

Syracuse University

SURFACE

Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects

Spring 5-1-2012

Chinese Soft Power: The Role of Culture and Confucianism

Meng Meng

Follow this and additional works at: https://surface.syr.edu/honors_capstone



Part of the Asian Studies Commons

Recommended Citation

Meng, Meng, "Chinese Soft Power: The Role of Culture and Confucianism" (2012). *Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects*. 182.

https://surface.syr.edu/honors_capstone/182

This Honors Capstone Project is brought to you for free and open access by the Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects at SURFACE. It has been accepted for inclusion in Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects by an authorized administrator of SURFACE. For more information, please contact surface@syr.edu.

Chinese Soft Power: The Role of Culture and Confucianism

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at
Syracuse University

Meng Meng
Candidate for B.A Degree
and Renée Crown University Honors
May 2012

Honors Capstone Project in International Relations

Capstone Project Advisor: Professor, Terrill Lautz

Capstone Project Reader: Professor, Hongying Wang

Honors Director: Director, Stephen Kuusisto,

Date: 4/23/12

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2-3
Acknowledgements.....	4
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	5-6
Research questions.....	5
Methodology.....	6
Chapter 2: Soft Power in China.....	7-27
Chinese scholars discussion on soft power.....	7-10
Cultural diplomacy.....	10-16
Government’s focus on culture in public diplomacy.....	16-24
Importance of soft power with a focus on culture.....	24-27
Chapter 3: Case study - Confucius Institutes.....	28-44
Confucianism and soft power.....	28
Criticism of Confucianism.....	29-30
Revival of Confucianism.....	30-34
Introduction of the Confucius Institutes.....	34-37
Challenges to Confucius Institutes.....	37-41
he success of the Confucius Institutes.....	41-44
Chapter 4: Results of China’s Soft power projection.....	45-58
World opinion toward China and the U.S.	45-49
Chinese perception of cultural soft power deficits	49-53
The U.S. perception on cultural soft power deficit.....	53-55
U.S. - China mutual perceptions.....	55-58
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	59-67
References.....	68-74
Appendices.....	75-76
Summary.....	76-82

Abstract

Soft power, a term coined by American scholar Joseph S. Nye in the early nineties, has been widely used in the academic and political arenas. This paper attempts to analyze soft power from Chinese perspectives. By thoroughly examining official documents, scholarly writings, news reports, and various related websites, I hope to address the following questions: how do Chinese scholars interpret soft power? What is soft power with Chinese characteristics? How does China wield its soft power? What is the importance of soft power? What are the results of Chinese soft power building? And finally, is it a zero-sum game competing with U.S. soft power building?

My study reveals that Chinese scholars have a broader interpretation of soft power that goes beyond Nye's discussion on soft power. Soft power in Chinese discourse focuses more on China's domestic situation. Following Chinese scholars' discussion on soft power, Chinese politicians used culture as the main source of Chinese soft power building. Confucianism has resurged as a primary feature for Chinese culture exporting. The Chinese government has put a great deal of effort into exporting Chinese culture through Confucius Institutes worldwide and through various Chinese cultural events. By comparing results of U.S. and China soft power projection, I reached the conclusion that even though China has been aggressive in soft power projection, there are limitations because of its political system, while the U.S.'s popular culture still plays a dominant role worldwide. Both countries feel threatened by each other. Soft power projection,

however, is not a zero-sum game but a good way to increase mutual understanding in order to avoid future value clashes and conflicts.

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor of this project, Professor Terry Lautz, for his valuable guidance and advice. He inspired me greatly during my work. His willingness to motivate me contributed tremendously to my Capstone project. I also would like to thank him for providing me with many resources that related to the topic. In addition, I would like to thank Professor Wang Hongying for her constant support and help on the project. Also, I would like to thank the Renée Crown University Honors Program for offering this opportunity for me to research and write about a topic that really interests me. Finally, an honorable mention goes to my family and friends for their understanding and support. I am truly grateful to everyone mentioned above for encouraging and assisting me to complete this project.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In recent years, references to the term “soft power” have become widespread in China, and people who study Chinese politics and international relations have written about soft power and its related concepts. Soft power, coined by American scholar Joseph S. Nye in the early nineties, has been widely used in the academic and political arenas. According to Nye, the power a state exercises can be divided into two categories: hard power, referring to military and economic power; and soft power, indicating the ability to achieve goals through attraction rather than coercion.

Especially since Chinese leaders announced the idea of China’s peaceful rise in 2003, Chinese intellectuals have given a great deal of attention to China’s soft power projection worldwide. A number of papers about soft power can be found in Chinese journals and newspapers, but there is no consensus among Chinese scholars on their definition of soft power.

The purpose of my project is to examine the overall understanding of soft power among Chinese scholars, politicians, and the public; the projection or implementation of soft power; and the results of China’s soft power projection in recent years. This paper poses several research questions. A good starting point is to understand how Chinese scholars interpret soft power. The paper presents how Chinese scholars and politicians discuss the concept, and how well the public accepts the idea. How is it different from Nye’s definition of soft power? What is soft power with Chinese characteristics? What is the rationale for this attention to

soft power? How does China wield its soft power? What is the role of culture in public diplomacy? How is China exporting its soft power? How effective is China's cultural soft power projection? Is it a zero-sum game competing with the U.S. to increase China's influence, or is the objective to build better understanding and communication worldwide?

Methodology

Methodologically, most comments and analyses are collected from prominent journal articles written by scholars. Other sources include media reports, newspaper articles, government officials' speeches and scholars' lectures. The first section briefly introduces Joseph Nye's definition of soft power and Chinese scholars' discussions of soft power. The second section discusses Chinese cultural soft power and a variety of sources for China's cultural diplomacy. The third section examines the Chinese government's increasing attention to soft power and the role of culture in public diplomacy. Given the above analysis, the next section points out the importance of soft power in China. The fifth section briefly examines the history of Confucianism, which is central to Chinese definitions of soft power, and uses Confucius Institutes as a case study to provide a concrete analysis China's soft power projection. The last section evaluates the effectiveness of China's soft power projection by comparing it with the U.S.'s soft power. The conclusion sums up the previous ideas and discusses their potential implications for China, the United States and the world.

Chapter 2

Soft Power in China

Chinese scholars' discussion on soft power

The term “soft power,” coined by Joseph S. Nye in his book *Bound to Lead* in the early nineties, has been widely used in the academic and political arenas. In his following book published in 2004, Nye polished the definition of soft power as comprised of three factors: culture, ideology and values, and foreign policy. According to Nye, the power a state exercises can be divided into two categories: hard power, referring to military and economic power; and soft power, indicating the ability to achieve power through attraction rather than coercion. Shortly after Joseph Nye’s book *Bound to Lead* was introduced to China in 1992, former president Jiang Zemin’s chief advisor, also a former professor at Shanghai Fudan University, Wang Huning, stressed the need of strengthening Chinese soft power with a focus on culture, saying “if a country has an admirable culture and ideological system, other countries will tend to follow it.... It does not have to use its hard power which is expensive and less efficient” (Wang, 1993, p. 91). Many sociologists and philosophers in China embraced this idea and started to pay attention to the concept of soft power. In initial discussions, Chinese scholars mainly introduced and evaluated Joseph Nye’s definition of soft power. In 1997, a professor at Nankai University, Pang Zhongying, published an article in *Strategy and Management* discussing soft power in greater detail. More and more scholars joined the discussion of soft power. Shen Jiru (1999), a prominent American specialist, also called for strengthening China’s soft power.

It was not until 2003, when the government delivered the idea of China's peaceful rise, that the discussion on soft power became more complex. A number of papers about soft power appeared in Chinese journals and newspapers, but there was no consensus among Chinese scholars on the definition of soft power.

In his earlier books, Nye focuses the discussion of soft power on popular culture and political models, and on strategically combining hard power and soft power (known as "smart power"), aiming to improve international standing and further expand U.S. values and assimilate other cultures. Chinese scholars, on the other hand, concentrate on developing soft power for different purposes, which are to benefit economic development, to counter the negative impressions of China, to create a beneficial international environment for China's peaceful rise, and to persuade others to understand and welcome China's development through exporting its traditional culture (Zheng, and Zhang, 2007). Cultural power and political power are the two factors in soft power projection. Some scholars believe that culture is the soul of a country and it permeates into all fields in the society, while others argue that political power plays a decisive role in soft power projection and becomes the most important factor in soft power projection. With respect to the Chinese approach to soft power, some scholars emphasize national development strategy and stress institutional reforms, while others concentrate on foreign policy making to support China's rise as a global power. Both are necessary from a Chinese perspective: "The Chinese approach to soft power is holistic: the domestic and foreign policy aspects of soft-power development are conceived as an organic whole" (Glaser and Murphy, 2009, p. 20). China is

focusing on developing economics and building a “harmonious” society through internal institutional reforms and calling for harmonious development externally.

Based on Nye’s definition and China’s situation in East Asia, Chen Xiansi (2006) gave a broader interpretation of soft power. This broader concept of soft power, including culture, diplomacy, multinational organizations, overseas investments, tariff reduction, foreign student exchanges, and foreign aid, is used by China and other countries.

According to Glaser and Murphy (2009), the discussions became more sophisticated as scholars started to analyze soft power in the context of China’s current society with China’s peaceful rise and development, which also can be termed as “soft power with Chinese characteristics.” To differentiate Chinese soft power from American soft power, Pang Zhongying (1997) wrote that the structure and content of soft power vary because of diverse traditions, different civilizations, and various developing paths of countries. He added that Nye’s definition of soft power is a limited one based on American experiences. If China follows Nye’s model to assimilate others into Chinese culture, using the Chinese development model and socialist values, it will lead to power competition between the U.S. and China, and will work against China’s wish for a peaceful development environment. Thus, finding China’s own soft power projection model becomes very important (Cao, 2010). This captured the attention of the government as well as the general public. Communist Party of China Central Party School professor Men Honghua (2007) pointed out that China’s soft power discussion should be

enriched with Chinese practices, which will be further explained in the discussion below on cultural diplomacy.

Joseph Nye downplayed China's ability to develop its soft power. He argued that because of an immature cultural industry and lack of intellectual freedom and political corruption, China's soft power, despite being culturally attractive, could not be effectively projected as compared to the U.S and Europe (Cho and Jong, 2008). He changed his attitude just a year later. In an article published in *The Wall Street Journal Asia* in 2005, he cited examples of the U.S.'s absence from the East Asian Summit, and disregarded favorable public polling to the U.S., China's first winner Nobel Prize for Literature Gao Xingjian, Chinese basketball star Yao Ming, and the establishment of Confucius Institutes. In doing so, Nye claimed that soft power development is a zero-sum game; thus, the U.S. government should give more attention to it (Nye, 2005). This aroused debates among scholars in China. Many saw Nye's statement as a "soft power" version of "China threat theory." In response to China's surging economy and military buildup, according to some Chinese observers, the U.S. was intending to constrain China's development and maintain American's hegemony in the world (Zhang, 2006).

Cultural diplomacy

Culture is seen as an important source of soft power projection. Milton C. Cummings, American political scientist and author, defines cultural diplomacy as "the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs, and other

aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding” (Cummings, 2003, p. 1). This cultural exchange can take place in various fields including art, sports, literature, music, science and the economy. Such exchange bridges mutual understanding and reduces stereotypes, which leads to better communication and respect between the cultures involved. The potential is to enable improved interaction and cooperation. Cultural diplomacy aims to achieve long-term benefits, for instance, promoting national interests, building relationships, enhancing socio-cultural understanding, and promoting trade and foreign investments.

Cummings’ definition of cultural diplomacy stresses the exchange of ideas and culture. However, other scholars define cultural diplomacy as the influence of one country on another. Cultural exchange is seen as a platform to achieve national and political purposes.

There are many approaches through which a country can build up soft power. These include news and radio channels, satellite TV, the internet, book publishing, cultural events and performance, worldwide events like the Olympic games, Chinese learning institutes, students’ and experts’ exchanges, academic communication, and tourism (Shen, 2006).

Some scholars found that soft power and hard power are closely related and a clear division is impossible in the actual exercise of power. Zhang Lidong (2003) claimed that hard power is the main approach of power display. Though soft power has become more important, hard power is the foundation of soft power. Wang Huning (1994) also pointed out that developing countries are still

weak in terms of soft power projection, but with the development of political, economic and technical powers, the power of culture and values will be enhanced.

Liu Zunyi (2004) emphasized using “appealingness” as the core of soft power projection, corresponding with ancient Chinese philosophy of “win people by virtue.” Du Ruiqing, the former president of Xi’an International Studies University, said,

Culture is a soft power that effectively penetrates to quench misunderstanding and hostility between people of different races. Once the world’s people come to know about the Chinese people better they will find out that harmony is an essential part of Chinese tradition and a country that values harmony poses absolutely no threat to the rest of the world. (“China threat,” 2006)

A scholar named Gao Zhanxiang concluded that cultural power is the core of soft power in his book published in 2007.

The current minister of culture, Cai Wu, brought up the same idea when he described Chinese culture in his speech at Wilson Center in 2011: “Culture in Chinese history has long being compared to water, which are both gentle and nourishing. It is compared to spring rain at night, quietly nourishing everything from human souls to society to the whole world.”

In Cai’s view, China’s ancient history and traditional culture are precious assets to attract not only neighboring countries with which they share Confucian heritage but also countries around the world. Holding the belief that “the core of soft power is culture,” Yu Xintian, director emeritus of the Shanghai Institute of

International Studies (SIIS), wrote that “the more fashionable the ideology, the more people will accept it and the greater the possibility to build the country’s soft power” (Yu, 2008, p. 16). He believes contemporary Chinese culture reflects Chinese traditional values as well as Marxism, socialism, and well-accepted western values on technology and education (Yu, 2008).

There has been a deficit in cultural trade between China and the U.S., according to some Chinese scholars: “For instance, in 2004, China imported 4,068 categories of books from the U.S. and exported only 14. In 2005, in the intellectual property rights trade with the U.S., the ratio of import and export was 4,000:24” (Li, 2008, p. 15). Many intellectuals acknowledged that the weakness of China’s soft power is most evident in China’s export of cultural products and the relatively weak influence of China’s mass media in the international arena. Given the enormous attention from the government on soft power projection, the situation began to change. Sun Jiazheng, former Chinese minister of Culture, following the 2006 National Planning Guideline for Cultural Development, pushed for exporting cultural products. He described the situation and identified shortcomings of Chinese culture industry, as it started off late and lagged behind the industry in the U.S. in terms of quantity and quality (Sun, 2006).

Festival occasions, entertaining and not politically controversial, can be easily accepted by people. Thus, Chinese festival occasions are used worldwide to promote understanding of Chinese culture. These include the 1999 Paris China Culture week, the 2000 U.S. Tour of Chinese Culture, the 2001 China Festival in Berlin, the 2002 Beijing culture week in Canada, and China year in France in

2004 and in Russia in 2007. They usually start and end with celebrities' speeches. These festival events present arts exhibitions and performance with movie weeks to showcase the uniqueness of Chinese culture. Many celebrations of Chinese holidays and customs can be found in Latin American countries as well: "Venezuela and China have formalized a cultural exchange program for the period 2006-2008, including exchanges in arts, film, literature, and music" (Glaser and Murphy, 2009).

At the same time, various organizations and institutions have held dialogues and forums to promote soft power projection. The China Foreign Languages Bureau organized a conference on "trans-cultural communications and soft power building" in 2006 in Beijing, and a conference on "national soft power construction and the development of China's public relations" was sponsored by the International Public Center at Fudan University in 2007. In April 2006, a Buddhist forum in Hangzhou showed Chinese peaceful cultural heritage (Lai, 2006). This forum attracted over 1,000 Buddhist monks, experts and politicians from 34 countries and areas. It also marked China's use of Buddhism to showcase its peaceful cultural lineage. One of the three topics at the forum was Buddhism's peaceful mission to mobilize nations and religions to work for a peaceful, prosperous and harmonious world. Liu Yandong, vice-chairwoman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), said at the opening ceremony, "Buddhism has made important contribution to world peace and human civilization in the history. The forum will play a positive role in exploring how Buddhism can contribute to building a

harmonious world” (Lu, 2006, p. 3). Also, the 2008 Olympic Games, the 2010 Shanghai Expo, and the Confucius Institutes program all indicate China’s efforts to resurge and revive itself as one of the world’s most influential countries. The central budget for cultural undertakings reached 12.3 billion Yuan (ca. 1.9 billion US\$) in 2006, a 23.9 percent increase compared with 2005. The budget for diplomatic spending on soft power activities in 2007 was set to rise 37.3 percent to 23 billion Yuan (ca. 3.6 billion US\$) (Li, Cheng and Wang, 2007).

China has earned 33 UNESCO World Heritage sites featuring China’s cultural history and natural wonders, including the Great Wall, the Imperial Palace, and Mount Huangshan, which attract foreigners worldwide (Lai, 2006).

In some countries, devotees of the martial art Tai Chi Chuan have been meeting to exercise for over thirty years. Chinese celebrities are emerging on the international stage. Accomplished athletes like basketball player Yao Ming and pianist Lang Lang, and famous Kong Fu movie stars Bruce Lee and Jackie Chan (from Hong Kong) became “cultural envoys” for China. In recent years, Chinese movies and directors have been nominated for prestigious international awards and Chinese designers are seen in the world’s top fashion shows. Though these are all individual achievements, which are not directed by the Chinese government, they deliver a new image of China to the world. For people who do not know China, these favorable exposures are the most effective ways of promoting China. Through cultural promoting, China hopes to assure the world that it is a civilized, responsible and trustworthy nation (Lai, 2006). According to Pang Zhongying, a professor of International Relations at Renmin University,

“Officially and unofficially, the development of the nation’s soft power has been regarded as a pressing task and is near the top of China’s list of priorities” (Pang, 2008).

Government’s focus on culture in public diplomacy

Culture and politics are closely related. “How culture interfaces with politics is essential to human affairs,” James Leach, former Senator and head of the National Endowment for the Humanities in the U.S., said. “If people of one country can respect culture of another, it is more likely that any differences arisen can be managed peacefully and constructive. One the other hand, if the mutual respect is lacking, the likelihood of less peaceful and less constructive approach being established is high” (Leach, 2011).

The Chinese government has an obvious focus on culture in its public diplomacy. Alan Henrikson, a professor of diplomatic history at Tufts Fletcher School, defines public diplomacy as

the conduct of international relations by governments through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of nongovernmental entities (political parties, corporations, trade associations, labor unions, educational institutions, religious organizations, ethnic groups, and so on including influential individuals) for the purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments. (Hendrikson, 2005)

Public diplomacy is one aspect of soft power projection.

From the very beginning of Communist China's political history, culture and politics have been closely related. Chairman Mao, during his speech in Yanan back in 1942, claimed that culture should serve politics:

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake; art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine. Therefore, Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period. (p. 69)

As for today, China has been opened up for more than thirty years. Culture is no longer strictly controlled and it is no longer focused on revolutionary ideology. There has been an important shift from using culture as a tool for political goals to accepting culture as independent from politics. A variety of arts and literature are allowed to blossom and once criticized foreign cultures are imported to enrich people's lives. However, we can still feel government's strong hand over culture to eliminate those elements that threaten the regime. Chinese culture is still used as propaganda by the Party.

Nye's discussion on soft power brought people's attention to the topic. Building on China's tradition of soft power projection, scholars have developed a

deeper understanding about the importance of public diplomacy and how China can utilize culture to build soft power. Resonating with scholars' discussions on soft power, government officials advocated soft power projection with a focus on culture, implying peaceful development through attractiveness. There has been an increase of conversations within the Party focusing on soft power. Many foreigners consider China as a culturally unique country, of which the Chinese government took advantage in their cultural diplomacy. The current minister of culture, Cai Wu, noted, "Culture exchange can bridge the hearts and minds of our people, deepen our mutual understanding and trust." The government believes if foreigners understand China better, they will be more accommodating of China's interests (Starr, 2009, p. 80).

In the political report to the 16th Chinese Communists Party (CCP) Congress on November 8, 2002, former president Jiang Zemin pointed out, "In today's world, culture intertwines with politics and economics, demonstrating a more prominent position and role in the competition for comprehensive national power." Right after the 16th CPC Congress, a policy, China's cultural system reform, was approved to make socialist culture with Chinese characteristics, contrary to feudalism and capitalism, a powerful attraction and inspiration not only to the Chinese people, but to people worldwide (Glaser and Murphy, 2009). Propaganda chief Liu Yunshan (2002) noted that the power of culture had become an important component in international competition and building of culture was set as a guiding principle.

Zhao Qizheng, the former director of the State Council Information Office, indicated in 2006 that Rome, Britain and the U.S., the three historical world powers, did not only build on economic and military power but were also supported by their cultural strengths. In order for this ancient civilization to sustain its development, China should regard reviving its culture and strengthening cultural communication with the outside world as an important task for the nation's destiny (Shen, 2006).

Since taking office in 2003, Hu Jintao, president of People's Republic of China, has been advocating for a harmonious world and China's peaceful rise, pursuing soft power in international relations. China could use its cultural attractiveness to enhance its national image and counter the "China threat" theory as well as to ease external concerns over China's economic development. In May 2004, the CCP Politburo held its 13th collective seminar on "Development and Prosperity of Chinese Philosophy and Social Science." The main purpose of this seminar was to introduce the so-called "Beijing Consensus" and attract international attention on Chinese development. While the Washington Consensus includes marketization, privatization, democracy and public participation, China promotes its own state-led development model which some call the "Beijing Consensus," by inviting elite members from countries such as Vietnam, Venezuela, Myanmar, North Korea and Brazil to study the Chinese model of economic development (Kurlantzick, 2007).

The Beijing Consensus represents an alternative development model compared to Washington Consensus of market friendly policies promoted by the

IMF, the World Banks and the U.S. Treasury. Holding the seminar indicated that Chinese leaders wanted to pursue Chinese soft power strategically (Yang, 2004, p. 14). The term “peaceful rise” (*heping jueqi*) was replaced by the term “peaceful development” (*heping fazhan*) by officials after 2004. President Hu Jintao also made this clear at the Central Foreign Affairs Leadership Group meeting on 4 January 2006: “The increase in our nation’s international status and influence will have to be demonstrated in hard power such as the economy, science and technology, and defense, as well as in soft power such as culture” (Ma, 2007). In the same year, Hu declared, “The one who takes commanding point on the battlefield of cultural development will gain the upper hand in fierce international competition” (“Hu Jintao”, 2006). Chinese leaders brought out the concept of soft power building quite frequently. Premier Wen Jiabao also said, “We should expand cultural exchanges with other countries. Cultural exchanges are a bridge connecting the hearts and minds of people...an important way to project a country’s image.”

In the 17th Party’s Congress in 2007, “National Cultural Soft Power” was officially introduced by President Hu, who stressed the importance of upgrading China’s soft power with cultural development, which indicates that soft power had become the focus of China’s strategic development (“*Guangming Daily*”, 2007). “Culture has become a more and more important source of national cohesion and creativity and a factor of growing significance in the competition in overall national strength,” said President Hu at the 17th Communist Party Congress in 2007. He tied soft power and the role of culture together and advocated for

enhancing China's cultural soft power (*Wenhua ruanshili*), which should be achieved by cultural innovation. China aimed to develop its cultural industry, launch major cultural projects, nurture investors, create a thriving cultural market and enhance its international competitiveness (Bandurski, 2007). Soft power and culture became the headlines in many newspapers in the aftermath of the 17th Congress. Various cultural communities held discussion sessions on cultural soft power. The China Institute on Contemporary International Relations and the Institute of Strategic Studies of the Central Party School both conducted comprehensive studies on soft power (Li, 2008).

In July 2007, the CPPCC National Committee held a special session on “Cultural Construction as the Main Approach for National Soft Power Building.” At the meeting, Jia Qinglin, CPPCC Chairman and a member of the CCP Politburo Standing Committee, urged Chinese officials to “deeply understand the importance of national soft power with cultural construction as the main task” in order to both meet domestic demands and enhance China's competitiveness in the international arena.

The leadership's Five-Year Plan for Cultural Development reinforced the expansion of media and cultural related enterprises. The plan stated that “deepening the systematic reform of the cultural sector and promote cultural prosperity is necessary for the creation of a moderately prosperous society for the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics” (Du, n.d., p. 1). China aims to form public opinion powers commensurate with China's international status.

Party's propaganda chief, Liu Yunshan, aiming to push "cultural industry development," toured Henan province and noted,

The first 20 years of this century are a key strategic period in China's modernization process and also a key strategic period for cultural development. We must firmly grasp this historical opportunity, energetically promoting cultural development, working hard to achieve a major rise in our nation's cultural soft power. (Bandurski, 2007, p. 6)

Cultural products and activities are not only organized by the citizens but also promoted by the government. The government realized that there is a fast growing need for cultural products and services. During a speech at the Wilson Center in Washington, DC, Minister of Culture Cai Wu explained in detail about China's approach to the peaceful projection of soft power:

The Chinese government attaches high importance to the cultural our generation and nation, and cultural wellbeing of our people. We are working hard, to build a nationwide network of public culture services, boosting our culture industry encouraging innovation promoting cultural, diversity and learning from other cultures extensively. We uphold the principle of let hundreds of flowers blossom and hundred schools of thought contend, and seek to the culture life of our citizens with high quality of culture products and services. In the last three decades of reforming and opening up, the culture of harmony has supported China to achieve greater progress in economic growth, social stability and ethnic solidarity, as well as the great improvement of our

people's living standards. When looking at China's progress many visionary researches have neglected, when pieced together different dimensions of Chinese culture, we could invariably find a picture of cultural China underneath a more apparent image of economic China. Culture is an important powerhouse and headspring for China's development. In today's China, when China adopts the concept and approach scientific development, set up its goal of building a harmonious society and determination of further reform and opening up. It is Chinese culture's commitment to harmony and our people's collective wills for peace that is at work. (Cai, 2011)

Chinese culture has played an important role in people's lives, and as Cai said, it is the powerhouse and engine to boost China's social and economic development. Based on the Chinese culture of harmony, Cai stressed Chinese people's collective will of peaceful rise and development.

In order to educate foreigners about China, the Chinese government appropriated 45 billion Yuan (US\$7 billion) in January 2007 to make over its media, establishing Chinese TV, cable and Internet broadcasts worldwide, promoting Chinese language learning, and actively participating in regional multinational organizations (Meng, 2007). CCTV 9, China's English speaking channel with services in English, Spanish, and French, plans to open new services in Russian and Arabic. The state-run news agency Xinhua is also planning to open more bureaus overseas. A recent venture is CNC world, which is intended to

compete with CNN and BBC, commenting on world major issues from Chinese perspectives.

The importance of soft power with a focus on culture

“From the reevaluation of Chinese traditional culture and search for a ‘socialist core value system,’ to following the ‘scientific development concept’ and establishing a harmonious society; and the debate over how to combat ‘China threat’ theory and establishing a harmonious world, soft power has been a common thread” (Glaser, and Murphy, 2009).

As we have seen, the concept of soft power has gained enormous attention in China. Now that China has developed significant hard power, it is important to build up its soft power in order to pave the way for further development worldwide and to promote mutual understanding with other countries. To summarize, soft power is important for several reasons. Soft power is seen as an alternative approach to maintain sustainable development, to counter-balance China’s increase in hard power, and to create a tranquil and stable international environment that is not only favorable to China’s development, but also beneficial to win-win cooperation, mutual trust, and equality.

First, internally, soft power building is conducive to the domestic program of building a “harmonious society, a concept that Hu-Wen leadership proposed to tackle mounting domestic social challenges as well as to maintain the legitimacy of the Party” (Li, 2008).

Second, soft power is an important self-defense shield (Li, 2008). Success in soft power projection can dispel misperception and misunderstanding held by some foreign commentators. This also helps to improve China’s image, damaged

by massive foreign media coverage of the protests in Tibet and the Olympic torch relay in 2008. China needs greater soft power to gain more understanding from people worldwide:

The Chinese culture is the only ancient human civilization that has continued without interruption. It reflects Chinese people's confirm believe in harmony and balance. "This culture is also a compassionate culture, centered on humanity, and a set of humanitarian ethnics that ask people to extend one's empathy from self to others from the near to the far. (Cai, 2011)

In the past, China was in a self-sufficient agriculture civilization. Chinese ancestors were devoted to farming their own land. When the invaders came, their instinct was to build the great wall to defend instead of participating in a battle. China has never colonized any country:

Today China is always upholding its defensive policy in its national security and will never embark on the old path of other countries in seeking hegemony when being strong. As its economic relation with other countries, China always adheres to peace and mutual benefits. Over 600 years ago, the great Chinese navigator Zheng He led seven maritime expeditions to as far as Kenya in East Africa. During his maritime expedition, he didn't bring one single soldier forces instead he brought with him, china, teas, silk and technology. All his voyages were recognized as voyages of peace. (Cai, 2007)

All these stories are told to show that China is a peaceful nation, and it will develop with harmony and become a responsible world leader.

With China's opening up and its growing economic power, the nation has made great contribution to the world economy. However, in terms of western markets and natural resources, China has become a strong competitor, which has threatened many countries. Therefore, China needs out-of-the-box thinking and a new strategy to further develop its economy. Soft power development with a focus on culture, implying peaceful development through attractiveness, is the best strategy to counter the "China threat" thesis. China aspires to higher international status and greater international influence, which can be achieved not only with hard power but also through harmonious soft power projection.

Third, with the defensive approaches mentioned above, China has embarked on a policy of peaceful and sustainable development that includes culture. "Only when a country has its influential power can it sustain national development," said Zhao Qizheng (Shen, 2006).

Minister Cai said,

We understand that our world today is undergoing major transformations, adjustments, and development. As economy and political globalization further deepen, the interactions and interdependence between different countries have become more and increasingly intensive. There is a universal consensus for all nations to seek peace and development cooperation. (Cai, 2011)

He also pointed out some challenges and threats as barriers to worldwide peaceful development, for instance, regional conflicts, terrorism, cross border security, financial crisis and energy, water shortage. Cai claimed, “Chinese people have been holding high the banner of peace, development and cooperation. China, as always, upholds a defensive policy of our national security, and will never embark on the old path of some countries in ‘seeking hegemony when strong’” (2011).

But the global situation is not as simple as Cai suggests, and his ideals may prove to be wishful thinking. In order to fuel China's economy, the Chinese government needs to purchase raw materials, so sudden change of public sentiment could easily hurt Chinese economic expansion. The destiny of countries is bound together, so it is to China’s benefit to maintain a stable and peaceful environment for further development: “China hopes to convey a thoughtful, innovative, and responsible and, most importantly, peaceful friend to all nations” (Lugar report, 2011, p. 5).

Chapter 3

Case study: Confucius Institutes

Confucianism and soft power

Ranging an uninterrupted long history, traditional Chinese culture became the most valuable source of Chinese soft power. A contemporary Chinese scholar writes, “‘Harmony’ stresses ‘giving priority to human beings’ (*yirenweiben*) and ‘Harmony between nature and humankind’ (*tianrenheyi*) appeals to the world in an era of cultural diversification and globalization. This ideology also provides alternative approaches in addressing current problems, thus putting Chinese culture in a more advantageous position in the post-industrial information era (Li, 2008, p.10).

The concept of soft power is embedded in many ancient Chinese philosophies, most prominently Confucianism, the tradition of thought and practice associated with a renowned scholar Kong Fuzi. This tradition has been identified as Ru (儒). “Ru means ‘soft,’ ‘gentle,’ ‘enduring,’ and, sometimes, ‘weak’” (De Bary, 1999, p. 41). The doctrine of Confucius includes obedience, clemency, harmony, mercy, beneficence, benignancy and benignity. Confucianism extols a king who relies on moral force not physical force, believing that the kingly way (*wangdao*) will triumph over the hegemon’s way (*badao*), emphasizing moral forces and virtue over martial prowess.

Criticism of Confucianism

Confucianism has influenced China for more than 2,500 years. Confucianism emphasizes hierarchical relations and education. However, the state examination system in the late Qing dynasty, based on the Confucian classics, lacked any flexibility. While other Asian countries opened their doors to learn from western modernization and advanced technology, Chinese people in the Qing dynasty were not as open to alternatives. That is one of the reasons why the Taiping Rebellion tried to overturn this feudal ideology of Confucianism in the 1850s and 1860s. Kenneth Lieberthal, director of the John L. Thornton China Center at the Brookings Institute in Washington DC, told *China Daily* that “a lot of Chinese people felt that the reason China became so vulnerable to aggression from the West and from Japan was because of the Confucian system” (Chung, 2010, p. 11). Confucianism as a philosophy had been guiding China for many years, but rigid Confucianism as the basis for the system of government became a real problem.

During the May Fourth Movement of 1919, embracing western values of science and democracy instead of being politically conservative, Chinese intellectuals shouted "Down with the Confucian store!" (Mooney, 2007). Confucianism once again became the target. However, the ideology was still rooted deeply inside Chinese people's hearts.

Communists denounced Confucius again during the Cultural Revolution (1966-67), mainly for the reason that Confucianism represented the past and did not accord with revolutionary values. “The Chinese are probably the only people

in the world who have sought to thoroughly abandon their own thought, culture, and traditions”, said Guoxiang Peng, an associate professor at Tsinghua University (Mooney, 2007, p. 6).

The Revival of Confucianism

Today, a century after being blamed as a barrier to China's development, Confucianism has reentered Chinese society as a potential solution to many current social problems (Mooney, 2007).

In early 2011, a week before President Hu Jintao's visit to the U.S., a giant bronze Confucius statue was placed on the east side of Tiananmen Square by the government, which caused confusion among people because Confucianism was once vilified by the revolutionary government. The statue was removed without explanation a few weeks later. Books on Confucianism appeared in bookstores. Eighteen domestic Chinese universities started to offer courses on Confucianism or help to set up Confucius Institutes. Peking University started a 12-month program on Confucius studies for business people. A popular TV series was offered by Beijing lecturer Yu Dan in 2006 (Starr, 2009). Ms. Yu explained the *Analects of Confucius* in simple words and attracted public attention to the topic.

This once criticized ideology now regained its status and became the central feature for exporting culture in today's China for the following reasons.

First, Confucius advocates mercy, loyalty, courtesy, and wisdom. It aligns with the contemporary Chinese development model: harmony and peaceful

development. Confucius' ideology now is an ethical heritage that the Chinese government wants to rejuvenate. Internally, the income gap has widened along with China's economic development, causing social tensions within Chinese society. Under these circumstances, Confucianism's advocacy of equality of opportunity through education regardless of income level becomes very attractive to the Chinese government to maintain a harmonious society (Starr, 2009). Externally, because Confucianism is embedded into Chinese cultural history, it exemplifies harmony and helps to counter the China threat theory: "Confucianism extols a king who relies on moral force not physical force, believing that the kindly way will triumph over the hegemon's way" (Glaser and Murphy, 2009, p. 12), which increases China's influence worldwide in a peaceful way.

Second, Roger Ames, professor at the University of Hawaii-Manoa, pointed out that in order to catch up with the rapid trend of economic development, China has moved quickly toward a free-market economy, along with widened income gaps. Thus, few people still believe in Marxism and Communism, leaving an ideological vacuum in the current society. Experiencing a spiritual void, people will not have a fundamental belief system to cope with current challenges. Books on Yu Dan's lectures mentioned above became best sellers in China and sold more than three million copies over four months. "People are looking for some sort of spiritual values for everyday life" (Mooney, 2007, para.17), says Stephen C. Angle, a Fulbright scholar at Peking University and a professor of philosophy at Wesleyan University.

In addition, I believe that in order to maintain China's development in a sustainable way, some Confucius doctrines are strongly needed in the current society. People need to avoid being shortsighted, and to cultivate themselves for long-term achievements. There is a collapse of morality in China's current society. We constantly hear about irresponsible behaviors resulting in toxic baby formula, counterfeit diplomas, shoddy infrastructure projects, etc. "Confucian principles teach one how to be an upright person and the right way to do things," Jiang Qing, a retired professor, says. "No matter what you do, you need to know this" (Mooney, 2007).

Confucianism has been considered a feudal ideology. However, just as Zhou Youguang, a renowned scholar in Beijing has mentioned in his book *Shortcut*, Confucianism contains many positive factors. There are many words of wisdom, with long-term and wide-ranging values. Once revised and modernized, they can still serve a post-feudal society. For instance, Confucius' opinion on knowledge is "being aware of what you know and what you don't know is wisdom." This implies, "When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it," and acts as a guideline for Chinese students. His admonition on politics, "people are the priority," should be used as the guideline for the CCP. Confucius considers peace as the most valuable thing, which coordinates with CCP's goal of peaceful development. The approach above is known as modernized Confucianism, serving the current society (Zhou, 2011).

Confucius presents positive associations with teaching and culture with influence not only in China but also the broader region in Asia, for instance Korea, Japan and Southeast Asia (Starr, 2009, p. 69). China shares the Confucian heritage with many East Asian neighbors. Thus, it is easier for people to accept. In the Western world, Confucius is generally associated with wisdom and ethics, an image Lieberthal believes is greatly beneficial to China at this time of growth and change. “It's not surprising that China would want to associate with a symbol people identify with and respect and that they would use Confucius as a marketing brand, if you will,” Lieberthal said.

Regarding this rehabilitation of Confucius ideology, some scholars, like Daniel Bell, a visiting professor at Tsinghua University, pointed out that currently, Confucianism with an emphasis on respect for authority is the best alternative to fill the spiritual void, compared to Christian sects, Falun Gong, and other extreme forms of popular nationalism (Mooney, 2007). However, if the revival of Confucianism begins to threaten the Communists' regime, it will be once again denounced. Zhang Tianliang, professor at George Mason University, shares the same thought. He said during his interview with VOA that Confucianism was denounced because it contradicted the kind of Marxism that the Party was promoting. Now that China is opening up, the Chinese government needs to communicate with other countries, and the ideology of socialism certainly cannot be a media of communication. Thus, the government has turned to Confucius. It is actually the Chinese government's ideology wrapped within Confucianism. Confucianism has resurged as “an appealing

alternative to both free market economics and hardline Communism, but in large part because it is an indigenous philosophy” (Mooney, 2007, 47). According to an article in the *Economist*, “Party officials use Confucius as a Father-Christmas like symbol of avuncular Chinese rather than as the proponent of philosophical outlook” (“Asia: Rectification,” 2011). In spite of its philosophy, most people believe Confucianism was chosen because of its popularity and brand recognition.

However, once Confucianism constrains the Chinese government or contradicts government ideology, it will face denouncement once again (“Comments on,” 2011). This also explains the reason why general discussion on Confucianism surges but topics such as “Political Confucianism” and “Modern Confucian Democracy” can be rarely seen (Mooney, 2007).

Introduction of the Confucius Institutes

The Confucius Institutes (CIs) are an important approach for China to achieve its public diplomacy goals. Modeled after Germany’s Goethe Institute, UK’s British Council, and others, the Confucius Institute program is a non-profit public organization, overseen by Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban) affiliated with Ministry of Education in China. Interested universities must submit applications to Hanban for review. If approved, Hanban generally provides \$100,000 annually, with Chinese teachers from counterpart Chinese university to start up the institute. All CIs tailor their activities based on local needs, but operate in the same manner: “The mission statement is to strengthen educational cooperation, promote the development of Chinese

language education and increase mutual understanding” (Starr, 2009, p. 71).

According to Zheng Guanping, an appointed director for the newly established CI at Middle Tennessee State University, the goals of CIs are to promote Chinese language, to promote an understanding of Chinese culture, and to promote partnerships between organizations in the U.S. and organizations in China (Davis, 2012). The program caters to the demands of Chinese learners worldwide and aims to increase communication between China and other nations. The first Confucius Institute was inaugurated in Seoul, South Korea in 2004 (Lai, 2006, p. 12). The CIs are established within universities and partnered up with a domestic university in China, whereas Confucius Classrooms are aimed at high schools. According to the official Hanban website, by the end of 2011, there were 358 Confucius Institutes and 500 affiliated Confucius Classrooms established in 96 countries. By 2011, the number of Confucius Institutes/ Classrooms increased 24%, from 691 in 2010. Organized cultural activities increased dramatically from 7,500 in 2010 to 130,000 in 2011, and participation rose exponentially from 3 million in 2010 to almost 8 million in 2011 (Shu, 2011).

In the U.S., there has been rapid growth of Confucius Institutes. (See Appendix I for a list of Confucius Institutes.) A variety of programs have been established, ranging from preschool children taking a Chinese learning class in New York City’s Confucius Institute, to learning sessions for adopted Chinese children in Chicago, and from an online Chinese learning game devised by the director of the CI at Michigan State University to a remote-learning class at the University of Kansas. Liu Quanshen, director of the Confucius Institute at the

University of Maryland, told Xinhua that many of the students at his institute are government employees, and it is a strong indication that the Confucius Institute has reached the mainstream society of the United States (Yang, 2008). Additionally, the CIs offer training for Chinese teachers, administer exams and tutoring services in Chinese, and organize Chinese competitions. Some of them also provide consultancy services for studying in China, offer in-person experience with Chinese culture, and provide commercial information regarding China (Lai, 2006). The CIs also provide scholarships for students to study in China for a year (Davis, 2012). Hanban invited more than 300 university presidents and 2,000 directors and teachers at Confucius Institutes, to the 2010 Shanghai World Expo at Hanban's expense (Golden, 2011).

The first Confucius Institutes conference was held in Beijing in 2006, with the participation of over 200 representatives from 38 countries and areas (Lai, 2006). The number of participants increased to over 1000 during the second Confucius Institutes conference. The theme for the second conference was "To sum up the experience, to build closer corporation, to enforce management, to improve quality, to develop Confucius Institute faster and better." In year 2008, the third Confucius Institute Conference was held. The theme was "Confucius Institute and international education." With increasing importance given by the government to the CIs, the Confucius Institutes headquarters was established in Beijing. Conferences were held in the headquarter annually, from 2009 to 2011, and the themes were "Building Confucius Institutes and bridge mutual understanding," "Confucius Institutes and sustainable development," and

“Confucius Institutes in ten years.” Chinese government made consistent efforts in the past decade on soft power building. Li Changchun, one of the nine members of the Standing Committee of Politburo in charge of ideology and propaganda, noted that Confucius Institutes are “an important channel to glorify Chinese culture, to help Chinese culture spread to the world” (Wachter, 2007).

Challenges to Confucius Institutes

Despite CIs’ rapid growth, challenges exist. First, critics warn that the government uses the CIs to have political control over western universities, and they worry about academic freedom. This is actually a valid concern. Xu Lin, the secretary-general of the Confucius Institute Headquarters, said frankly, “We only discuss language and culture in the classroom” (Xu, 2011). Some very top universities in the U.S., like Harvard University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale University are reluctant to establish of Confucius Institutes on campus. Stanford University opened its doors to Confucius Institute, but the 4 million dollars of initiation funds come with a caveat: “no discussion on Tibet” (Golden, 2011). June Dreyer, a professor of political science at the University of Miami, says the institutes perform a propaganda function. David Branner, an affiliated associate professor at Columbia University, also is concerned about those universities becoming too dependent on Chinese funds to discuss sensitive issues like Tibetan and Taiwanese independence. Examples can be seen worldwide. Within the U.S., the CI at the University of Oregon once canceled a lecture by Peng Mingmin, an advocate of Taiwan independence (Schmidt, 2010). North

Carolina State University canceled an arranged speech by Dalai Lama, fearing it might damage relations with China and threatens their joint programs like student exchanges, summer research and faculty collaborations.

Nevertheless, people who are actually involved in the program reject these fears. Michael Nylan, professor of Chinese history at the University of California Berkeley, did an informal survey among 15 universities with Confucius Institutes. Only two reported that they were pressured to turn away guest speakers, and both events went on anyway (Golden, 2011). It seems that students at the CI at University of Maryland are simply happy to gain access to the afterschool program (Schmidt, 2010). Chuansheng Liu, director of the CI at University of Maryland, claims that there is no pressure from the Chinese government and its counterpart Nankai University. Mary Gallagher, professor at the University of Michigan Ann Arbor, says the CI there is free to discuss sensitive issues like Uighur minority, the group that clashed violently with the Chinese government in 2009 (Schmidt, 2010). However, if we take a closer look at the discussion, the program was on the Uighur minority in the performing arts, rather than political issues as noted on the previous examples.

Second, people involved in the Confucius Institute are concerned more about the sustainability of the institutes than political censorship (Starr, 2009, p. 79). Currently in the CIs, more emphasis is given to language teaching. The government's focus on language outreach coincides with a rapidly growing interest in Chinese language study that likely reflects a growing interest in China itself. "Languages as carriers of culture and communication tools are bridges for

different civilizations,” State Councilor Liu Yandong told the fourth conference of Confucius Institutes in December 2011.

However, language teaching alone is not sustainable for future development and expansion of CIs. When asked whether Confucius Institutes promote the essence of Confucianism, Mr. Fu Jianzhong said language learning is far from learning of Confucianism (“Comments on”, 2011). “My impression is that the Chinese approach has more of an emphasis on language learning, and less on a broader cultural or sociocultural angle than has been the case in US efforts abroad, or Japanese or German efforts,” Lieberthal said. Language learning is not cost effective, and although the best way to learn about a country’s culture is to know about the language, it is still important to combine language learning with culture and values. Interests in culture will in turn facilitate language learning. Xu, the secretary-general of the CI Headquarters, admitted that the Confucius Institute is still exploring a perfected and duplicable mode to effectively combine language teaching and cultural exchange in a more approachable way for non-Chinese speakers (Xu, 2011). Currently in the U.S., the Hanban sponsors research project on Chinese issues in universities such as Columbia University, the University of Chicago, and Stanford University. This decision on one hand shows the diversity of the programs other than language teaching, but, on the other hand, delivers the idea of academic flexibility to other universities.

Third, the Confucian doctrine is different from contemporary mainstream Chinese culture, so it is not a convincing reflection of contemporary Chinese society. For example, people in China rarely listen to the Beijing Opera, and the

younger generation rarely practicing Kong Fu, so the influence of traditional culture is waning. According to a study done by Egri and Ralston (2004) on Chinese managers, younger managers hold a low opinion of Confucian values. Traditional symbols of Chinese culture in foreigners' eyes are no longer popular in China. Historically, all successful cultural diplomacy required strong cooperation between the government and its people. For instance, American basketball as a source of U.S. cultural diplomacy is supported by a large number of basketball enthusiasts in the U.S. Also, the Japanese government's manga diplomacy is sustained by its large domestic cartoon industry (Chen, 2010). In cultural diplomacy, the government is an initiator, while the public works as fuel. However, despite the Chinese government's enthusiasm about Confucius Institutes and Confucianism, the majority of the public rarely cares or responds negatively. According to a survey in 2010 on ifeng.com, among 219 respondents, half of them do not support Confucius Institutes, and almost 70% of them consider this idea problematic and express concern.

In addition, while the government is pouring a huge amount of money overseas to educate foreigners about Chinese culture, the domestic education system is being westernized. English learning is becoming even more important. Chinese children start their English classes as early as possible. English speaking skills are one of the most important factors in any evaluation for study or many jobs, whereas many people are not paying attention to traditional culture studies and Sinology.

Fifth, with its dramatic expansion, it is also important for CI organizers to maintain the quality. Nealy 360 Confucius Institutes have been established in seven years since the first one was inaugurated in Korea. Once every eight days, one more Confucius Institute is established. Chinese people refer to this situation as the “great leap forward” for Confucius Institutes. There is a shortage of professional language teachers as a result. With its rapid development, the need for Chinese language teachers will soon outpace qualified teachers who possess licenses to teach Chinese as a second language. This depletion will damage the plan of promoting Chinese language worldwide (Zhe, 2010). Wang Yongli, deputy director-general of Hanban, told *China Daily* during an exclusive interview that lack of directors and teachers has become the biggest challenge for the development of Confucius Institutes (Zhang, 2011). Good teachers can make learning more interesting and productive. The CIs need solid foundation for its further development.

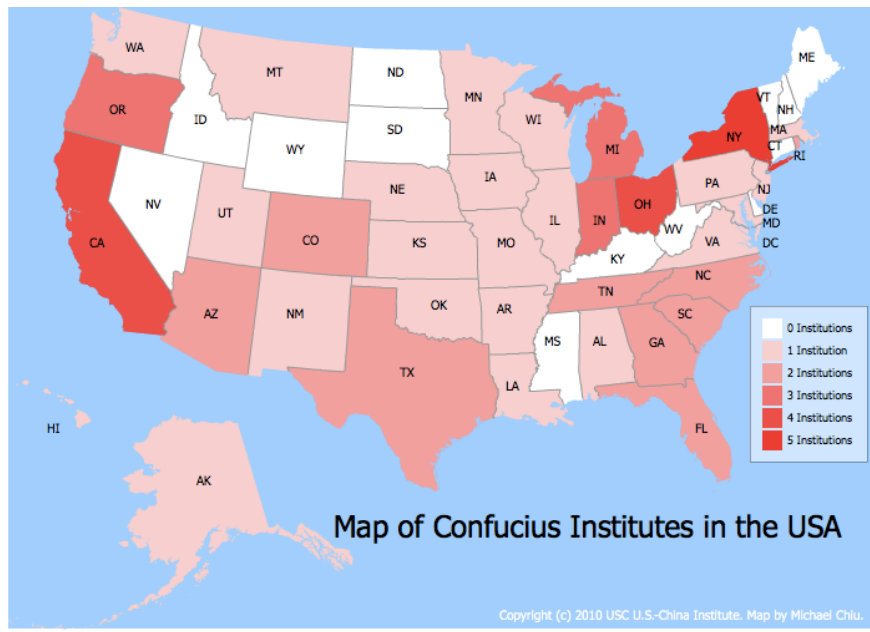
The success of the Confucius Institutes

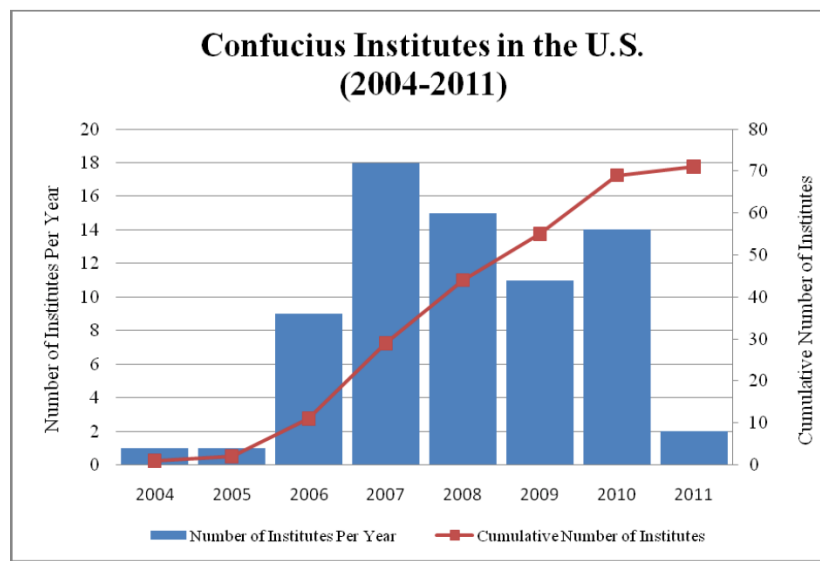
Although China has historically encouraged awareness of its language and culture through diplomatic outreach, teacher exchanges, and formal education agreements, its efforts to bolster awareness of China’s language, politics, and society have intensified during the past four years thanks to the inauguration of university-based Confucius Institutes. (Glaser and Murphy, 2009)

China’s Ministry of Education plans to set up 500 Confucius Institutes worldwide

Hanban aims to establish 1,000 Confucius Institutes by 2020.

Below is a map (Figure 1) of Confucius Institutes in the United States and their partner universities in China. In addition, the chart indicates CIs' expansion in the U.S. from 2004 to 2011. How can we explain the rapid growth and expansion?





Thanks to China's increasing economic power, Confucius Institutes have sound financial support from the government. So far, Hanban has spent more than \$500 million on Confucius Institutes worldwide since 2004 (Golden, 2011). Though every Confucius Institute adjusts itself to campus needs, the Chinese government continues to give about \$100,000 annually to each Confucius Institute and also pays Chinese language instructors. This allows colleges to provide more programs related to China (Schmidt, 2010).

Second, China is a hot topic internationally. Every Confucius Institute establishes in partnership with a Chinese university. This partnership is attractive because people want to have more connections with China. The world wants to know what's going on in China. The partner universities in China provide language teachers and important opportunities for the exchange of students, faculty, and staff. In addition, as mentioned before, even though people have doubts about the Chinese government's political purpose of establishing CIs, facts show that currently CIs are operated quite freely without Chinese

government intervention. The CIs are given considerable autonomy and flexibility.

Chapter 4

Results of China's soft power projection

World opinion toward China and the U.S.

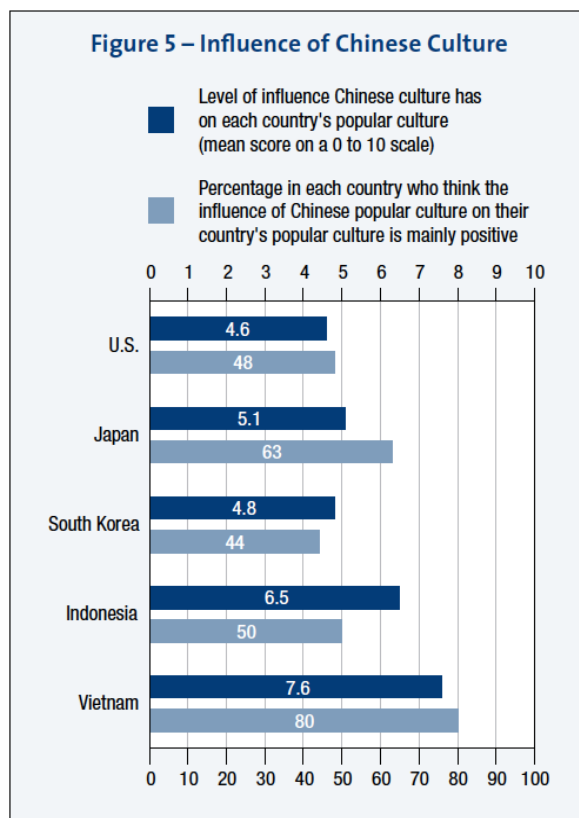
Since the main objective for Chinese soft power building is to internally build a stable and unified society, to externally counter the China threat theory and to improve its national image, my research on the results of China's soft power building will mainly focus on foreigners' perceptions toward China compared to people's perceptions toward the U.S. Throughout my research, I found that attitudes are mainly determined by economic and political situations, but cultural influence also can be seen. As Chinese culture becomes more popular, public opinion survey results show that people who have been influenced by Chinese culture usually have favorable opinions toward China (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2008).

In general, China has made great progress in the past decade on soft power building. Since 2003, China's image has improved internationally, especially in Asia.

A public survey across the Europe in 2005 showed that 48% of those polled have favorable feelings toward China, compare to only 25% toward the U.S. In the U.S., 59% of people have positive feelings toward China, only 24% believe that China is an economic threat, and only 18% of people worry about a military threat from China. In another survey, except for Japan and Taiwan, almost all countries favored China over the U.S.

Various survey results show an increasing international affinity for China. According to survey results by the Pew Research Center in June 2005, most of those in the surveyed areas (Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Lebanon, Jordan, and India) regarded the rise of China as positive and believed its economic growth would benefit their countries. A BBC World Service poll of 22 countries conducted from November 2004 to January 2005 also showed China as being viewed positively by most countries, including its neighbors. The percentage of Asian respondents who viewed China's global influence as "mainly positive" was 74% in Lebanon, 70% in the Philippines, 68% in Indonesia, 66% in India, and 49% in South Korea (Cho and Jeong, 2008).

According to a multinational public survey done in 2008 by The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, among six participating countries (U.S., China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, and Vietnam), 70% to 91% of parents in those five Asian countries believe it is important for their children to learn Chinese. Compared to the U.S. score of 7.26 on a scale of 0 to 10, China's influence has an average score of 5.72. Though China has not become the most influential cultural power in Asia, the influence has increased. At the same time, China's cultural influence in Asia has been viewed as either "very" or "somewhat" positive. (Figure 5, The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2008)



In terms of U.S. soft power projection, although the influence is diminishing worldwide, it is still well regarded among Asian countries. Based on the Chicago Council survey in 2008, China still lags behind the U.S. in terms of soft power projection in Asia. Although American overall influence is seen as declining among six participating countries, “The United States ranks the first in terms of the appeal of its popular culture in every country but Vietnam.” Also, a majority of people in Asia view the influence of the U.S. positively (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2008).

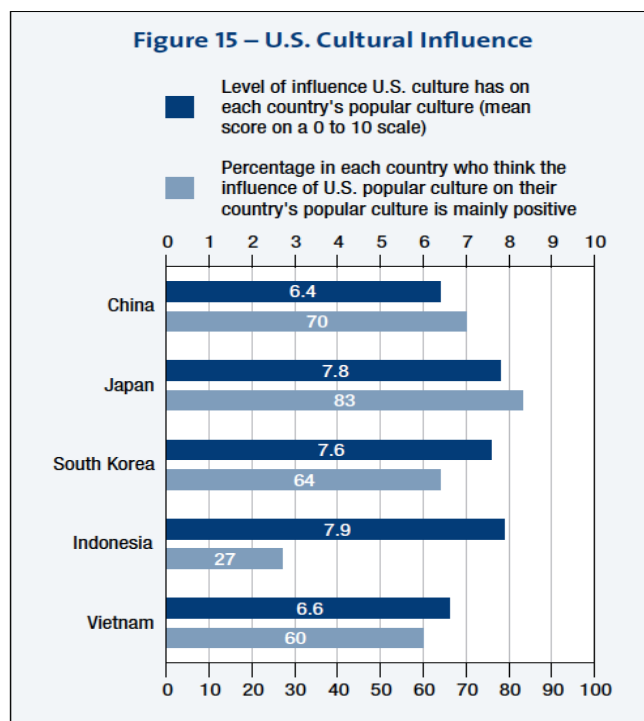
The Chicago survey response indicates a favorable perception toward the Washington Consensus, the idea of free market and open competition, and many people still believe that America has the most competitive economy in the world.

Majorities of 63% to 84% people in China, Japan and South Korea are in favor of a bilateral free trade agreement with the U.S.

American influence in Asia has strong roots. Since WWII, U.S. universities have educated several generations of Asian professionals and elites. American popular culture--movies, music, sports, designer goods--have penetrated deeply into Asian societies. The American democratic model has inspired many Asian societies as they transitioned from authoritarian to democratic political systems. The U.S. economy has been the main export market for Asian producers for many years. American missionaries have proselytized throughout Asia; Asian tourists continue to flock to the U.S. (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2008).

Almost everyone in Asian countries believes in the importance of learning English. U.S. universities are also the first choice for students to acquire higher education, despite costly expenses.

Popular culture from the U.S. is perceived positively in Asia. According to the results from China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, and Vietnam, most people agree that American popular culture, like movies, music, cuisine, and clothing, has a great influence on them. According to Figure 15, on a scale from 0 to 10, the average score for American influence is 7.26. Except for Muslim Indonesia, 60 percent to 83 percent majorities in each country consider American popular culture's influence to be positive.



Chinese perception of cultural soft power deficits

In recent years, as China develops its economic power and further plays a responsible role worldwide, majorities of people surveyed believe China will be the leader of Asia in the future. However, when asked about whether people are comfortable with this outcome, only majorities in Vietnam say “yes” (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2008). People who are influenced by Chinese culture and hold positive views of China’s popular culture show that though cultural soft power is not overwhelmingly widespread, it is nevertheless effective. This is one of the reasons why culture is considered an important part of soft power projection by the Chinese government.

But in recent years, problems with Chinese soft power building have also emerged. Currently, China’s soft power projection seems to be in a bottleneck or

stalemate. Because of the Chinese government's continuing crackdowns on dissent, despite its countless efforts in portraying itself as a benign and gentle nation, many foreigners consider China an authoritarian regime. This negative view is seen in recent poll survey. In an annual BBC World Opinion Poll, the percentage of people holding positive views about China's rise decreased from 49% in 2005 to 34% in 2010.

Two critical issues have caused this decline. First, media reports about the Chinese government's tight controls over almost every aspect of the society, such as arts, TV, movies, and the press, makes its public diplomacy seem like projection of political propaganda instead of real cultural, intellectual, and scientific expressions of the Chinese people. It lacks credibility in the eyes of outsiders. Second, China's reliance on Confucianism is not an accurate reflection of Chinese culture and society in the 21st century (Lugar's report, 2011).

With globalization, cultural clashes or cultural homogenization are inevitable. America spread its culture and values worldwide via Hollywood movies and media broadcasts. As more Chinese teenagers grow up eating McDonald's, drinking Coke, listening to American pop music, and referring to democracy in their daily conversations, the Chinese government realizes the threat of western values and ideology internally. The CCP fears that the U.S. aims to make American values the mainstream values in developing countries in order to disseminate democracy and capitalism. Externally, there is a deficit in cultural exporting. The Chicago survey in 2008 found that official diplomatic influences are not as strong as portrayed in Chinese newspapers and other media. Only a

small percentage of people overseas, 9% to 25%, have heard of China's concept of a "harmonious world." Through massive investments, the Communist Party aims to boost China's soft power and its cultural influence abroad and guide the Chinese people back to "socialist core values."

In order to secure socialist ideology and protect Chinese culture, President Hu brought up the term "cultural security" in his October 2011 speech to Party members, stating that China and the West are engaging in a cultural war and "international hostile forces are intensifying the strategic plot of westernizing and dividing China" (Hu, 2011). He pointed out the China's cultural power and influences are not commensurate with China's international status. President Hu called for developing Chinese cultural products that meet people's spiritual demands and eliminating any forces that would destabilize the Party's hegemony. Hu's successor, Xi Jinping, also pointed out that "China's universities are a key ideological front to equip our youth with the core values of socialism" (MacLeod, 2012).

The CCP feels threatened by the penetration of foreign cultures, especially those foreign ideologies and beliefs that may harm the stability of the ruling Party. Thus, it is important for the government to form a peaceful environment and protect its legitimacy. Li Shulei, a CPC congress delegate, pointed out back in 2007:

Culture is first and foremost an expression of our souls and emotions, our spiritual home. But to speak plainly some powerful foreign nations wish to use culture as a weapon against other nations, and for this reason we must

work hard to raise our country's soft power. (Bandurski, 2007)

Some people think this sudden aggressive approach to protect Chinese culture against western ideology is to avoid another "Arab Spring" revolution in China spurred by western values of freedom and democracy.

Cai Wu, Minister of Culture, has identified three reasons for the cultural exporting deficit. First, the government is not exporting, promoting and presenting enough to the world and most foreigners have a superficial understanding of China. Second, the current approach only promotes traditional Chinese culture but neglects contemporary culture. Third, because of the differences in language and ways of communication, it is difficult to promote Chinese ways of thinking.

Joseph Nye identified American sources of soft power in an article published in 2000. According to him, American values are the sources of American soft power. To some extent, America was considered as the beacon of freedom, human rights, and democracy. Another source of American soft power is cultural exports such as movies, TV shows, arts and academic pieces. At the same time, international institutions and NGOs such as the IMF and the Inter-America Commission on Human Rights, support values aligned with American interests and reinforce American soft power building (Nye, 2000).

Compared with sources for American soft power, I believe another aspect blocking China's soft power development is China's shortage of NGOs and international institutions. In recent years, we have also witnessed China's increasing public role in the United Nations, particularly through U.N.

peacekeeping operations. But People's University professor Fang Changping writes that China must "recognize the unique role played by NGOs in cultural diffusion and exchanges" (Fang, 2007). Yu Xintian, director emeritus of the Shanghai Institute of International Studies (SIIS), also believes that China must learn to work with international NGOs through the development of domestic NGOs to improve its soft power (Yu, 2008). China has to build up not only government-to-government relations with many countries, but also people-to-people interactions through NGOs. However, the political system in China is not in favor of NGOs, as the Chinese government is wary about such organizations operating outside its control. In order to fix this, China needs to participate more in international affairs, create a multinational cooperation system, and play a more responsible role worldwide.

The U.S. perception of China's cultural soft power deficit

China's top leaders are seeking to avoid competition and confrontation with the West, and especially with the United States. However, some American scholars and politicians are afraid of China becoming aggressive in its soft power projection: "As China expands its national power and assumes a bigger role on the international stage. It is possible that Beijing will promote Chinese socialist values as an alternative to Western values and seek to assertively promote the China development model" (Glaser and Murphy, 2009).

Senator Lugar presented a detailed report to the Congress in 2011 on the comparison of Chinese and American soft power. The report says that Asia has

overtaken Europe and become the most important region for the U.S. The American government should give China, the biggest country in Asia, more attention. After reviewing China's recent efforts on soft power building, including the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai and Confucius Institutes, the Lugar report concludes that the U.S. is not well prepared for a rising China and China's prominent role in the world.

Senator Lugar also identified shortages of U.S. soft power projection from many aspects, as compared to China's. He pointed out that American public diplomacy is at disadvantage, as China has been using America's open system to build up a vigorous public diplomacy program, while the U.S. government's efforts on soft power building in China are suppressed by the Chinese government. The Chinese government's Xinhua News agency has opened a new office located in the New York's Times Square, while the Chinese government consistently blocks access to Voice of America in China. At the same time, claims the report, the U.S. government is not working hard enough to project American soft power. The U.S. government only established a few American public diplomacy platforms in China, such as American Centers, American Libraries, Information Resource Centers, and American Corners, while China has built more than 70 Confucius Institutes all around the U.S. Compared to the CIs, U.S. efforts are too small and too few to matter. The 2008 Beijing Olympics was a stunning success for the Chinese government. The government spent over \$44 billion in order to introduce a modern and open China to the world. Three years later, the 2011 World Expo in Shanghai attracted over 70 million people in six months. The

Lugar report criticized the American government's lack of effort in preparing for the 2011 Shanghai Expos as a squandered opportunity to demonstrate American technologies and scientific and commercial expertise. In terms of exchange students, there are only 14,000 American students studying in China, compared to 130,000 Chinese students in the U.S. The Obama Administration has realized this imbalance and launched the "100,000 Strong Initiative" to encourage more American students to go to China, aiming to increase the number from 14,000 to 25,000 a year. The results are dismal so far, as few private sector companies and foundations have been willing to make financial donations.

American scholars warn the government about diminishing U.S. soft power. Nye pointed out that American foreign policy unilateralism, such as the rejection of Kyoto Protocol and invasion of Iraq, has damaged American soft power. The BBC did a survey among 11 countries (including America) in 2003. Results show that 65% of people think America is arrogant (Nye, 2004).

U.S.- China mutual perceptions:

Chas Freeman, a US diplomat and interpreter for US president Richard Nixon during his ice-breaking visit to China in 1972, said the official bilateral relationship, "strong and interdependent as it is, is tinged with a measure of suspicion, misapprehension, and mistrust," and, despite all the difficulties, the two sides have "so far managed the necessary adjustments quite well" (Cheng and Chen, 2012). In addition,

At the beginning of China's reform and opening-up efforts in the early 1980s, the US adopted a policy of active engagement and friendliness toward China. It opened its gates wide to China and became a nation that was most often talked about and learned from by the Chinese people. Back then, the prevalent sentiments of our two peoples toward each other were friendliness and appreciation. However, after we entered the 21st century, and as China moves faster in modernization and gains gradual growth in economy and greater openness in society, the public opinion in the US toward China somehow changed: There is more finger-pointing, nit-picking and mistrust, and the good will our peoples had toward each other has seemed to have also changed under the influence of the media. (Cai Wu, 2011)

Even though distrust exists between the U.S. and China, people in both countries believe that the bilateral U.S.-China relationship is vital to the development of Asia in the twenty-first century. Two surveys were done during American Vice President Joe Biden's visit to China in August 2011. The surveys were commissioned by *China Daily* with Gallup in Washington and Horizon Research Group in Beijing. The surveys include general public and opinion leaders from both countries, asking about their perceptions of the U.S.-China relations and the barriers for building closer ties. Among all the respondents, 80% of Americans and 90% of Chinese respondents emphasize the importance of U.S.-

China relations, showing an increase compared to similar surveys done previously. According to the *China Daily*-Horizon survey done in 2010, the number of Chinese people believe that the two countries should share a common responsibility to solve their problems has increased ten percent (Cheng and Chen, 2012).

According to the most recent report by Kenneth G. Lieberthal, director of the John Thomson China Center, and Wang Jisi, dean of the School of International Studies, extensive contacts between China and the U.S. have failed to build mutual trust. On the contrary, many Chinese scholars believe that America's long-term goal is to undermine the Chinese political system and constrain China's development, while Americans inherently distrust the Chinese government's actions and motives. Lieberthal and Wang suggested that both sides need to discuss in depth the issues they have been avoiding (Lieberthal and Wang, 2012).

Based on a mirror survey of American and Chinese mutual perceptions conducted by the Committee of 100 in 2007, a majority of businessmen in the U.S. and China hold favorable opinions toward each other. Compared to the same survey done in 2005, positive American Congressional view toward China increased from 19% to 35%. In both countries, younger people hold positive views of each other.

Despite younger people, businessmen, and congressional viewers' favorable mutual perceptions, there are serious concerns on both sides. Almost half of Chinese people surveyed insist that the U.S. is trying to constrain China's

rise. According to the *China Daily-Horizon Survey* in 2011, about 63% of Chinese respondents said their impression to the U.S. has deteriorated in the past two years because of the U.S. intervention in Libya and stance on Syria (Cheng and Chen, 2012). Americans' feeling toward China deteriorated from 2004 to 2008.

We can see an interesting trend in these public poll results. Younger people, businessmen, and congressional viewers holding favorable opinions toward China are those who have interacted with Chinese people and have been exposed to Chinese culture in one way or another. The impact of cultural soft power is difficult to measure, but it is certainly one of the factors in shaping public opinions.

Another interesting finding is that people's perceptions change quite frequently, and they are affected by economic and political relations the U.S. has with China. In 2005, favorability about China in the U.S. decreased, partially because of media attention on Chinese product safety issues at that time (Committee of 100 Survey).

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Throughout my research, I found increasing attention given to “soft power” in China in the past two decades. I also found that Chinese scholars have their own interpretation of soft power that is different from Joseph Nye’s definition. In 1992, the concept of “soft power,” coined by Joseph Nye, was introduced to China and generated many discussions. According to Nye, soft power refers to one’s ability to achieve through attraction rather than coercion. Chinese scholars’ initial discussions mainly introduced and explained Nye’s definition. After the Chinese government announced its policy concentrating on “China’s peaceful rise,” not only scholars but also politicians and the general public started to pay attention to the concept of soft power. Following the government’s policy on peaceful rise and harmonious society, the discussion became more complex. After 2004, Chinese government officials replace the term “peaceful rise” (*heping jueqi*) with “peaceful development” (*heping fazhan*).

In his earlier books, Nye focused the discussion of soft power on popular culture and political models, and on strategically combining hard power and soft power (known as “smart power”), aiming to improve international standing and further expand U.S. values of freedom and democracy. Chinese discussions, on the other hand, concentrate on developing soft power for different purposes: to benefit economic development, to counter the negative impressions of China, to create a beneficial international environment for China’s peaceful development, and to persuade others to understand and welcome China’s development through

exporting its traditional culture (Zheng, and Zhang, 2007). China focuses on developing its economy and building a “harmonious” society through internal institutional reforms, at the same time calling for a peaceful environment for “harmonious” development externally. Thus, many Chinese scholars put Chinese soft power in the context of Chinese society, arguing that the structure and content of soft power is different from the U.S. and other countries because of diverse traditions, different civilizations, and various developing paths.

Culture is seen as an important part of soft power projection. Cultural diplomacy is widely perceived as the influence of one country on another. Cultural exchange is seen as a platform to achieve national and political purposes. Liu Zunyi (2004) also emphasized using “appealingness” as the core of soft power projection, corresponding with an ancient Chinese strategy “win people by virtue.” Today, the term “soft power with Chinese characteristics” takes Chinese culture into consideration, referring to soft power projection based on contemporary Chinese culture. This contemporary culture reflects Chinese traditional values as well as Marxism, socialism, and some western values related to technology and education.

Chinese cultural officials have used festival occasions, entertainment and non-political events to promote exchange and gain influence and to promote understanding of Chinese culture. Some examples include the 1999 Paris China Culture week, the 2000 U.S. Tour of Chinese Culture, movie weeks, etc. At the same time, various organizations and institutions have held dialogues and forums

to promote soft power projection. Through cultural promotion, China hopes to assure the world that China is a civilized, responsible and trustworthy nation.

The Chinese government has made culture a top priority in public diplomacy. Dating back to the very early history of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao used culture to spread revolutionary ideology. Today, China has been opened up for more than thirty years. There has been an important shift from using culture as a tool for political goals to accepting culture as independent from politics. A variety of arts and literature have blossomed and once criticized foreign cultures have been imported to enrich people's life. However, we can still feel the Chinese Communist Party's strong hand over culture to eliminate those elements that threaten the regime.

Building on scholarly and public discussions of soft power, the Chinese government turned its attention to cultural soft power building. Two of China's most recent presidents emphasized culture development in their reports to the Party members. In the political report to the 16th Chinese Communists Party (CCP) Congress on November 8, 2002, former president Jiang Zemin pointed out, "In today's world, culture intertwines with politics and economics, demonstrating a more prominent position and role in the competition for comprehensive national power." Since taking office in 2003, President Hu Jintao has advocated for a harmonious world and China's peaceful development by pursuing soft power in international relations. China can use its cultural attractiveness to enhance its national image and counter the "China threat" theory, as well as to ease external concerns over China's economic development. President Hu also made this clear

at the Central Foreign Affairs Leadership Group meeting on January 4, 2006: “The increase in our nation’s international status and influence will have to be demonstrated in hard power such as the economy, science and technology, and defense, as well as in soft power such as culture” (Ma, 2007), indicating that soft power had become a focus of China’s strategic development.

The Chinese government has made great efforts to rebalance cultural trade deficits. Sponsored by the Chinese government, many Chinese news agencies and cable and internet broadcasts have been established worldwide, such as state-owned Xinhua news agency, CCTV 9 and the CNC World. Also, the 2008 Olympic Games, the 2010 Shanghai Expo, and the Confucius Institutes all indicate China’s efforts to resurge and revive as one of the world’s most influential countries.

Soft power building is important to the Chinese government for the following reasons. First, it is a self-defense shield. Soft power projection can dispel misperceptions and misunderstandings held by foreign commentators over negative foreign media coverage of events such as the protests in Tibet and the Olympic torch relay in 2008. Throughout Chinese history, China has never aggressively battled with other countries, according to Chinese officials, which underlines the Chinese people’s continuing commitment in harmony and balance. Thus, soft power development with a focus on culture is the best strategy to counter the “China threat” thesis. Second, China is looking for a peaceful environment to facilitate its sustainable development. Third, soft power building is conducive to the domestic program of building a harmonious society, a concept

that Hu-Wen's leadership proposed to tackle mounting domestic social challenges as well as to maintain the legitimacy of the Party (Li, 2008).

The Chinese definition of soft power inherently includes a domestic dimension and values of traditional culture like Confucianism. There is a connection between the Chinese definition of soft power and its efforts of building and projecting soft power abroad. The Chinese government is conscious of China's traditional culture. Chinese traditional culture stresses unity and stability. Internally, the government needs to use certain elements of traditional culture to enforce domestic stability. Externally, the government builds on this domestic dimension to further project China as a non-threatening and benign country.

The Chinese government exerts cultural soft power through many approaches. One of the most important is the Confucius Institutes. The concept of non-threatening soft power is embedded in many ancient Chinese philosophies, most prominently Confucianism, the tradition of thought and practice associated with a renowned scholar Kong Fuzi. The doctrine of Confucius includes obedience, clemency, harmony, mercy, beneficence, benignancy and benignity. Even though Confucianism has been challenged and rejected several times in Chinese history, today the Party sees it as the solution to many current social problems. We see a popular resurgence of Confucianism study among many Chinese people.

This once criticized ideology has now regained its status and became the central feature for culture exporting in today's China for the following reasons.

First, values advocated by Confucius align with the contemporary Chinese development mode: harmony and peaceful development. Second, as Marxism and Communism have become less convincing among Chinese people, Confucianism fills a philosophical and spiritual void. Third, some Confucius doctrines are needed in current society to maintain China's development in a sustainable way. Fourth, Confucianism is chosen simply because of its popularity and brand recognition, as China shares the Confucian heritage with many East Asian neighbors. However, some scholars predict it would be a brief revival. If Confucianism threatens the legitimacy of Chinese government, it will face denouncement again. A massive statue of Confucius was erected on the Tiananmen Square in early 2011 but removed a few months later, implying ambivalence within the Chinese leadership.

Taking advantage of the resurging popularity of Confucianism, the Chinese government has established some 350 Confucius Institutes worldwide since 2004. Modeled after Germany's Goethe Institute, the UK's British Council, and others, the Confucius Institute program is overseen by Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban) affiliated with Ministry of Education in China. Interested universities must submit applications to Hanban for review. If approved, Hanban generally provides \$100,000 annually, with Chinese teachers from counterpart Chinese university to start up the institute. Hanban also provides scholarships for students to study in China. The purposes are to strengthen educational cooperation, promote the development of Chinese language education and increase mutual understanding. Six Confucius Institute conferences have been

held in Beijing to reflect back on the operation and to plan for future development. From these consistent efforts made by the Chinese government, we see the importance attached to Chinese soft power building. Challenges have emerged along the way. Critics warn that the government uses the CIs to have political control over western universities, and they worry about academic freedom. People involved in the Confucius Institutes are concerned about the sustainability of the institutes, in terms of teaching quality and the time span of people's interest in Confucianism. I conclude that the Chinese government's financial support, the increasing popularity of Chinese language study, partnerships with universities in China, and CIs' autonomy and flexibility are the main reasons for the success and rapid growth of Confucius Institutes.

Poll results show that public opinions toward China are mainly determined by the economic and political situation, but some cultural influence still can be seen. In general, China has made significant progress in the past decade on soft power building. Since 2003, China's image has been improved internationally, especially in Asia. Various survey results show increasing international affinity for China. A causal link between China's cultural diplomacy and its image abroad is hard to find. The Chinese government has been using various approaches to project China's soft power. There is indeed a difference between projection of culture and reception of culture. However, without an interest in and acceptance of Chinese culture, the CIs would not be able to expand so quickly and successfully. Skepticism exists; therefore, more exchanges are needed to build better communication.

However, China's soft power projection now seems to be at a stalemate. Because of continuing crackdowns on dissent, despite its countless efforts in portraying itself as a benign and gentle nation, many foreigners consider China as an authoritarian regime. Two critical issues cause this negative impression. First, media reports about the Chinese government's tight controls over almost every aspect of the society, such as the arts, TV, movies, and the press, make its public diplomacy seem like a projection of political propaganda instead of real cultural, intellectual, and scientific expressions of the Chinese people. It lacks credibility in the eyes of outsiders. Second, China's reliance on Confucianism is not an accurate reflection of Chinese culture and society in the 21st century.

Both China and the U.S. realize the importance of soft power building and the competition they are involved in. The Chinese government feels threatened by the penetration of foreign cultures, especially those foreign ideologies and beliefs that may harm the stability of the ruling Communist Party. As mentioned earlier, the goal of U.S. soft power projection is to encourage American values of freedom and democracy, whereas China's goal is to ensure stability and peaceful development. There is a fundamental clash between values.

Soft power projection is not a zero-sum game. Just because China's international influence is increasing, it does not necessarily mean that American influence in Asia is waning. More connections and understanding can be formed to build a better future. As Minister of Culture Cai Wu optimistically said during his speech at the Wilson Center, "China and U.S. have great differences in culture, but I believe so long as we adhere to the principle of mutual respect and

seeking common ground in differences, and continuing to deepen our exchange and communication, China and U.S will definitely reach more consensus in the future in culture, and particularly achieve more mutual understanding on the following concept” (Cai, 2011).

References

Chapter 1 and Chapter 2

- Lu, H. (2006). 1st World Buddhist Forum opens in Hangzhou, Retrieved from http://english.gov.cn/2006-04/13/content_252834.htm.
- Bandurski, D. (2007). Hitting hard with “soft power”: China explores macro-measures to bolster its global cultural prowess. Retrieved from <http://cmp.hku.hk/2007/12/19/797/>
- Cai wu’s speech at Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. (2011). *Chinese culture and peaceful development*. Retrieved from <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/chinese-culture-and-peaceful-development> (Transcript see http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/usa/2011-09/21/content_13752499.htm)
- Cao, D. (2010). Summary of research on soft power in recent years. Retrieved from <http://hgc41062.chinaw3.com/index/mag-article.php?num=1272&page=9>
- Chen, X. (2006). China’s soft power in Southeast Asia. *Research on Southeast Asia*. (6)
- Anonymous. (2006). “China threat fear countered by culture.” *China Daily*.
- Cho, Y. N., and Jeong, J. H. (2008). China's Soft Power: Discussions, Resources, and Prospects. *Asian Survey*, 48: 453-72. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2008.48.3.453>
- Cummings, M. C. (2003). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Arts and Culture.
- Du, G. (Eds.). (2007) Full Text of Hu Jintao's Report at 17th Party Congress. Xinhua News. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-10/24/content_6938749.htm.
- Du, L. (Eds.). n.d. China issues national plan for cultural development for next five years. Retrieved from <http://www.acercandonaciones.com/en/news/china-publica-plan-nacional-para-el-desarrollo-cultural-para-proximos-cinco-anos.html>
- Gao, Z. (2007). *Cultural power*. Beijing Daxue Chubanshe.
- Glaser, B. S., and Murphy M.E. (2009). Soft power with Chinese characteristics. *Chinese Soft Power and Its Implications for the U.S.*, 10-26.
- Guangming Daily* Commentary. (2006). Strive To Raise National Soft Power. 努力提高国家软实力

- Henrikson, A. K. (2005). Definition of public diplomacy. Retrieved from <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy/Definitions>
- Hu Jintao Speech to Literary and Art Circle. (2006). *Renmin Ribao*.
- Jia, Q. (2007). Speech At The CPPCC National Committee Special Session on 24 July. *Dangjian (Party Building)*. 9: 6.
- Kurlantzick, J. (2007). *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*. Binghamton, NY: Yale University Press.
- Lai, H. (2006). China's cultural diplomacy: going for soft power. EAI Background Brief, 308.
- Li B, Cheng Y and Wang M. (2007). Soft Power, A new Focus at China's Two Sessions. *Xinhua Business Weekly*. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-03/14/content_5847040.htm
- Li, M. (2008). Soft Power in Chinese Discourse: Popularity and Prospect. *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.libezproxy2.syr.edu/docview/58821723?accountid=14214>.
- Liu, Y. (2002). Holding high the Banner of advanced culture. *Renmin Ribao*.
- Ma, L. (2007). Preliminary Thoughts on Accelerating China's Soft Power Building. Literature of Chinese Communist Party. 关于我国加强软实力建设的初步思考
- Mao, T. (1965). Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. 3:69-97.
- Men H. (2007). An Evaluation of China's Soft Power and Promotion Strategy, *China's Soft Power Strategy*. Zhejiang: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe.
- Meng, J., and Qian, H. (2007). A Public Relations Vision for China's Soft Power Construction. *Journalism Quarterly*, 2(92).
- Nye, J. S. (1990). *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York, NY.
- Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Nye, J. S. (2005). The Rise of Chinas Soft Power. *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, 11. Retrieved from

<http://search.proquest.com.libezproxy2.syr.edu/docview/315432389?accountid=14214>

Pang, Z. (2008). *The Beijing Olympics and China's Soft Power*. Retrieved from http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2008/0904_olympics_pang.aspx

Pang, Z. (1997). Soft Power and Others in International Relations *Strategy and Management*, 2, 49-51. 国际关系中的软力量及其它

Shen, J. (1999). Do Not Neglect Strengthening China's Soft Power *Liaowang (Outlook Weekly)*, 41, 12-13. doi: CNKI:SUN:LWZZ.0.1999-41-004. 不能忽视增强我国的软实力

Shen, S. (2006). Research on soft power and external communication. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/newmedia/2006-07/17/content_4845045.htm

Starr, D. (2009). Chinese language education in Europe: the Confucius institutes. *European Journal of Education*, 44, 65-82. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25481891>

Sun, J. (2006). Pushing for Chinese culture exporting. Retrieved from <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/1027/4000153.html>

Yang, T. (2004). Upgrading China's Soft Power: An Explanation of the 13th Collective Study Session of the CCP CC Politburo. *Liaowang Xinwen Zhoukan (Outlook News Weekly)*: 14-15. 提升中国软实力：解读中央政治局第 13 次集体学习

Yu, X. (2008). The Role of Soft Power in China's Foreign Strategy, *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, 2: 15-, Retrieved from http://www.siis.org.cn/sh_yj_cms/upics/200873154057YIBI.PDF

Wang, H. (1993). Culture as National Soft Power: Soft Power. *Journal of Fudan University*. 3: 91-96. 作为国家实力的文化：软权力

Wang, H. (1994). Culture expansion and culture power. *Journal of Fudan University*. (3). 文化扩张与文化主权：对主权观念的挑战

Xu, R. (2011). Confucius Institute expanded rapidly in seven years. Retrieved from <http://www.ecns.cn/cns-wire/2011/10-13/2982.shtml>

Zhang, C. (2006). The New Version of China Threat Theory *People Daily*. Retrieved from <http://world.people.com.cn/GB/4064869.html>. 中国威胁论"新版本

- Zheng, Y., and Zhang, C. (2007). Soft Power in World Politics and China's Soft Power Review. *World Economics and Politics*, 7, 6-12. 国际政治中的软力量以及对对中国软力量的观察
- Zuo, X., and Liu, Z. (2004). Soft power and strategically improving Chinese soft power. *Cankao Xiaoxi*. 8.19. 软实力和提升中国软实力的战略选择
- Schmidt, P. (2010). *At U.S. colleges, Chinese-financed centers prompt worries about academic freedom*. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com/article/At-US-Colleges/124975/>

Chapter 3

- Anonymous. (2010). U.S. colleges with Confucius institutes. The Chronicle of Higher Education, (00095982), n/a. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/759056136?accountid=14214>
- Anonymous. (2011). Asia: Rectification of statues: China's Confucius Institutes. *The Economist*, 398, 52. Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2011/01/china's_confucius_institutes
- Chen, C. (2010). Finding support for the Confucius Institute. The CPD Blog. Retrieved from http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpdblog_detail/finding_support_for_the_confucius_institutes/#bio
- Chung, K. (2010). Confucius Institutes enhance China's international image. *The China Daily*, Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2010-04/23/content_9764910.htm
- Confucius Institute Conference website. Retrieved from <http://www.chinese.cn/conference11/huigu/01.html>
- Comments on Confucius Institutes on VOA. (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jyRrsFDH7g>
- De Bary, W. T., (1999). Sources of Chinese tradition. Columbia University Press.
- Davis, D. (2012). Confucius Institute prepares students for global economy. *The Tennessean*. Retrieved from <http://www.tennessean.com/article/D4/20120304/NEWS/303040025/Confucius-Institute-prepares-students-global-economy>

- Egri, C. and Ralston, D. (2004). Generation cohorts and personal values: A comparison of China and the United States. *Organization Science*, 15, No. 2, 210-230.
- Golden, D. (2011). *China Says No Talking Tibet as Confucius Funds U.S. Universities*. Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-11-01/china-says-no-talking-tibet-as-confucius-funds-u-s-universities.html>
- Glaser, B. S., & Murphy M. E. (2009). Soft power with Chinese characteristics. *Chinese Soft Power and Its Implications for the U.S.*, 10-26.
- Hanban. (n.d.) About Confucius Institute. Retrieved from http://english.hanban.org/node_10971.htm
- Lai, H. (2006). China's cultural diplomacy: going for soft power. EAI Background Brief, 308.
- Mooney, P. (2007). Confucius comes back. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 53, 46-48. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/214656810?accountid=14214>
- Schmidt, P. (2010). At U.S. colleges, Chinese-financed centers prompt worries about academic freedom. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, (00095982), n/a-n/a. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com/article/At-US-Colleges/124975/>
- Shu, Y. (2011). 36 more Confucius Institutes worldwide in 2011 and more Chinese learners. *Qiaobao*. Retrieved from http://www.uschinapress.com/2011-12/12/content_1169778.htm
- Starr, D. (2009). Chinese language education in Europe: the Confucius institutes. *European Journal of Education*, 44, 65-82. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25481891>
- Survey on opinions about Confucius Institutes. (2010). *Ifeng.com*. Retrieved from <http://survey.news.ifeng.com/result.php?surveyId=4689>
- Will, W. (2007). The language of Chinese soft power in the US, *Asian Times*, Retrieved from <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/IE24Ad01.html>
- Yang, Q. (2008). Booming Confucius institutes enhance China's soft power. *The Xinhua News*. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-11/02/content_10294081.htm
- Zhang, C. (2011). Talent holds key to Confucius Institutes' prospects. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2011-09/16/content_13712469.htm

Zhe, R. (2010). Confucius Institutes: China's soft power? Sigur Center for International Studies.

Zhou, Y. (2011). How to promote Chinese Culture. Yanhuang shijie zazhi. 1. Retrieved from <http://yhsjzz.com/article.php?pid=38&id=420&act=page>

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5

Anonymous, (2005). American is nice to China for World Peace. Asian Journal. Retrieved from <http://club.kdnet.net/dispbbs.asp?boardid=1&id=654167&page=1&1=1#654167>

Cai, W. (2011). Culture a common thread throughout the world. China Daily. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/usa/2011-09/21/content_13752499.htm

Cheng, G. and Chen, W. (2012). Surveys reveal positive public attitudes. *The China Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/usa/business/2012-02/10/content_14578302.htm

Chicago Council on Global Affairs. (2008). *Soft Power in Asia: Results of a 2008 Multinational Survey of Public Opinion*. Whitney, C. B., and Shambaugh, D.

Committee on Foreign Relations. (2011). Another U.S. Deficit- China And America- Public Diplomacy In The Age of the Internet. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee of 100 Survey. (2007). Hope & Fear: American and Chinese Attitudes Toward Each Other.

Fang, C. (2007). Comparison of Chinese and U.S. Soft Power and Its Implications for China. *World Economics and Politics*.

Hu, J. (2011). Speech at the 17th Party Central Committee conference.

Lieberthal, K. and Wang, J. (2012). Addressing U.S.-China strategic distrust. John L. Thornton China Center and the Brookings.

MacLeod, C. (2012). China strikes at West through pop culture wars. *The USA Today*. Retrieved from http://www.usatoday.com/NEWS/usaedition/2012-01-11-China-culture-war_ST_U.htm

Nye, J. S. (2000). The Power We must not Squander, *New York Times*.

Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*.

Shen, S. (2006). Research on soft power and external communication. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/newmedia/2006-07/17/content_4845045.htm

Tan, Y. (2011). US must focus on soft power: Senator. Retrieved from http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/epaper/2011-02/16/content_12024779.htm

U.S.-China Economic and Security. (2011). The Confucian Revival in the Propaganda Narratives of the Chinese Government. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieve from http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/Confucian_Revival_Paper.pdf

Yu, X. (2008). The Role of Soft Power in China's Foreign Strategy. *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*

Pictures

<http://www.ecns.cn/cns-wire/2011/10-13/2982.shtml>

<http://chronicle.com/article/At-US-Colleges/124975/>

http://uschina.usc.edu/article@usct?map_of_confucius_institutes_in_the_u_s_14774.aspx

Appendix I: List of Confucius Institutes in USA by Year

2004

- University of Maryland: College Park, Maryland

2005

- San Francisco State University: San Francisco, California

2006

- Bryant University: Smithfield, Rhode Island
- Confucius Institute in Chicago: Chicago, Illinois
- Confucius Institute at China Institute: New York, New York
- University of Hawaii at Manoa: Honolulu, Hawaii
- University of Iowa: Iowa City, Iowa
- University of Kansas: Lawrence, Kansas
- University of Massachusetts Boston: Boston, Massachusetts
- Michigan State University: East Lansing, Michigan
- University of Oklahoma: Norman, Oklahoma

2007

- Arizona State University: Tempe, Arizona
- University of California Los Angeles: Los Angeles, California
- Community College Denver: Denver, Colorado
- Confucius Institute in Indianapolis: Indianapolis, Indiana
- University of Memphis: Memphis, Tennessee
- Miami University: Oxford, Ohio
- University of Nebraska-Lincoln: Lincoln, Nebraska
- New Mexico State University: Law Cruces, New Mexico
- North Carolina State University: Raleigh, North Carolina
- University of Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
- Portland State University: Portland, Oregon
- Purdue University: Lafayette, Indiana
- University of Rhode Island: Kingston, Rhode Island
- Rutgers, the State of University of New Jersey: New Brunswick, New Jersey
- University of Texas at Dallas: Richardson, Texas
- University of Toledo: Toledo, Ohio
- University of Utah: Salt Lake City, Utah
- Wayne State University: Detroit, Michigan

2008

- University of Akron: Akron, Ohio
- University of Arizona: Tucson, Arizona
- Confucius Institutes in Atlanta: Atlanta, Georgia
- University of Central Arkansas: Conway, Arkansas
- Cleveland State University: Cleveland, Ohio
- University of Minnesota: Twin Cities, Minnesota

- University of Montana: Missoula, Montana
- University of South Carolina: Columbia, South Carolina
- University of South Florida: Tampa, Florida
- Stony Brook University: Stony Brook, New York
- Texas A&M University: College Station, Texas
- Troy University: Troy, Alabama
- Valparaiso University: Valparaiso, Indiana
- Webster University: St. Louis, Missouri
- University of Wisconsin-Platteville: Platteville, Wisconsin

2009

- University of Alaska Anchorage: Anchorage, Alaska
- Alfred University: Alfred, New York
- George Mason University: Fairfax, Virginia
- Kennesaw State University: Kennesaw, Georgia
- University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, Michigan
- State University of New York at Binghamton (Confucius Institute of Chinese Opera): Binghamton, New York
- Pace University: New York, New York
- Pfeiffer University: Charlotte, North Carolina
- Presbyterian College: Clinton, South Carolina
- San Diego State University: San Diego, California
- Confucius Institute of the State of Washington: Seattle, Washington

2010

- University of Chicago: Chicago, Illinois
- Columbia University: New York, New York
- University of Delaware: Newark, Delaware
- Georgia State University: Atlanta, Georgia
- University of Kentucky: Lexington, Kentucky
- Miami Dade College: Miami, Florida
- Middle Tennessee University: Murfreesboro, Tennessee
- University of New Hampshire: Durham, New Hampshire
- State University of New York at Buffalo: Buffalo, New York
- State College of Optometry, State University of New York: New York, New York
- University of Oregon: Eugene, Oregon
- Stanford University: Palo Alto, California
- University of Texas at San Antonio: San Antonio, Texas
- University of Western Kentucky: Bowling Green, Kentucky

2011

- Pennsylvania State University: University Park, Pennsylvania
- Western Michigan University: Kalamazoo, Michigan

Summary

Power can be divided into two categories, hard power, referring to military and economic power, and soft power, indicating the ability to achieve goals through attraction rather than coercion. Soft power, coined by American scholar Joseph S. Nye in the early nineties, has been widely used in the academic and political arenas in recent years.

The purpose of my project is to examine the overall understanding of soft power among Chinese scholars, politicians, and the public; the projection or implementation of soft power; and to evaluate the results of China's soft power projection in recent years. By thoroughly examining official documents, scholarly writings, news reports, and various related websites, I came up with several research questions: how do Chinese scholars interpret soft power? How is it different from Nye's definition of soft power? What is soft power with Chinese characteristics? What is the role of culture in public diplomacy? How does China wield its soft power? What is the rationale for this enormous attention on soft power? What are the results of Chinese soft power building? And finally is it a zero-sum game competing with the U.S. to increase China's influence, or is the objective to build better understanding and communication worldwide?

My second chapter titled "soft power in China" discusses Chinese cultural soft power and a variety of sources for China's cultural diplomacy. Research reveals that after Chinese government delivered the idea of China's peaceful rise, discussions of soft power became more sophisticated as scholars started to analyze soft power in the context of China's current society with China's peaceful

rise and development, which also can be termed as “soft power with Chinese characteristics.” Nye focuses the discussion of soft power on popular culture and political models, and on strategically combining hard power and soft power (known as “smart power”) aiming to improve international standing and further expand U.S. values and assimilate other cultures. Chinese scholars, on the other hand, concentrate on developing soft power for different purposes which are to benefit economic development, to counter the negative impressions of China, to create a beneficial international environment for China’s peaceful rise, and to persuade others to understand and welcome China’s development through exporting its traditional culture.

Many scholars believe that culture is an important source of soft power projection. Cultural exchange bridges mutual understanding and reduces stereotypes, which leads to better communication and respect between the cultures involved. There are many approaches through which a country can build up its cultural soft power. For instance, news and radio channels, satellite TV, the internet, book publishing, cultural events and performance, worldwide events like the Olympic games, Chinese learning institutes, students and experts exchange, academic communication, and tourism.

Following Chinese scholars’ discussion on soft power, Chinese politicians have used culture as the main source of Chinese soft power building. From the very beginning of Communist China’s political history, culture and politics have been closely related. Chairman Mao, during his speech in Yanan back in 1942, claimed that culture should serve politics. As for today, China has been opened

up for more than thirty years. A variety of arts and literature are allowed to blossom and once criticized foreign cultures are imported to enrich people's life. However, we can still feel government's strong hand over culture to eliminate those elements that threaten the regime.

There has been an increase of conversations within the Party focusing on soft power. Since taking office in 2003, Hu Jintao, president of People's Republic of China, has been advocating for a harmonious world and China's peaceful rise, pursuing soft power in international relations. In order to educate foreigners about China, Chinese government has appropriated 45 billion Yuan (US\$7 billion) in January 2007 to make over its media, establishing Chinese TV, cable and Internet broadcasts worldwide, promoting Chinese language learning, actively participating in regional multinational organizations.

Soft power building is important to the Chinese government for the following reasons. First, internally, soft power building is conducive to the domestic program of building a harmonious society, a concept that Hu-Wen leadership proposed to tackle mounting domestic social challenges as well as to maintain the legitimacy of the Party. Second, it is a self-defense shield. Soft power projection can dispel misperception and misunderstanding held by foreign commentators over negative foreign media coverage of events such as the protests in Tibet and the Olympic torch relay in 2008. Third, with the defensive approaches mentioned above, China has embarked on a policy of peaceful and sustainable development that includes culture.

The third chapter of my project analyses Confucianism and uses

Confucius Institute as a case study of China's soft power projection. The concept of soft power is embedded in many ancient Chinese philosophies, most prominently Confucianism, the tradition of thought and practice associated with a renowned scholar Kong Fuzi. The doctrine of Confucius includes obedience, clemency, harmony, mercy, beneficence, benignancy and benignity. Confucianism since its inception has influenced China for more than 2,500 years. Confucianism has been denounced many times for different reasons and today it has reentered Chinese society as a potential solution to many current social problems.

Taking advantage of the resurging popularity of Confucianism, Chinese government has been establishing Confucius Institutes worldwide since 2004. Modeled after Germany's Goethe Institute, UK's British Council, and others, the Confucius Institute program is overseen by Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban) affiliated with Ministry of Education in China. Interested universities must submit applications to Hanban for review. If approved, Hanban generally provides \$100,000 annually with Chinese teachers from counterpart Chinese university to start up the institute. Hanban also provide scholarships for students to study in China. The purposes are to strengthen educational cooperation, to promote the understanding of Chinese culture, to develop of Chinese language education and increase mutual understanding. According to the official Hanban website, by the end of year 2011, there were 358 Confucius Institutes and 500 affiliated Confucius Classrooms established in 96 countries.

Challenges have emerged along the way. Critics warn that government uses the CIs to have political control over western universities and they worry

about academic freedom. People involved in the Confucius Institutes are concerned about the sustainability of the institutes, in terms of teaching quality and the time span of people's fever over Confucianism.

Based on the research of Confucius Institutes. In chapter four, I evaluate the effectiveness of China's soft power projection by examining people's opinion toward China in recent years, also of the U.S.-China mutual perceptions. Throughout my research, I found that attitudes are mainly determined by economic and political situations, but cultural influence still also can be seen. According to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2008, as Chinese culture becomes more popular, public opinion survey results show that people who have been influenced by Chinese culture usually have favorable opinions toward China. In terms of U.S. soft power projection, although the influence is diminishing worldwide, it is still well regarded among Asian countries.

In terms of U.S.- China mutual perceptions, even though distrusts exist between the U.S. and China, people in both countries believe that the bilateral relationship between U.S.-China is vital in the twenty-first century. However, extensive contacts between China and the U.S. have failed to build mutual trust. On the contrary, many Chinese scholars believe that American's long-term goal is to undermine Chinese political system and constrain China's development, while American inherently distrusts Chinese government's actions and motives.

We can see an interesting trend in those public poll results. Younger people, businessman, and congressional viewers holding favorable opinion toward China are those who have been interacted with Chinese people and have been

exposed to Chinese culture in one way or another. The impact of cultural soft power is difficult to measure, but it is certainly one of the factors in shaping public opinions.

My conclusion sums up previous ideas and estimates the potential implications for China and the United States.

Chinese definition of soft power inherently includes a domestic dimension and values of traditional culture like Confucianism. There is a connection between Chinese definition of soft power and its efforts of building and project soft power abroad. Chinese government is conscious about China's traditional culture. Chinese traditional culture stresses on unity and stability. Internally, the government needs to use certain elements of traditional culture to enforce domestic stability. Externally, the government builds on this domestic dimension to further project China as a non-threatening and benign country.

There is indeed a difference between projection of culture and reception of culture. However, without an interest in and acceptance of Chinese culture, the CIs would not be able to expand so fast and successfully. Skepticism exists; therefore, more exchanges are needed to build better communication.

China's soft power projection now seems to be in a stalemate. Because of continuing crackdowns on dissent, despite its countless efforts in portraying itself as a benign and gentle nation, many foreigners consider China as an authoritarian regime. Two critical issues cause this negative impression. First, media reports about Chinese government's tight controls over almost every aspect of the society, such as the arts, TV, movies, and the press, makes its public diplomacy

seem like a projection of political propaganda instead of real cultural, intellectual, and scientific expressions of the Chinese people. It lacks credibility in the eyes of outsiders. Second, China's reliance on Confucianism is not an accurate reflection of Chinese culture and society in the 21st century.

Both China and the U.S. realize the importance of soft power building and the competition they are involved in. The Chinese government feels threatened by the penetration of foreign cultures, especially those foreign ideologies and beliefs that may harm the stability of the ruling Communist Party. As mentioned earlier, the goal of U.S. soft power projection is to encourage American values of freedom and democracy, whereas China's goal is to ensure stability and peaceful development. There is a fundamental clash between values.

However, soft power projection is not a zero-sum game. Just because China's international influence is increasing it does not necessarily mean that American's influence in Asia is waning. More connections and understanding can be formed to build a better future.