

CHINA

AND

Issue 1 · 2015

School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University

吉林大学公共外交学院

Editor-in-Chief / Liu Debin (刘德斌)

吉林出版集团有限责任公司
JILIN UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE



WORLD

CHINA AND

Issue 1 · 2015

School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University

吉林大学公共外交学院

Editor-in-Chief / Liu Debin (刘德斌)



社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

THE WORLD

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国和世界. 第1辑. 2015 = CHINA AND THE WORLD
(Issue 1 · 2015) : 英文 / 刘德斌主编. -- 北京 : 社
会科学文献出版社, 2016. 8

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5097 - 9495 - 1

I. ①中… II. ①刘… III. ①国际关系 - 研究 - 英文
②外交 - 研究 - 中国 - 英文 IV. ①D81②D82

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2016) 第 176435 号

CHINA AND THE WORLD (Issue 1 · 2015)

主 编 / 刘德斌

出 版 人 / 谢寿光

项目统筹 / 王玉敏 董晓舒

责任编辑 / 王玉敏 梁 帆 张文静 金姝彤

出 版 / 社会科学文献出版社 · 国际出版分社 (010) 59367243

地址: 北京市北三环中路甲 29 号院华龙大厦 邮编: 100029

网址: www.ssap.com.cn

发 行 / 市场营销中心 (010) 59367081 59367018

印 装 / 北京京华虎彩印刷有限公司

规 格 / 开 本: 787mm × 1092mm 1/16

印 张: 16.75 字 数: 269 千字

版 次 / 2016 年 8 月第 1 版 2016 年 8 月第 1 次印刷

书 号 / ISBN 978 - 7 - 5097 - 9495 - 1

定 价 / 69.00 元

本书如有印装质量问题, 请与读者服务中心 (010 - 59367028) 联系

 版权所有 翻印必究

Members of Editorial Board

Editor – in – chief

Liu Debin, School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University

Editors

Wang Li, School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University

Yan Zhen, School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University

Ham Myungsik, School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University

Editorial Board

Ariel C. Armony, University of Pittsburgh

Barry Buzan, London School of Economics and Political Science

Chung – Ying Cheng, University of Hawaii

Naren Chitty, Macquarie University

Huang Ping, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Chae – Jin Lee, Claremont McKenna College

Hee – ok Lee, Syung Kyun Kwan University

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, University of California, Santa Barbara

Qin Yaqing, China Foreign Affairs University

Wei – ming Tu, Harvard University

Brantly Womack, University of Virginia

Yan Xuetong, Tsinghua University

Yang Jiemian, Shanghai Institute for International Studies

Editorial Office

School of International and Public Affairs
Friendship Guesthouse, Jilin University
2699 Qianjin Street, Changchun 130012, China
Tel: 86 -431 -89228931
Website: <http://sipa.jlu.edu.cn>
Email: chinaworld@jlu.edu.cn

School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University

Established in 2012, the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) is the first school specializing in public diplomacy studies among Chinese universities. SIPA aims at advocating teaching, research and exchanges on public diplomacy, international studies and China studies. SIPA offers undergraduate program in Diplomacy, Master's Program in Public Diplomacy, and Master/Doctoral Program in International Relations for both Chinese and international students. In 2014, SIPA participated as a founding member in the establishment of "Collaborative Innovation Center of the Theory and Practices of China's Diplomacy" initiated by China Foreign Affairs University.

Preface

Understanding a New China and a New World

Liu Debin*

The relationship between China and the world is undergoing a historical transformation. This transformation is nurtured by world economic and resources allocation, approaches to growth and balance among great powers in face of China's economic growth, and also generated by the changing economic, political and security structures in the context of the changing position of China in world affairs. Many scholarly accounts and media stories shifted from "China collapse" to "China threat", or from "China as stakeholder" to "China rules the world". Meanwhile, international academic and media try to explain the world from the perspectives of "end of history," "clash of civilizations," the world of "empire," "post – American world," "a world of regions," "an uncertain world," "the world is flat," the world is over and "the emerging markets century," and so forth. As a matter of fact, when the world is facing up to a new China, China also has to face its the new world. Fighting its way out of a hundred years of decline and decay, China has rid herself of widespread poverty and the label of backwardness. As a rejuvenated civilization and an emerging power, China has started to merge with the world, and bring changes to the world as well. As for the world, after decades of de – colonization, the Cold War, and the persistent waves of economic globalization, a historical

* Liu Debin, Professor of History and International Studies, Dean of the School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University.

change has occurred especially in economic and political domains. Western/U.S. dominance still exists, though it is warning a large group of emerging powers has become the engine of the world economy. At the same time, many developing countries are now under the pressure of modernization, while the ethnic and religious conflicts that had taken place in their lands are fueling a new round of regional instability. Once again, the world has entered an era of unrest and reshaping.

Even though the relations between China and the world have just started to change, their past and future might go way beyond our imagination. A lot of efforts have been made to explain the changes, but the Chinese people have just set out in recognizing our own historical evolution and the relations between Chinese history and world history. We may scorn “China collapse” and “China threat,” or cast doubt on “China as stakeholder” and “China rules the world,” and sense the biases to which we are subject, however, when the world was shaken and shocked by so many unexpected events in front of our eyes, we found that our knowledge about her is far from being sufficient. The world we perceive today is no longer the one three decades ago, and we need to find a new angle to look at it and ourselves.

“Made in China” products with attractive prices and quality have taken over supermarkets and grocery stores all over the world; Chinese language teachers and volunteers have backpacked into even the most outlying village schools in Africa. China and the world are drawing closer than ever before, and China’s national interests have largely globalized. However, we still don’t know much about the world. World history will enter an era of drastic transformation when China is one of the driving forces. The gap of “modernity” (近代和现代) between Chinese history and world history could be lessened through this transformation, and the innovations from Chinese social sciences may find a new starting point here. It is not any single discipline’s responsibility to explore the transformation, which is certainly not a topic confined to academia; similarly,

this transformation is neither a story of one generation, nor a task to be accomplished within a year or two. The mission for China and the world is to establish a platform for discussion, communication and dialogue for a better understanding of this great transformation. As editor – in – chief, I sincerely welcome any intellectual contribution to invigorate and inspire further studies of the dynamic relations between the new China and the new world.

Contents

Preface

Understanding a New China and a New World	
.....	<i>Liu Debin</i> 1

Part I Soft Power and Culture

1	The Notion of “Soft Power Relationship”	
	<i>Naren Chitty A. M.</i> 1
2	Racing for Image –building Globally: The China Model vs. American Soft Power	<i>Singhalath Boupha and Wang Li</i> 23
3	An Analysis of American Pop Culture for Cultural Diplomacy in American Public Diplomacy	<i>Zhang Xiaoli</i> 44

Part II China, Regions and the World

4	China’s Future Worlds and the World’s Future with China: Some Emerging and Unexpected Geographies	
	<i>Stanley D. Brunn</i> 64
5	How A Domestic Policy Brings about Regional Cooperation: China’s Chang –Ji –Tu Project in Northeast Border Area	
	<i>Myungsik Ham and Elaine Tolentino</i> 90

2 CHINA AND THE WORLD

6 Africa's Economic Renaissance and the Future of Nigeria;
China's Economic Engagement *Efem N. Ubi* 108

7 South – South Collaboration and Transnational Higher – education
Partnerships; China and Africa *Peter H. Koehn* 146

8 China's Impact on Latin America's International Relations and
Regional Integration
..... *Ariel C. Armony and Nashira Chávez* 177

Part III Foreign Policy and Bilateral Relations

9 Why States Need Peaceful Coexistence? *He Zhipeng* 188

10 China's Energy Cooperation with Russia in the Wake of the
Ukraine Crisis *Björn Alexander Düben* 205

11 The Role of SCO in China's Changing Posture towards Post – 2014
Afghanistan
..... *Syed Hasanat Shah, Muhammed Arif Khan*
and Li Junjiang 220

Part IV Diplomatic Thoughts

12 Hu Shi's Wilsonianism, 1931 – 1946: A Study of Force and
Legitimacy *Wang Ziyuan* 234

Part I Soft Power and Culture

1 The Notion of “Soft Power Relationship”

Naren Chitty A. M. *

Abstract: This article examines the acceptability of Lasswellian pyramids through cultures of soft power that are inherent in a system. The purpose of this paper is to explore a new concept; soft power relationship. In order to do this it first sets soft power within a symbolic interactive framework; it examines the relationship between attraction – coercion and equitability – inequitability under a Lasswellian theoretical framework. It then proposes what I call Joseph Nye’s single – column model of soft power can usefully be bifurcated as two pillars; it elaborates on instrumental and non – instrumental soft power and then discusses war, peace and soft power and their bearing on the notion of ‘soft power relationship’.

Keywords: attraction; coercion; constructivism; equitability; harmony; Lasswell; public diplomacy; soft power relationship; systems; win – win

* Professor Naren Chitty A. M. is inaugural director of the Soft Power Advocacy & Research Centre (SPARC), founding chair in International Communication and associate dean (International) of the Faculty of Arts of Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. He is an honorary professor of Jilin University. He is or has been a visiting professor at Paris III – Sorbonne, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Communication University of China (Beijing), South West University of Politics and Law (Chongqing) and South China Normal University (Guangzhou). Professor Chitty is editor – in – chief of the *Journal of International Communication* and an editor for several other international journals. He has authored a large number of publications on soft power, public diplomacy and international communication.

The terms “harmony” and “win – win” are important ones in contemporary Chinese discourse. Not exactly the same, but sufficiently close to “harmony” and “win – win”, to be interesting, are the terms “system stability” and “equitability”. This article sees merit in revisiting systems theory.^① Systems theory offers potential for articulating the non – violent vision of world politics envisioned in the system of international organizations. Fisher and Lucas have noted that I take an interdisciplinary approach to theorizing how public diplomacy might be conducted, drawing particularly on the influence of Confucianism. PD is no longer the preserve of the public sector, but a public project with the goal of sustainable world politics focusing on a collective non – exclusionary security, based on the principles of humanitarianism and reciprocity, rather than....assertive leadership and predominance of power.”^② In a book that envisions what amounts to a stable public diplomacy system, Zhao Qizheng advocates a “network for harmonious dialogues” in his conception of public diplomacy in a harmonious world.^③

For states, public diplomacy is the *modus operandi* of winning over opinion leaders and public opinion or at least explaining one’s foreign policy generally to other countries. For non – state actors there is an emphasis on the development of people-to-people interaction. The attractiveness of the cultural assets of a country is often used as a resource in public diplomacy. For a social organization, whether international, national or subnational, to be harmonious, its subsystems must be in harmony – a condition of system stability. For the parties to any discussion who are seeking to resolve problems of distribution to feel that all parties have won, there

① Walter Buckley, *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice Hall, 1967.

② Ali Fisher and Scott Lucas, eds., *Trials of Engagement: The future of US Public Diplomacy*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2011, p. 15.

③ Zhao Qizheng, *How China Communicates: Public Diplomacy in a Global Age*, Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2012, pp. 27 – 31.

needs to be an understanding that all parties have received a satisfactory quantum of benefits – even if benefits are not equal. In examining these concepts this article draws on the thought of Harold Lasswell^①. Lasswellian influentials are symbolic, mercantile and security elites. The interactions between Lasswellian influentials and the mass of people in a society are seen as leading to perceptions of increased security in both groups. Order, security and stability are the preferred aggregate outcomes of the processes of interaction that include social mobility and therefore potential repopulating of elite (influential) and mass subsystems in the Lasswellian pyramid.

For the Lasswellian pyramid to be stable in the absence of coercion—that is for elites and masses to accept the differential distribution of benefits—there needs to be a leitmotif of fairness, a fairness that is attractive in one way or another to all. The attractiveness of fairness is an example of deep cultural soft power. This may be contrasted with the strategic deployment of softpower as a resource, residing as it does in the Lasswellian skill domain of symbolic exchange. Fairness can be seen in the body economic as a belief in equality of opportunity for social mobility, in the body politic as equal rights and in the body legal as equality before the law. Economically, the emphasis should be on equality on the input side, in the sense of access to education and a work ethic that can lead to success. Where conflict arises through different outcomes along divides such as ethnic ones, the narrative of equal opportunity and social mobility has been variously challenged—hence the emphasis on equality or equity in terms of distribution. Theoretically, acceptance of international or domestic Lasswellian pyramids could be facilitated either through coercive [hard power (HP) –based] or incentive (soft power-based) systems. This article examines the acceptability of Lasswellian pyramids through cultures of soft power that are inherent in a system. The purpose is to explore a new

① Harold Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, New York: Meridian Books, 1958.

concept; soft power relationship. In order to do this I first see soft power within a symbolic interactionist frame-work; I examine the relationship between attraction – coercion and equitability – inequity under a Lasswellian theoretical framework; I then suggest what I call Joseph Nye's single – column model of soft power can usefully be bifurcated into two pillars; I elaborate on instrumental and non – instrumental soft power and then discuss war and peace and their bearing on the notion of “soft power relationship”.

Joseph Nye, the renowned neoliberal international relations scholar and defence technocrat in Democratic U. S. administrations, was responsible for coining the term “soft power.”^① The term has been criticized for overlapping with other terms such as charisma,^② discursive power,^③ hegemony,^④ propaganda and persuasion^⑤ that are often alluringly close to soft power in some ways. “Allure” and “charm” are common sense terms that are synonyms for “attraction”. Additionally one might argue that Machiavelli seems to have seen the limitations of soft power in a Renaissance world when he spoke of princes needing to be both loved and feared, noting that it would be safer to be feared than sorry^⑥. Perhaps he was the first to see that soft power can arise from hard power—though there is the biblical reference “...out of the strong came forth sweetness” (Judges 14: 14). Fear and love are sentiments that arise as responses to hard (coercive) and soft (attractive) power as the case may be—but to rely on a security calculus of love is often viewed as being imprudent. Ad-

① Joseph Nye, Jr., *The Future of Power*, Philadelphia: Public Affairs/Perseus Books Group, 2011.

② Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Free Press, 1947.

③ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

④ Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd, 1998.

⑤ Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*, New York: Peter Smith, 1927.

⑥ Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, CSF Publishing, 2011.

ditionally soft power being anchored in the power of attraction differentiates it from other terms and gives it grounds for an independent existence. The term “power” here should not be confused with force. An infant exercises power over its parents before it has developed a mind that allow it to use resources to achieve a purpose. Its power is involuntary and does not amount to exercised hard power or strategized soft power.

There is also an intra – state dimension—soft power as a characteristic of governance. Soft power approaches are associated with participatory democratic political cultures or dramaturgical variations of this.^① Governance at an international level through construction and operation of international regimes, expounded on by Krasner and others, may also be examined in terms of soft power.^② This is another way of approaching the anarchy problematique—the natural disharmony in world politics perceived by realist international relations theorists. The ability of international regimes to manage conflict without using hard power may be an indication of the health of the “political culture” associated with world politics. But it needs to be said that the web of international regimes that criss – crosses, emanates from and nurture the United Nations family and other

① This term draws on Habermas’s four models of action by individuals in society. These are (a) teleological (subsuming strategic action), (b) normatively regulated, (c) dramaturgical and (d) communicative. Teleological action is perhaps best translated as action based on an informed vision of a leader, but without the necessary inclusion of strategic action in dealing with co – actors. Normatively regulated action is based on the playing out on accepted group roles within a framework of accepted norms and values. Dramaturgical action is about the mutual presentation of “self” by actors and deals with the central feature of public diplomacy. Communicative action is a dialogic approach to understanding and coordinating action. Communicative action presupposes the ability to negotiate a common terminology for the situation. See Roger Bolton, Habermas’s Theory of Communicative Action and the Theory of Social Capital, paper read at meeting of Association of American Geographers, Denver, Colorado, April 2005, (previous version read at meeting of Western Regional Science Association, San Diego, California, February 2005, <http://web.williams.edu/Economics/papers/Habermas.pdf>).

② Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

international and regional organizations is also shaped institutionally by recognition of hard power balances, as may be seen in the shape and rules of the UN Security Council.

Nye's notion of soft power arises from a reading of complex interdependence, a concept that recognizes multidimensional transactions between multilevel actors around a multiplicity of issues that were ranked on the basis of context rather than issue type.^① Nye took pains to explain that soft power is not inherently ethical, it is used strategically by states, and indeed it is.^② However I argue normatively for an ethical soft power based on dialogic rather than strategic communication.^③ This should be compatible with a neoliberal approach that sees international regimes as "institutions possessing norms, decision rules, and procedures which facilitate a convergence of expectations" around issue areas and which are largely social constructions.^④

While the interpersonal context allows one to apply a dialogic approach more easily, such an approach may still be transferred to the larger international context as well—even if the strategic – dialogic continuum is likely to linger retaining a strong strategic influence.^⑤ Soft power was a disruptive concept that arises in the field of international relations (IR) in

① Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, "Interdependence in World Politics," in George Crane and Abba Amawi, eds., *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy: A Reader*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, London: Longman New York, 2001.

② Joseph Nye, Jr., *The Future of Power*, Philadelphia: Public Affairs Perseus Books Group, 2011.

③ Jürgen Habermas and Thomas McCarthy tr., *Theory of Communicative Action Volume One: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 1984; Jürgen Habermas and Thomas McCarthy tr., *Theory of Communicative Action Volume Two: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*, Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 1987.

④ Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

⑤ Luc Chia – Shin Lin and Naren Chitty, "Plurk Politics—Microblogging is Changing Political Communication in Taiwan," *Journalism and Mass Communication*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2012, pp. 565 –579.