from 2005.

Another important area of activity for the PRC is the dissemination of Chinese media and cooperation in the field of mass communications. During a series of events at the highest level (the China-ASEAN Radio and Television Forum 2008 and the 2009 Television Industry Exchange Forum), the countries agreed to exchange experiences, actively create and promote co-production products: TV shows, series, films, radio programs, etc. Further. China International Radio is already available in all ASEAN

⁶⁰ Memorandum of Understanding between the Governments of the Member Countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Cultural Cooperation – Available at https://asean.org/?static_post=memorandum-of-understanding-between-the-governments-of-the-member-countries-of-the-association-of-southeast-asian-nations-and-the-government-of-the-people-s-republic-of-china-on-cultural-cooperation (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁶¹ Declaration of the Ministers Responsible for Youth of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People's Republic of China on Asean-China Cooperation on Youth – Available at <http://arc-agreement.asean.org/file/doc/2015/02/beijing-declaration-of-the-ministers-responsible-for-youth-of-the-association-of-southeast-asian-nations-and-the-people-s-republic-of-china-on-asean-china-cooperation-on-youth.pdf> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

languages, while CCTV4 and CCTV9 in English are also available in all countries in the region. Chinese TV program exports to ASEAN countries accounted for 50% of total exports (by hours) in 2012, according to Xinhua News Agency, making ASEAN the largest market for Chinese infotainment products⁶².

China actively sponsors visits and training for media professionals from ASEAN countries. For example, in August 2011, a delegation of television producers, reporters, and journalists visited China and met with leading experts in the field of mass communications. In August 2012, China organized a training course for technical personnel from ASEAN countries, during which they familiarized themselves with the latest advances in technology, standards and information products from the Chinese television industry.

In particular, Joshua Kurlantzick gives several examples of huaqiao's inclusion in public diplomacy: Beijing forging ties with Chinese ethnic organizations in Southeast Asia, "nurturing" influential people who can subsequently influence political decisions in the country in favor of Beijing, sponsoring special school programs for ethnic Chinese (with compulsory study of the Chinese language) and educational materials (with an emphasis on such historical issues as the period of national humiliation - gochi), etc.(Kurlantzick, 2008)

Evaluating the increasing economic interdependence, joint educational programs at different levels from school to professional retraining, the rapidly increasing number of cultural events and active cooperation in the creation of joint cultural and entertainment products, we can talk about the possibility of the emergence of an "Asian community" in the region in which China is one of the main forming elements. It cannot be denied that a number of acute issues, such as territorial disputes, the cautious attitude of the Southeast Asian countries to the strengthening of China, the reluctance of the United States to lose its positions in the region and, as a consequence of these factors, the relatively high level of mistrust between the countries, introduce a destructive element into China's public diplomacy in Southeast Asia ... However, as rightly noted by D.V. Mosyakov's emphasis

⁶² ASEAN-CHINA Dialogue Relations – Available at <https://asean.org/storage/2012/05/Overview-of-ASEAN-China-Relations-22-Apr-2020-00000002.pdf> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

on common Asian values and latent anti-Westernism continues to play an important connecting role(Mosyakov, 2010).

4.2.4 The Public Diplomacy of China towards Africa

An example of a relatively successful public diplomacy in developing countries is the PRC's policy in Africa. Ties with African countries have been established almost since the founding of the People's Republic of China, however, over the past decade, the role of the African continent in China's foreign policy. Important milestones in relations were the Bandung Conference of 1955, where five principles of peaceful coexistence were proclaimed and included in the final declaration, and Zhou Enlai's previously mentioned tour of the countries of the African continent in 1963-64. During this tour, China voiced eight principles for providing assistance to African countries, which are still relevant, although they were modernized in the 1980s: the emphasis was shifted from unilateral assistance to Africa to a more active role of the continent in development processes and expanding forms of cooperation. As T.L. Deych, despite the fact that the priorities and emphases of African politics have changed over the course of history, it has always been based on Beijing's aspiration to achieve leadership in the "third" world and gain recognition as a great power.(Deych, 2008)

A striking example of China's solidarity with African countries is mutual support for each other's initiatives at the United Nations. African partners have consistently supported the one China principle, opposed condemnation of the country for human rights violations, thanks to the support of Africans, China was recognized as a market economy and was able to join the WTO. Finally, in 1971, thanks to the support, among other things, of a large group of African countries, the PRC received a seat in the UN instead of the Republic of China. China, in turn, is in solidarity with the position of the Africans on the reform of the UN, writing off debts to developing countries, fighting poverty and creating a just world order for all countries. Thus, at the present stage, in addition to purely economic interests, which most Western critics note as the only ones important for the PRC in the region, there is China's desire to obtain political support from the countries of the region for the implementation of its foreign policy goals.

One of the large-scale joint projects was the China-Africa Forum, founded by the Chinese side in 2000. Already at the first meeting, such important documents as the "Program of China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development" and the Beijing Declaration were signed. The preamble to the declaration⁶³ emphasizes that there is a huge gap in the world between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South, and the injustice and inequality that permeate the modern system of international relations hinder the development of countries and pose a threat to peace and security. China and African countries are developing countries and must join forces to change the existing unjust order through cooperation and mutual assistance. Thus, the document recorded an important principle of China's policy in Africa - building relations in the spirit of equal partnership for the sake of mutual progress and development. It should be noted that the forum itself is an event of a very high, ministerial, level. At the meeting in 2000, the participants of the forum were greeted by the President of the PRC (then this post was held by Jiang Zemin), in 2003 the then Premier of the State Council of the PRC Wen Jiabao and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan attended the forum.

In 2006, 48 out of 53 African countries took part in the forum, with 35 delegations being led by heads of state (in 2012, delegates from 50 countries arrived). In the same 2006, China issued the document "China's policy towards Africa"⁶⁴, which detailed the plan of cooperation between the parties. Briefly summarizing the document, we can single out six basic principles of interaction between the parties:

- 1) adherence to the five principles of peaceful co-existence;
- 2) maintaining peace, unity and a spirit of cooperation within the African continent;
- 3) strengthening long-term and mutually beneficial relations between China and African countries;

⁶³ Declaration of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation – Available at <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/eng/wjjh/hywj/t157833.htm> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁶⁴ China's African policy – Available at <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/eng/zgdfztc/t481748.htm#:~:text=China%20adheres%20to%20the%20Five,benefit%2C%20reciprocity%20and%20common%20prosperity.> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

4) provision of economic aid to African countries, unconditional;

5) attracting the attention of developed countries to the problems of the African continent, lobbying their interests;

6) stimulation of more active participation of Africa in world processes and international relations.

It is significant not only that this document became the first Chinese document of this kind in relation to Africa, but also that not for every region of the world, China has developed and published an official policy strategy in principle.

An important indicator of the active interaction of the parties can be considered a large number of visits at the highest level. For example, almost all high-ranking Chinese statesmen and politicians have visited African countries at least once, and the leaders of the PRC often visit the countries of the continent more than once. Moreover, if you look at the geography of visits, you will find that Chinese politicians visit countries of different development, political weight, state of the economy and the availability of natural resources. For example, on Hu Jintao's massive 12-day tour in 2007, the Chinese leader visited both oil-rich Sudan and a major international player in South Africa, as well as the small Seychelles and Mozambique, one of the world's poorest countries⁶⁵.

Thus, this once again confirms the thesis that China is interested in Africa not only as a source of energy resources, but also as a reliable partner on a wide range of issues. African leaders, in turn, also frequent the PRC, demonstrating to both China and the world the importance of bilateral relations. For the PRC, these visits are, among other things, a good opportunity to once again demonstrate the hospitality of China and emphasize the importance of African guests: the events are held magnificently and with all kinds of honours.

⁶⁵ President Hu visits 8 African nations – Available at <http://www.china.org.cn/english/news/197114.htm> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

Cultural cooperation has traditionally played a vital role in China's public diplomacy, and Africa is no exception. Chinese researchers often emphasize a special cultural connection with Africa and a common destiny. For example, He Wenping, director of the African department of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, notes that Africa and China have a lot in common: a brilliant and ancient history, respect for traditions, subordination of personal interests to the interests of society. As already noted, Egypt became the first African country with which China established diplomatic relations and signed an agreement on cultural cooperation(Wenping, 2006).

This was the beginning of a series of cultural exchanges with the countries of the continent. In 2006, as part of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of relations with Egypt and summing up the overall results of cooperation, it was established that during this period China signed 57 agreements on cultural exchange with African countries and developed more than 100 plans for activities in this area, about 30 Chinese high-level delegations visited Africa and over 130 African delegations visited China(Yayuan, 2010).

China has initiated and sponsored a large-scale Sino-African Cultural Exchanges Symposium to take cooperation to the next level. In 2000, the first meeting took place, at which the Chinese side decided to establish a special fund to expand and develop cultural ties with African countries and to assist African countries in developing their cultural sector. Dozens of mutual cultural events take place every year. The largest of these in recent years have been, for example, the "Safari of Chinese Culture in Africa" and the "Great Exhibition of African Art" in China.

By examining the section on cultural exchanges on the official website of the Forum for Sino-African Cooperation⁶⁶, one can see that smaller-scale, but attracting great interest of Chinese and African people, events regularly take place: film screenings, exhibitions, theatre performances, culture days, book fairs, etc. During these festivals,

⁶⁶ Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Official Web Site. Cultural Exchanges – Available at http://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx_4/rwj1/ (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

visitors are given the opportunity to get acquainted with the cultural heritage and specifics of different countries.

Cooperation with Africa in the field of education and science has also been brought to a new level in the last decade. In 2005, at the initiative of the PRC, a forum of the ministers of education and training of China and countries of the African continent was held in Beijing. As a result, a joint declaration was signed, in which, in particular, the following general principles were approved:

1. Education should promote the dissemination of knowledge about various national cultures and their inclusion in the global culture;
2. Equal and free access to education is the cornerstone of the development strategy of developing countries;
3. Improvement in the quality and system of education should take into account local specifics and international experience⁶⁷.

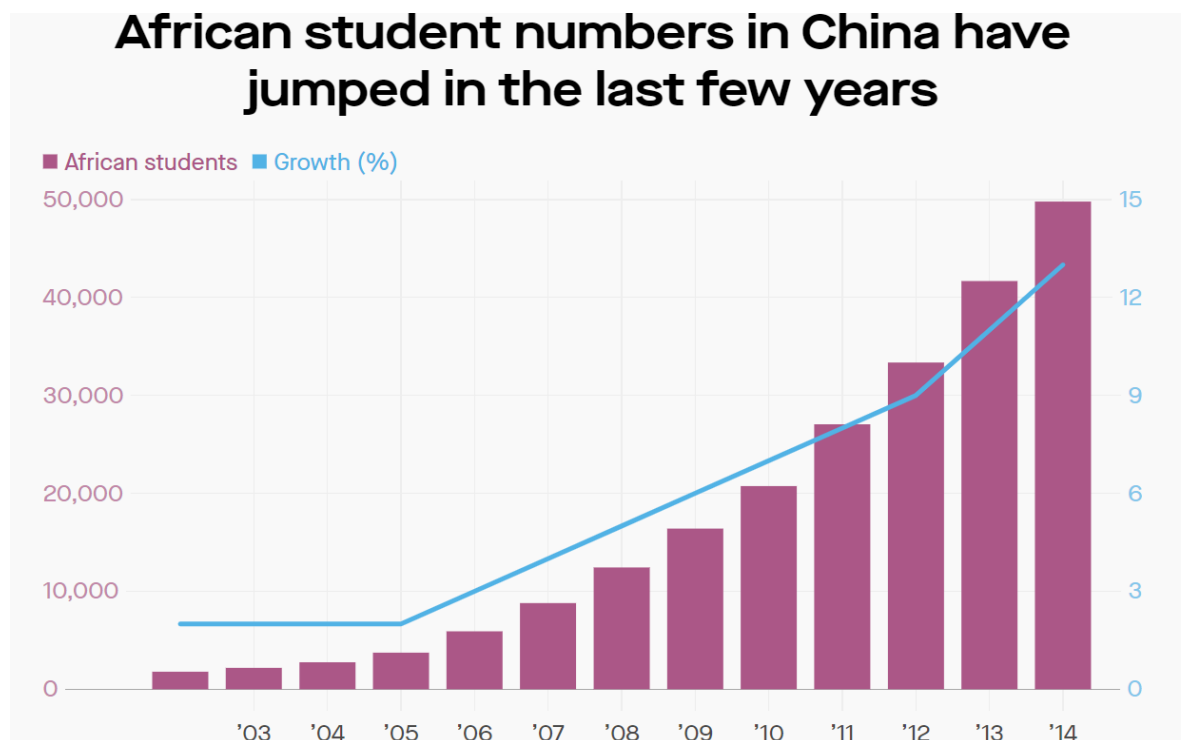
At the same time, the bulk of the initiatives fell on the last decade: until recently, educational ties were episodic. In the 1950-60s, a small number of African students came to study in China, in the 1970s, the first short-term educational programs in various fields for specialists from Africa appeared, but they were also non-systematic. However, in just the past few years, the number of study grants from the Chinese government has grown from 2,000 in 2003 to 6,000 in 2012.

Training programs were also streamlined and began to be implemented under the general auspices of the Human Resources Development Fund in Africa, which was established in 2000 solely for the purpose of training African specialists in various fields from agriculture to diplomacy. The number of specialists undergoing training in these programs is steadily growing: in accordance with the joint action plan, in the period from

⁶⁷ Beijing: Sino-African Education Minister Forum – Available at <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/eng/zt/zfjybzlt/> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

2004 to 2006, China trained 10 thousand African specialists, 15 thousand in 2007-2009, and 30 thousand specialists are planned to be trained in 2013-2015⁶⁸.

Chart 3. African student numbers, 2015.



Online: Chinese Ministry of Education(via Michigan State University). Available at: <https://qz.com/africa/1505985/uganda-schools-to-teach-chinese-lessons/?fbclid=IwAR3ss0Xtueks6Xcj7J5RGxk31HcyPEehDNLyoSuvz00EWIV9-GoB94VUaTo> (Accessed on 29.11.2020)

By this chart it can be seen that China has more favours from African students and China established universities in Africa year by year it is increasing. It is noteworthy that in the plans for 2009-2014, the focus is increasingly shifting to cooperation in education,

⁶⁸ Action Plan 2013-2015 of the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the China - Africa Forum – Available at http://www.focac.org/eng/zywx_1/zywj/t954620.htm (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

science and technology in order to solve the problems of poverty and sustainable development in Africa. In particular, it was planned to create three large programs focused on cooperation in these areas: the program of the African-Chinese technological partnership, the African-Chinese program of joint research and exchange and the forum of think tanks of China and Africa(Obamba, 2013).

This shift in emphasis from simple infrastructure construction to solving more global problems has marked a new trend in China's African policy, confirming its claim to be a responsible member of the world community. Also worthy of mention is Beijing's intensification of media cooperation. Interaction in this area also has a long history: the first offices of the Xinhua news agency appeared in Africa in the 50s, and the first exchanges of journalists began in the late 60s. China operates in Africa in two ways: on the one hand, it stimulates the expansion of the presence of Chinese media in the region, on the other, it provides financial, technical and educational support to Africans in the development of their own media. In terms of strengthening the influence of the Chinese media itself, as of 2009, Xinhua opened about 28 representative offices in African countries(Xin, 2009), in 2012 China Daily began publishing in Kenya⁶⁹ and in the same year CCTV launched broadcasting on the continent(also in Kenya).

The teaching of the Chinese language to Africans is carried out both through the Confucius institutions and through the creation of higher education programs in the field of Sinology and individual courses at universities and schools. The first Confucius Institute appeared in Africa in 2005 in Kenya, by 2010 IC appeared in 16 African countries, as of 2013 there were already 46 in 30 countries of the continent⁷⁰. As for the programs initiated by African universities, their number is also increasing. For example, in 2007, a bachelor's program in Chinese studies appeared at the University of Zimbabwe, moreover, this university became the first in Africa to offer a master's program

⁶⁹ China Daily Newspaper Launches Africa Edition – Available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-20722952> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁷⁰ Confucius Institutes Official Site – Available at <http://www.chinesecio.com> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

“Chinese as a second foreign language”, which is fully provided by local teachers⁷¹. Other examples include the University of Nouakchott (Mauritania), where Chinese is included in the compulsory courses for study, the University of Tunisia, which developed the Chinese language courses launched in 1998 to the Bachelor's program, moreover, about 10 schools in Tunisia have introduced Chinese into the mainstream program⁷². Such a comprehensive educational diplomacy of China on the African continent allows it to solve several problems. First, through professional training, experienced local workforce is emerging in Africa, suitable for the implementation of joint technology projects; secondly, training Africans, who in the future may constitute the elite of the continent's countries, strengthens China's position in the region; Finally, it is educational programs focused on personal communication and a detailed explanation of the culture, politics and peculiarities of China that make it possible to productively build up "soft power."

Of course, financial assistance to the countries of the continent plays an important role in promoting China's positive image in Africa. As already noted, China fully supports and popularizes the idea of the active participation of developed countries in supporting Africa, writing off debts to poor African countries, which are often paid to the detriment of internal development, and other similar initiatives. For example, in 2000, at a regular meeting within the framework of the Forum, Beijing announced a write-off of USD 1.2 billion to African countries⁷³.

⁷¹ UZ Tops Africa in Teaching Chinese Language and Culture – Available at <https://www.herald.co.zw/uz-tops-africa-in-teaching-chinese-language-culture/> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁷² Chinese language learning increasingly popular in Africa – Available at <http://www.china.org.cn/english/MATERIAL/188317.htm> (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

⁷³ Africa welcomes China's debt relief move – Available at http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/english/200010/11/eng20001011_52381.html (Accessed on 16th of November 2020)

5 Results and Discussion

5.1 General Overview

In the practical part of the thesis we were given deep analyses based on Chinese authors and come up with a number of conclusions that served as an impetus for a deeper study of this problem. For example, the study of the experience of the great powers of the past has demonstrated the important role of "soft power" in the structure of the general power of the state. In particular, one of the reasons for the defeat of the USSR in the Cold War, which Chinese researchers study with particular care, also turned out to be insufficient attention to "soft power". In addition, the Chinese authors drew attention to the consonance of the concept of "soft power" with the traditional foreign policy doctrine of China. Like Nye's concept, traditional doctrine relied on the ability of the Middle State to incorporate other states into its values.

In addition, for the Chinese authors, the very idea of the superiority of non-force impact over force has successfully fit into the Chinese system of values. Confirmation of this has been found in classical philosophical and military treatises in China. Thus, the historical and cultural heritage turned out to be a good basis for adapting the concept of "Soft power" in modern political practice in China. However, more serious work was required to answer the question: what tools are needed for its practical implementation in modern conditions. In other words, what is public diplomacy and how can China use it effectively.

5.2 Recommendations

In the implementation of China's public diplomacy at the present stage in different regions of the world, some features can be distinguished. Thus, the strategy of public diplomacy of the PRC in Western countries is based on the spread of the idea that states with different political and social systems can peacefully coexist, and each country is free to choose the path of development. Believing that low levels of trust in China are due to limited and biased information about China in the West, the main emphasis of Chinese public diplomacy is on advocacy through educational programs and the media. At the moment, despite the fact that the efforts of the Chinese leadership are stimulating interest

in Western countries in Chinese culture, art and language, the attitude towards the political system and social structure of China remains rather negative. Western researchers tend to explain this phenomenon by insurmountable differences of a civilizational nature. In this context, Chinese public diplomacy towards Western countries can be recognized as not yet effective enough.

At the same time, China's public diplomacy towards developing countries is based on the thesis of a common destiny and the need to create a more just world order that provides a worthy place for all states. An important role here is played by China's positioning as the initiator and driving force of changes in the world system, active donation and humanitarian aid to poor countries, assistance with training specialists. Evaluating this vector of the PRC's activities, it can be recognized that Chinese public diplomacy has managed to achieve significant results in relation to developing countries. However, dissatisfaction with China's active build-up of military power and a negative attitude towards the political system of the PRC hinder the construction of a positive image.

6 Conclusion

The concept of "public diplomacy" remains one of the most controversial in the theory and history of international relations. In the most general sense, this is a state policy aimed at the peoples of foreign states in order to form a certain image of their country. However, to this day, discussions continue on the widest range of issues related to public diplomacy: what actors are the main actors of this policy, what activities are included in it, how such concepts as "cultural diplomacy", "people's diplomacy "or" propaganda ". Despite the fact that in the Chinese academic environment this term began to be used relatively recently, around the end of the 1990s, Chinese authors have already done a lot of work on its interpretation and adaptation to Chinese conditions. Starting in the 2000s, the PRC leadership began to purposefully introduce elements of public diplomacy into the country's foreign policy strategy.

The growing interest of Chinese authors in a specific foreign term in the late 1990s, and the subsequent boom in research on this topic, was caused by a number of events. First, a new round of interest in public diplomacy, which lost its popularity significantly after the end of the Cold War, was associated with the introduction of the concept of "soft power" by the American researcher Joseph Nye, which turned out to be attractive to Chinese politicians. Secondly, the strengthening of China, the largest East Asian country with a political model of development alien to liberal democracies, provoked the emergence of the theory of the "Chinese threat" in the West. As a result, the focus of Chinese researchers and politicians turned out to be the issues of the country's positioning in the world and its interaction with foreign audiences, namely, "soft power" as the basis of the country's attractiveness and public diplomacy as a tool for building it up.

One of the most laconic definitions of public diplomacy was offered by the former head of the Press Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Zhao Qizheng, who has been repeatedly called "China's main PR man" for his active work in this area. He identified the following main features of public diplomacy: it is led by the government, its object is the governments and peoples of foreign states, its goal is to improve the image of the state that implements it. The issue of the nature and essence of public diplomacy turned out to be much more controversial. As a result of scientific

debates within China, several main characteristics of public diplomacy with Chinese characteristics were formed, which received the support of the largest number of scholars, and then were reflected in the official political course: reliance on Chinese culture and traditional values as the basis of public diplomacy; focus not only on foreign recipients, but also on the citizens of their country; the reactive nature of public diplomacy, implying, first of all, the dissemination of information about China and the popularization of the Chinese point of view on world events, while refraining from criticizing other states and, moreover, from interfering in their internal affairs.

Chinese experts pay special attention to the problems that China has to solve in order to increase the effectiveness of public diplomacy: the lack of special structures dealing with public diplomacy, and, accordingly, qualified personnel, the lack of a comprehensive strategy, and the weak participation of civil society. Thus, it is safe to say that this topic is at the peak of popularity in China, and scientists are tirelessly working to solve the problems that the PRC faces in this area.

One of the examples of the first attempt to purposefully change world public opinion in favor of China is the initiative to create a system of foreign propaganda in the Republic of China, proposed by progressive Chinese journalists educated in the West. The large-scale program included both the creation of a professional Chinese media system and the attraction of foreign media resources from the port cities of China, as well as the publication of pro-Chinese literature and films for foreigners. In parallel, the Communist Party of China, which drew experience from the Soviet propaganda system, launched an active propaganda work. In 1928, the first specialized magazine *Pioneer* was published in San Francisco, the legendary meeting of Mao Zedong with the American journalist Edgar Snow took place, and in 1940, under the auspices of the Red China News Agency (later renamed *Xinhua*), China's first international radio station in Yunnan.

With the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a new historical era began. State propaganda has become the main instrument for influencing foreign audiences. Gradually, along with the development and transformation of both foreign and domestic policies of the PRC, it has evolved into a complex system of mechanisms and

institutions dealing with China's image in the world. Tracing the evolution of China's policy in this area, it was possible to distinguish three periods.

The first "preparatory" period, which began in 1949 and lasted until the end of the 70s, is characterized by the continued active use of foreign propaganda means. During this period, a number of English-language publications about China appeared (Beijing Review, China Pictorial), a special structure was created to coordinate all activities related to international communication - a steering group for external propaganda. However, the involvement of foreign journalists to review various aspects of China's life was minimized; they could work in China only under the condition of strict dosage of information and compliance with instructions. In the 50s, another direction was outlined, which later became a kind of visiting card of China - providing assistance to third world countries and positioning China as a leader in developing countries. It was during this period that the famous five principles of peaceful coexistence and eight principles of China's foreign aid were formulated. Finally, China began to develop cultural ties, primarily with communist countries and the young countries of Asia and Africa.

The beginning of the second "transitional" stage can be dated to the end of the 1970s, with the transition of the Chinese leadership to a pragmatic policy and a comprehensive revision of the entire foreign policy doctrine of the PRC. In 1978, at the III Plenum of the CPC Central Committee of the eleventh convocation, the theoretical foundations of modern foreign policy were laid, in particular, a decision was made to concentrate efforts on carrying out internal political reforms, abandoning the idea of spreading the world revolution and reducing confrontation with the superpowers of the USA and the USSR. The pragmatism of the new foreign policy course has had a significant impact on the goals and objectives of the media. The media management system has also undergone changes: the media were required to be guided by general guidelines and present information in a certain light, but received more freedom in choosing the news for coverage.

Gradually, a modern system of public diplomacy began to build up: in 1991, the Press Office under the State Council of the PRC was created to disseminate truthful information about China's foreign and domestic policies and to contribute to the creation of

an objective and reliable image of the country. The practice of publishing White Papers and holding press conferences in English has begun. With the transition to a pragmatic policy, the emphasis in the provision of foreign aid shifted - now the goal was not to support the communist movements, but to provide a peaceful environment for the needs of the country's development. The developed countries of the West gradually began to join the partnership in the field of culture and education, although the influence of Western culture continued to remain under strict control. In addition, in 1997, China promulgated a new security concept based on the principles of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation. Its appearance marked a new trend in public diplomacy: a departure from the policy of non-participation in international affairs and positioning the country as an active member of the world community.

In addition to the objective reasons that prompted the country's leadership to attend to the positioning of China in the world, by the beginning of the 21st century there were favorable conditions for the implementation of this policy. First, thanks to its incredible economic recovery, China has become capable of financially supporting large-scale foreign policy initiatives; secondly, China has officially presented to the world community the conceptual foundations of a modern foreign policy course. In 2003, at the Asian Forum in Boao, Zheng Bijiang, vice president of the central party school, voiced the idea of "peaceful rise" of China, noting that, unlike other powers of the past, which chose the path of aggression and expansion and ultimately failed China will develop peacefully and help create a peaceful international environment. In 2004, the concept was renamed "peaceful development" and in 2005 it was supplemented with the theory of "harmonious peace".

A clear assignment of priorities made it possible to formulate the goals of public diplomacy: positioning the PRC as a country whose activities are primarily aimed at internal development and improving the lives of its citizens; promoting the idea that China is a reliable economic partner, cooperation with which does not pose a threat; representing China as the keeper and conductor of the ancient cultural heritage, which it seeks to share with the world, and as a responsible member of the world community, interested in solving world problems. Thus, at the present stage, a complex system of public diplomacy has developed in China, including cultural and educational exchanges, information and explanatory work with foreign audiences, and an image direction, including holding major

events, helping countries in need, active participation in the activities of international organizations.

In general, summing up the analysis of the formation and development of public diplomacy of the PRC, we can conclude that throughout the history of the existence of the PRC, activities to influence the peoples of other states have invariably been present in the arsenal of this state's foreign policy. This policy has taken the form of a clearly articulated political strategy to build up Chinese influence in the world since the early 2000s. The active use of public diplomacy as a tool for building up "soft power" has led to the emergence of new forms of interaction with foreign audiences: cultural and educational programs have become more diverse, the quantity and quality of media in foreign languages is constantly improving, and great attention is paid to explaining politics through press conferences, interviews and publication of White Papers, China actively cooperates with international organizations, is a donor of humanitarian aid, organizer of major events.

A distinctive feature of modern public diplomacy of the PRC can be called its reactive nature: it is focused primarily on eradicating the myth of the "Chinese threat" and creating the image of a responsible world power. However, it seems that the long-term political task is to consolidate China's position as a leading world power, exerting a decisive influence on world processes. At the moment, despite significant progress, the success of China's public diplomacy is rather contradictory. It seems that it is too early to assess its effectiveness, since, firstly, the effect of many measures is manifested only in the long term, secondly, China is only at the initial stage of building an established system of public diplomacy, and thirdly, the country has to build a policy from the very beginning, in disadvantageous positions, in the conditions of a wary and often negative attitude of the world community. Undoubtedly, the strengths are that scientists and politicians are aware of the problems facing the country, take into account the importance of such factors as the development of a theoretical base, the training of qualified personnel, and the development of a policy focused on regional specifics.

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8 Appendix

Chart 1. American vs. Chinese Soft Power indicators, 2013

American vs. Chinese Soft Power

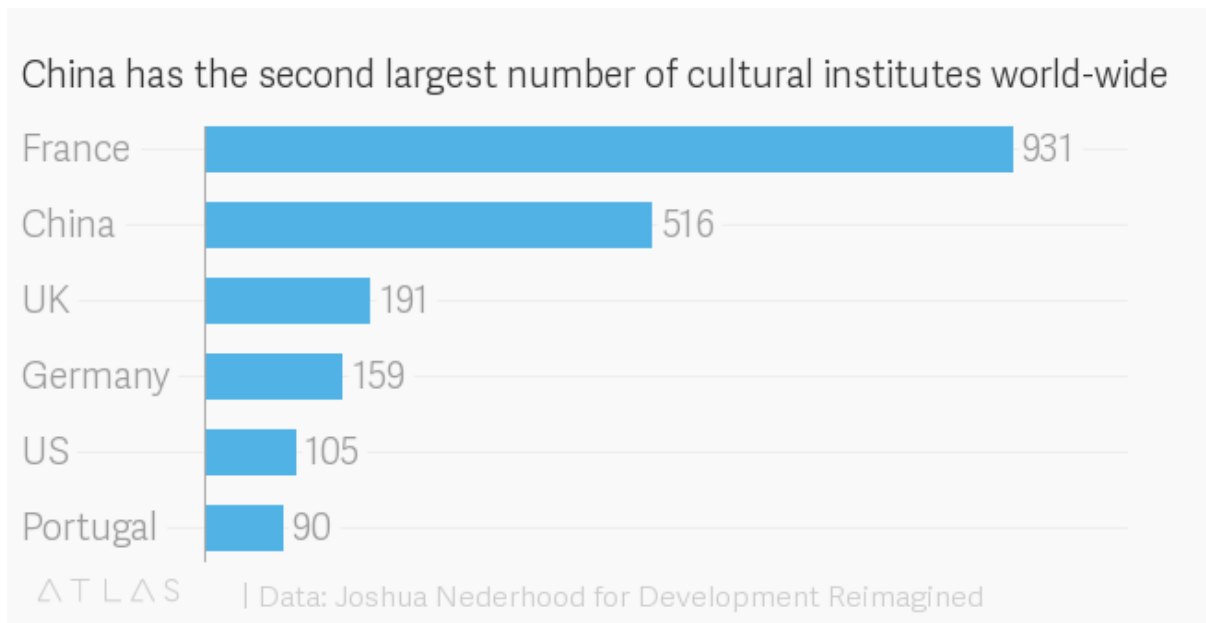
	<i>Latin America</i>		<i>Africa</i>	
	American	Chinese	American	Chinese
<i>Median % positive view of...</i>	%	%	%	%
Scientific & tech. advances	74	72	83	75
Music, movies and television	63	25	58	34
Ways of doing business	50	40	73	59
Ideas about democracy	43	--	73	--
Ideas and customs spreading	32	30	56	46

Latin American countries include: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico, Venezuela.

African countries include: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q48-Q52, Q60-Q63.

Chart 2. China's Cultural Institutes in EU, 2018



African student numbers in China have jumped in the last few years

