UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AS SOFT POWER; A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHINA AND SOUTH AFRICA, 1990-2010

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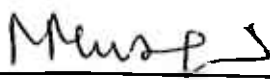
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Declaration.

I, Wamuya Judy Wanjiru, declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.

Signed ~~~~~   Date _16 | 11 | 2011_

Wamuya Judy Wanjiru.

This Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.

Signed _____   Date _17 November 2011_

Prof. Makumi Mwagiru
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Dedication

To my parents, Simon Wamuya and Margret Muthoni, brothers, Anthony Gachuru and Martin Njoroge, sister, Agnes Wanja, and niece, Taylor Muthoni. You are the reason why I did this paper.

Acknowledgement

Abstract

This study is based on the search for better ways of relations between states other than the previous domination of hard power use. With the growing trend of countries 'looking-east' it is definite that China's growth has caught the attention of the world. This paper seeks to identify why, and find out whether it could be attributed to their intense effort in soft power and Cultural Diplomacy.

The study starts with the examination of whether cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power affects foreign policy and inter-state relations. The framework used in the study is based on the theory of idealism which helps explain why soft power is more effective than hard power. The methodology used is reviewing of secondary data and analyzing interviewees to come up with qualitative data. The study uses two case studies; China and South Africa.

Finally, the fifth chapter which is analytical, seeking to verify the findings and the hypotheses, brings the study to a conclusion that indeed cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power not only boosts relations but also economies. The sixth chapter gives recommendations to policy makers and points out further areas of research.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Cultural diplomacy specifies a form of diplomacy that carries a set of prescriptions which are material to its effectual practice; these prescriptions include the unequivocal recognition and understanding of foreign cultural dynamics and observance of the tenets that govern basic dialogue. Milton C. Cummings Jr[1]. draws out the meaning of these cultural dynamics in his description of cultural diplomacy as," the exchange of ideas, information, art, lifestyles, values systems, traditions, beliefs and other aspects of cultures."

Cultural diplomacy can be practiced by any number or combination of adherents. Owing to this nature, the roots of cultural diplomacy can be traced back to the very beginnings of human exchanges in dialogue. However, cultural diplomacy conducted by governments and rulers of nations often have the greatest effects on the lives of ordinary citizens and provide the most comprehensive records of its use.

Individual nations commonly use cultural diplomacy to improve international relations and secure agreements that cover issues like trade, investment, immigration and security. The continued evolution of cultural diplomacy is dependent on the behavioral economics of its adherents, as people develop better understandings of each other and new mediums of dialogue.

The development of new technologies has arguably had the most profound effect on the conduct of cultural diplomacy. The advent of multimedia technologies including telecommunication, electronic mail, VoIP and audio video conferencing has made it possible for adherents to conduct cultural diplomacy. The emergence of globalization carries with it the

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[1] M.C Cummings,Cultural diplomacy: Canada-China, A Case Study. University of Alberta Dept. of History, University of Alberta, Canada, 1987. p 1

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emergence of what can be described as a prevalent global-culture which has the potential of eroding the cultures it comes into contact with. Cultural erosion directly affects the relevance of cultural diplomacy, as the establishment of a prevalent culture would remove the need for cultural recognition and understanding, if all people identified with a common culture.

This study aims at understanding the tenets of cultural diplomacy, how it has been successfully used by states to promote their foreign policy and why it has not been so successful for other states.

Statement of the Research Problem

The use of hard power and soft power has had effects on people's lives as well as states. Hard power use has resulted to destruction of lives and property, while soft power has influenced states to seek more amicable and friendly ways of relating relating with each other.

Over the years, states have interacted with each other in the quest for satisfaction of national interests. In this struggle states have formed alliances and organizations to seek support and strength. Realism as the predominant paradigm in international relations is most visible in the states interactions with each other. This is due to some states seeking to have influence and power over each other to achieve national interests. States are constantly investing in their economic strength, military strength and political strength. The strong states are often ready to go to war or use threats to make other states comply with their interests. The emergence of hegemonies or superpowers has led to unipolar and bipolar kinds of international systems. Such could be seen during the world wars and the cold war period, where hard power was predominantly used.

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This not only led to colonialism but also to loss of lives and deteriorating economies. States that were colonized have taken long to get back on their feet to restructure their economies. Use of hard power led to loss of lives, properties, freedom, and even esteem. Most of these states are still regarded as third world countries. These states rely on donors from strong states and are constantly in debts with major powers. This makes them be reliant on other states and thereby still be under their rule indirectly. When there is too much hegemony there effects felt in almost all areas of life.

This study examines the contemporary China and South Africa and how they have preserved their cultures in rebellion to western influence after years of war and apartheid and how they have resulted to using soft power to promote their foreign relations.

Objective of The Study

The broad objective of the study is to establish the influence of cultural diplomacy in advance in foreign policy of states. The specific objectives of the study are :

1. To study cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power.

2. To examine the relationship between cultural diplomacy and foreign policy.

3. To find out the effects of cultural diplomatic strategy used by China and South Africa.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review revolves around the three objectives of the study covering all the variables of the study which are; cultural diplomacy and functioning of diplomacy in foreign policy using the case study of China and South Africa. The study explores the rising trend of states using cultural diplomacy to promote their foreign policy unlike previous ideologies of using power to influence others. The use of force resulted in wars and destruction of lives, properties and economic inflation. States have then strategized on ways to advance themselves without resulting to war.

Cultural Diplomacy

Joseph Nye's views Cultural diplomacy as a prime example of "soft power" or the ability to persuade through culture, value, and ideas opposed to "hard power" which conquers or coerces through military might. Cultural diplomacy in many instances has been argued together with public diplomacy because of the it involves a country making efforts to persuade the peoples of another that its intentions are good, and its policies benign. Whereas public diplomacy is most effective with the use of media and technology to tell the story of a particular state in its own way, media technology has brought about growth in globalization which is eroding cultures. Mass media and websites have been the most effective tools in globalization. Robert O.

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Keohane and Nye[2] argue that globalization is ending hierarchical bureaucracies and leading to electronic feudalism. This could result to erosion of cultures and overlapping identities.

As a result, globalization has a direct bearing on the integrity of cultural diplomacy. The emergence of globalization carries with it the emergence of what can be described as a prevalent global-culture which has the potential of eroding the cultures it comes into contact with. The adoption of United Nations Resolution 49/214 and 59/174, regarding the International Decades of the World's Indigenous People, are a direct response to this cultural erosion. Cultural erosion directly affects the relevance of cultural diplomacy, as the establishment of a prevalent culture would remove the need for cultural recognition and understanding, if all people identified with a common culture. The case studies of this study will examine how and why cultural diplomacy remains a key tool of Chinese foreign policy, arising from the understanding that Chinese state media, internet and diplomatic channels are viewed with scepticism.

This study reviews various literature sources on cultural diplomacy. It bases its research the issue of power struggle between states which is the reason why states have developed strategies to advance their foreign policies one which is through cultural diplomacy. Nye describes power as the ability to get others to do what you want, and you can do that three ways: [3] you can threaten people with coercion that sticks, you can pay them with carrots or inducements, or you can attract them so that they want the same things you want. And that third way, attracting people is soft power. And it grows out of a country's culture, values, and policies.

It reflects not only the views of proponents of cultural diplomacy but also the opponents of cultural diplomacy not forgetting those scholars who cut across the two. The proponents of cultural diplomacy are mostly the proponents of soft power, while those opposing are proponents

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[2] Nye, J.S Jr (et al): The Rise of China's Soft Power. Harvard University Press. Cambridge. 2005. Pp 4-13
[3] Nye, J.S Jr (et al): The Rise of China's Soft Power. op cit.p7

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of hard power. This review will classify the opponents as realists based on their belief in the effectiveness of hard power use and the proponents as idealists.

One unnamed Egyptian diplomat observed that 'our cultural contacts have long memories. They remember the good things we do for them. Our political contacts don't remember for very long."[4] An independent Egyptian artist made a similar point 'One hundred soldiers makes Egyptians angry; one workshop makes friends'[5]. It is then the non-threatening nature of cultural diplomacy, the lack of a specific political agenda that lends it efficacy. In the 2005 exhibition 'Forgotten Empire: the World of Ancient Persia' the British foreign secretary Jack Straw was able to share a platform with the Iranian Vice President, something unthinkable in any other forum.[6]

Functioning of Diplomacy in Foreign Policy

Diplomacy is a tool of advancing foreign policy of states. It involves using peaceful means to promote good relations between states. Diplomacy is based on three major pillars among others. These are; political, economic and military. The others include cultural pillar and technology. States have certain attitudes towards other states depending on their relations. States make certain stands and policies that reflect their national interest globally. These policies are determined by internal and external sources. Internal sources include the history, demography, geography, the people among others. External sources include international organizations, other states involved with the country, sources of aid and donors

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[4] J. Channick.: U.S. Department of State, *Cultural Diplomacy the Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*, Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, September 2005, p15
[5] Ibid pp14
[6] K. Bound (et al): Demos think tank, *Culture is a Central Component of International Relations. It's Time to Unlock Its Full Potential.* pp55-57

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The case study countries China and South Africa have certain policies that reflect their interests. The policies are based on external and internal sources. Certain policies are based on the history of the states. Both states have a history of suffering from wars. This can explain why China does not participate in the arms race, nor does it seek military expansion. China opposes hegemonism, power politics, aggression and expansion, and encroachments perpetrated by one country on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another, or interference in the internal affairs of another nation under the pretext of ethnic, religious or human rights issues.

China sincerely hopes to establish and develop friendly ties and cooperative relationship with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Relations with other states are never based on social systems or ideologies. The five principles include: maintaining independence, maintaining world peace, friendly relations and cooperation, good-neighborly and friendly relations, enhanced unity and cooperation with developing countries, and opening policy.[7]

During 1990-1994 while South Africa was in a transition which led to democratic elections (the major focus in the country and an important development for foreign governments and other observers) the world as undergoing its own process of transition. The "bipolar world" of the Cold War era made way for a "multipolar world". New economic and regional groupings came into being, ranging from an expanded European Union (EU) to North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mercosur, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and a "new" Southern African Development Community (SADC). Security issues were undergoing fundamental changes and peace-keeping, peace-making and other issues such as arms control required revision and redefinition.

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[7] Excerpts of Premier Li Peng's speech at the 96th Inter-Parliamentary Conference on September 19, 1996

Conflict prevention and peace-making are of substantial concern to South Africa in the African context just as peace-keeping and peace-making in Bosnia are to the UN and to the Europeans. Preventive diplomacy has become an essential and fundamental consideration in the international context for political leaders and diplomats.

During 1994 and 1995, the Department of Foreign Affairs, under the direction of the Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, undertook a thorough review of South Africa's representation abroad. One objective was to rectify imbalances which were remnants of the country's international relations before democratization. A second objective was to determine whether the existence of certain established missions abroad was justified and to evaluate the reasons for establishing new missions. In motivating the opening of new missions to Cabinet, economic, political, security, cultural and other criteria were used.[8] Both South Africa and China pursue preventive diplomacy and follow a non-alignment approach.

Soft Power

Darly Copeland an opponent of soft power argues that Public diplomacy, turns on relationships, lateral connectivity, and the construction and maintenance of collaborative networks.[9] These tasks are better left to diplomats than soldiers, especially in a place like Afghanistan where the sheer complexity is staggering. Copeland says that soft power and hard power can be differentiated well by defining the terms. He defines hard power as about compelling your adversary to comply with your will through the threat or use of force. Soft power is about attracting your partner to share your goals through dialogue and exchange. According to him Hard power seeks to kill, capture, or defeat an enemy. Soft power seeks to influence through understanding and the identification of common ground. Hard power relies ultimately on

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[8] Department of Foreign Affairs. Discussion Document; South African Foreign Policy. 1996
[9] D. Copeland: The Mark: Hard Power Vs Soft Power; When it comes to Afghanistan, mixing military might with diplomatic talk is easier said than done. Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Texas. Feb 02 2010. p1

sanctions and flows from the barrel of a gun. Soft power is rooted in meaningful exchange and the art of persuasion. Hard power is macho, absolute, and zero sum. Soft power is supple, subtle, and win/win. Hard power engenders fear, anguish, and suspicion. Soft power flourishes in an atmosphere of confidence, trust, and respect.

These distinctions can become divisive when placed in an institutional setting or applied in the field. While significant enough in themselves, the disconnects between the two are exacerbated by the differences within and between the bureaucratic cultures of the military and civilian agencies such as foreign ministries and international organizations.[10]

Nye reasons that after World War 2, the United States used soft power to draw others into a system of alliances that lasted for sixty years.[11] Nye argues that though the United States popularity is declining in the recent years, wise policies can reduce the antagonisms that unpopular policies like the Vietnam War engender. He says that the Cold War was won with a strategy of containment that used soft power along with hard power. The growing interdependence throughout and after the Cold War through international institutions led to neo-liberalism being defined as institutionalism, this new part of the theory being fronted by Robert Keohane and also Joseph Nye.

Nye thinks that soft power could be very useful to promote foreign relations than using hard power. In his words "Don't you realize that you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar?"[12] referring to how China could improve its relations with Taiwan using soft power, Nye describes Chinese growth of cultural diplomacy as follows:

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[10] D. Copeland: The Mark: Hard Power Vs Soft Power; When it comes to Afghanistan, mixing military might with diplomatic talk is easier said than done. Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Texas. Feb 02 2010. p2
[11] J. S. Nye Jr., 'The decline of Americas Soft Power; Why Washington Should Worry.' Foreign Affairs. 2004 pp16-18
[12] J. S. Nye Jr. (et al): The Rise of China's Soft Power, Harvard University Press. Op cit. p42

"Chinese popular culture is becoming more attractive than it used to be. It still doesn't have anything like Hollywood or India's Bollywood, but it is a different popular culture today. And I'm not even mentioning of course traditional Chinese culture, which has always been very attractive to other parts of the world. In addition to that you find that China has tripled the proportion of international students at Chinese universities. You suddenly found countries— other countries in Asia but around the world, wanting to go to China. Same thing with Chinese tourism. And if you look at Chinese government efforts to promote Chinese culture: the establishment of Confucius institutions, the increased broadcasting by China Radio International, which now does much more than the Voice of America does in East Asia. These are some examples of China's investment in soft power." [13]

The problem today is not new challengers of hegemony it is the new challenge of transnational interdependence, and it appears that 'welfare' not 'warfare' will shape the rules and global threats like ozone holes and pollution will dictate the agenda.[14]

Hard Power

Jack Donnelly defines realism in international relations as tradition of analysis that stress the imperatives states face to pursue a power politics of the national interest.[15] Politics is the oldest and most frequently adopted theory of imposed on human selfishness (egoism) and the absence of international government (anarchy) which require the primacy in all political life of power and security.

Opponents of cultural diplomacy and soft power tend to bend to use of hard power to achieve policies. People like Donald Rumsfeld former US Secretary of Defense, claim that popularity is ephemeral and should guide foreign policy. He believed that the United States is strong enough to do as it wishes with or without the world's approval and should simply accept that others will envy and resent it. Such are the policies that have at many times seen the US go to war with many states because it is powerful.

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[13] Ibid. p 7
[14] C. W. Kegley Jr.: Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. 1995. Pp 6-7
[15] Burchill, et al: Theories of International Relations.3rd Ed. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. 2005. p 29.

Classical realists gave states a lot of credit. Morgenthau, Hobbes and Machiavelli thought of states as rational actors and the quest for more power was justified.[16] Machiavelli, a hard realist, believed that it is better to be feared than to be loved,[17] which is the opposite of what cultural diplomacy is all about because it seeks to impress others other than to scare them.

Kindleberger[18] in Luards' *Types of International Society* argues that only with the presence of an economic and political power can the global community achieve stability. A hegemon that acts as a unilateral responsible leader allows the international community to benefit because of the stability that follows. However a hegemon providing public good allows smaller states to partake of the benefits without any cost to them.

In neo-realism states primary concern is relative gains and their power position the international system. The maximization of absolute power is not a state's main concern, it is the relative position of power they hold in the system that matters.[19] In this argument power is an end in itself. Neoliberalism on the other hand as defined by Keohane[20] is a school of thought, which believes that states are, in a situation of "complex interdependence" and that there are multiple and effective channels that connect societies exceeding the conventional Westphalian system. Further, neoliberal international relations thinkers often employ game theory to explain why states do or do not cooperate; since their approach tends to emphasize the possibility of mutual wins, they are interested in institutions which can arrange jointly profitable arrangements and compromises.

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[16] C. W. Kegley Jr.: <u>Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge</u>. Op cit. p 4
[17] Ibid. p 5
[18] E. Luard: Types of International Society. The Free Press. New York. 1995. P 114
[19] C. W. Kegley Jr.: Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge. OP CIT. P 4
[20] Keohane R., <u>After Hegemony</u>. Princeton University Press. New Jersey.1984. p 7

NATO has been relying primarily on hard power in its mission there. Diplomats, particularly those working with provincial reconstruction teams outside of Kabul, spend much of their time inside heavily guarded compounds, venturing outside the wire mainly in armored convoys and never for protracted periods. This obviously does not position NATO representatives to effectively engage the population. In terms of international policy instruments, the former is associated principally with the armed forces, and the latter with diplomacy, specifically public diplomacy.

Some scholars like Ernest J. Wilson III argue beyond hard power and soft power to insist on smart power, defined as the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently. It argues that advancing smart power has become a national security imperative, driven both by long-term structural changes in international conditions and by short-term failures of the current administration. The current debates over public diplomacy and soft power suffer from failures to address conceptual, institutional, and political dimensions of the challenge.[21] Wilson argues that the zero-sum relationship between hard and soft power must be replaced by a dynamic application of power, hard and soft, across a continuum appropriate for time and place known as Smart Power. He defines Smart Power as the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently.

This study will center on idealists, proponents of soft power. This is because cultural diplomacy is a form of soft power use to advance the foreign policy of states. Idealists believe in

[21]E. J. Wilson: The annals of the American academy of Political and Social Science; Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power, University of Southern California
March 2008 vol. 616 no. 1. P 110-124

use of more friendly means of promoting national interests. These include cooperation and interdependence which is done through economic and cultural exchanges.

Literature Gap

Having there been world wars, the states have resorted to forming international organizations in pursuit for cooperation and interdependence. This has led to more developments in the diplomatic arena and states that have suffered in wars previously are in the front line of non alignment and in seeking to promote their foreign policy through soft power. This study will examine this new form of soft power use contrary to the norm of hard power.

As discussed earlier cultural diplomacy involves using media to globalize a state's story to the world. This may make the government to overlook the minor cultures of the state as they focus on the major cultures. Merging the interests of all cultures of a state may undermine some marginalized groups interests. When there is globalization there tends to be culture erosion which makes cultural diplomacy irrelevant in most areas.

Justification of the Study

The reason for studying the area of cultural diplomacy is because it is becoming an interesting area in international relations. In recent years states are investing more and more in cultural diplomacy than in military power as it was before. As diplomacy expands, more avenues for promoting foreign relations without resulting to war are being sought. The case studies used are good examples of states that have taken time to invest in soft power and it is working well for them.

Cultural diplomacy alludes to the official practice of governments conducting international relations (negotiating treaties, alliances, shaping policy, using soft power. For thousands of years, the use of violence has been the basis and ultimate sanction of power politics

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- the endpoint being war. Cultural diplomacy, by stressing soft power in politics, offers a potentially life-saving alternative.

> "Cultural exchange has been intertwined with the pursuit of foreign relations throughout history. From the reciprocal gifts of the arts and manufacturers between the Doge of Venice and Kublai Khan, to the Great Exhibition of 1851, to the present day, people have used culture to display themselves, to assert their power, and to understand others"[22]

The states are constantly in pursuit of fulfilling national interests which largely requires them to relate with other states. The developed states seek for raw materials and labour from developing states. The developing states seek for expertise and technology from the powerful states. This is because states need each other, others relate simply because they are neighbours. The world wars saw the segregation of rich states and poor states. While poor states suffered in all aspects rich states acquired more wealth with some suffering from the war expenses like military training.

During this period, states have only known one form of influencing others to their advantage, forcing them by going to war or threatening to go to war. This coercive method was mostly used by strong states over weak states. Weak states have henceforth come to despise such form of coercision and are in the forefront of seeking an alternative. Cultural diplomacy offers a soft means of relating with other states, this is by influencing others by presenting yourself in a likeable way so that others will be impressed by you and want to relate with you.

Theoretical Framework

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[22]K. Bound, (et al): Demos think tank, *Culture is a central component of international relations. It's time to unlock its full potential.* pp15

This study focuses on research driven by several theories of power struggle in international relations. These theories show how countries power struggle policies influences means by which they strategize to achieve national interests. Realism a theory that advocates for hard power use is countered by liberalism which advocates for soft power use. Liberalism is the theory that forms the framework of this study.

Idealism/Liberalism

Cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power aims at cooperation and interdependence. There are several theories that explain why states choose to work together instead of resorting to coercion and war. Liberalism and idealism holds that a state should make its internal political philosophy the goal of its foreign policy. For example, an idealist might believe that ending poverty at home should be coupled with tackling poverty abroad. Wilson's idealism was a precursor to liberal international relations theory, which would arise amongst the "institution-builders" after World War II. Wilson's ideas continue to dominate American foreign policy in the twenty-first century. In the aftermath of 9/11 they have, if anything, taken on even greater vitality."[23]

Liberalism also holds that interaction between states is not limited to the political/security ("high politics"), but also economic/cultural ("low politics") whether through commercial firms, organizations or individuals. Thus, instead of an anarchic international system, there are plenty of opportunities for cooperation and broader notions of power, such as cultural capital (for example, the influence of films leading to the popularity of the country's culture and creating a market for its exports worldwide). Another assumption is that absolute gains can be made

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[23] D. M. Kennedy, "What 'W' Owes to 'WW': President Bush May Not Even Know It, but He Can Trace His View of the World to Woodrow Wilson, Who Defined a Diplomatic Destiny for America That We Can't Escape", *The Atlantic Monthly* Vol: 295. Issue: 2. (March 2005) pp 36ff

through co-operation and interdependence—thus peace can be achieved. One argument is that economic interdependence makes war between trading partners less likely.[24]

Neoliberalism, liberal institutionalism or neo-liberal institutionalism[25] is an advancement of liberal thinking. It argues that international institutions can allow nations to successfully cooperate in the international system

Hypotheses of the Study

The study will test following three hypotheses

1. Cultural diplomacy influences foreign policy

2. Cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power is more effective than hard power

3. Cultural diplomacy as a strategy used by China and South Africa has boosted their relations.

Definition of concepts

Hard Power- **Hard power** is a term used in international relations. Hard power is a theory that describes using military and economic means to influence the behavior or interests of other political bodies.[26]

Soft power- **Soft power** is the ability to obtain what one wants through co-option and attraction. It can be contrasted with 'hard power', that is the use of coercion and payment. Soft power can be wielded not just by states, but by all actors in international politics, such as NGOs or international institutions.[27]

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[24] D. Copeland: Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations, International Security. Vol. 20, No. 4 (Spring, 1996), pp.5-41

[25] Sutch, Peter, Elias, Juanita, International Relations: The Basics, Routledge. 2006. p.11

[26] Kurt Campbell and Michael O'Hanlon, Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security. Basic Books, New York, 2006. P 289.

[27] Joseph S. Nye, Jr, Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. Public Affairs Edition. New York. 2004. p 7

Cultural diplomacy- The exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding.[28]

Foreign policy- A policy pursued by a nation in its dealings with other nations, designed to achieve national objectives.[29]

Research Methodology

This research will focus on two case studies, China and South Africa in their attempts to use cultural diplomacy to advance their foreign policy. It will target the contemporary situation of the two countries in the development of cultural diplomacy. This will mostly rely on written and reported works on China and South Africa and other secondary sources relating to the study. There will also be interviews with personalities from institutions and foreign missions relating to the case studies. This section will involve data collection and data analysis.

The research design is going to use content analysis of two case studies. This is because there will be an in-depth evaluation of secondary data and materials and investigation of an individual, group or institution. I will aim at determining factors and relationships among the factors that have resulted in the behavior that is being studied. It is appropriate for this study because there will be an in-depth investigation of the consequencies of using cultural diplomacy to promote foreign policy of states.

The data will be collected using secondary materials and interviews. This will help give research validity and evidence to prove the facts are valid. The interviews will be administered to the available personalities with resourceful information on the case studies and their views will be noted.

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[28] Institute for Cultural Diplomacy (ICD). Berlin.1999
[29] Ibid

The study will be conducted within the administrative boundaries of Kenya and will specifically be in Nairobi, Kenya. The interviewees who will mostly be diplomats from the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Nairobi, the South African High Commission in Nairobi, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya.

The target where the sample will be drawn will be people who have visited China and South Africa especially students who have studied there and people at cultural centers in Nairobi. The views will be used to analyze the findings. The population to be used will be that which is accessible because it will be a population narrowly defined. Therefore the informants will be the ones readily available to provide the necessary information.

The sample will be diplomats and nationals/organizations of the case study countries. Any individual or organization who is involved in advancing the foreign relations of the case study countries will be useful in the study. The sampling technique to be used will be convenience sampling (sometimes known as grab or opportunity sampling) is a type of non-probability sampling which involves the sample being drawn from that part of the population which is close at hand. That is, a sample population selected because it is readily available and convenient. It may be through meeting the person or including a person in the sample when one meets them or chosen by finding them through technological means such as the internet or through phone. Instruments for collecting data will be; interviews, photographs and telephone.

The data will be both primary and secondary. Primary data will be collected from subjects and secondary data will be collected from other written works in books and journals. Any type of data that will help develop the research will be used. The data will be analyzed qualitatively. Then I will summarize the quantified data in a table or diagram form. From there the pattern of occurrence in regards to distribution or dispersion or relationship will be observed.

The data collected will give in-depth holistic information, skills and attitudes, values and knowledge which cannot be obtained using survey and experimental methods. In this case it will be from interviews held with subjects through rapid assessment procedure.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one will be the introduction to the study. It is the proposal part of the study. Apart from setting out to justify why the study is being carried out, it will give the methodology to be used.

Chapter two will be on cultural diplomacy as a tool of soft power, looking in depth into the variable and the theories around it.

Chapter three will be on China's interpretation of cultural diplomacy, examining how the country has put cultural diplomacy activities in its foreign policy and how it has boosted relations.

Chapter three will be on South Africa's interpretation of cultural diplomacy, examining how the country has put cultural diplomacy activities in its foreign policy and how it has boosted relations.

The fifth chapter is the critical point of the study. It will analyse the findings and verify the hypotheses. There will also be comparative analysis evaluating how has china implemented and how has South Africa implemented, similarities and differences.

Finally, having viewed china and South Africa there will conclusion and implications of my findings. Then as a diplomat what I'm I advising- policy suggestions and contribution to the diplomacy field, further recommendations of research. Lastly, the bibiliography.

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

INTRODUCTION

Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as an exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture between countries to facilitate mutual understanding.[1] In cultural diplomacy, more than ever before, culture has a vital role to play in international relations. This stems from the wider, connective and human values that culture has: culture is both the means by which we come to understand others, and an aspect of life with innate worth that we enjoy and seek out. Cultural enables us to appreciate points of commonality and, where there are differences, to understand the motivations and humanity that underlie them. Cultural diplomacy specifies a form of diplomacy that carries a set of prescriptions which are material to its effectual practice; these prescriptions include the unequivocal recognition and understanding of foreign cultural dynamics and observance of the tenets that govern basic dialogue.

Other definitions of Cultural Diplomacy are:

Cultural diplomacy is a concept in political science describing the use and transfer of cultural ideas between different group to achieve rapport and understanding.

"Cultural diplomacy is a prime example of "soft power" or the ability to persuade through culture, value, and ideas opposed to "hard power" which conquers or coerces through military might."

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[30] M.C. Cummings: Cultural Diplomacy and the United State Government: a Survey. Center for Arts and Culture, s. 6, [in.] Schneider C.P. (2004), Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy that Works, Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations. 2003. p. 1.

Cultural diplomacy alludes to the official practice of governments conducting international relations (negotiating treaties, alliances, shaping policy) using soft power. For thousands of years, the use of violence has been the basis and ultimate sanction of power politics - the endpoint being war. Cultural diplomacy, by stressing soft power in politics, offers a potentially life-saving alternative.

States are forever in the pursuit of having a good position in the international arena. As identity politics exert an increasing influence on domestic and international exchanges, culture is therefore a critical forum for negotiation and a medium of exchange in finding shared solutions. Cultural contact provides a forum for unofficial political relationship-building: it keeps open negotiating channels with countries where political connections are in jeopardy, and helps to recalibrate relationships for changing times with emerging powers such as India and China. In the future, alliances are just as likely to be forged along lines of cultural understanding as they are on economic or geographic ones.[2]

Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

The two terms may have been synonymous but are not alike. Public diplomacy has more of government involvement while cultural diplomacy has more of autonomous or semi autonomous structure. Cultural is not entirely controlled by the government. Malone considers that public diplomacy is the common term for public undertakings aimed at countries abroad, especially in the fields of information, education and culture. According to him the aim of public diplomacy is to influence citizens of other countries to achieve a positive attitude to one's country.[3]

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[2] Holden, J. (et al), Culture is a Central Component of International Relations. It's Time to Unlock it's Full Potential. Cultural Diplomacy. Demos and Think Tanks. London. 2007. P 24
[3] Malone G.D, Organizing the Nation's Public Diplomacy. University Press of America. 1988. p. 1

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The concepts of public and cultural diplomacy are intertwined with the concept of 'branding' or to put it simply brand management. It may be assumed that the basic principles in building the brand of a country are the same as in the commercial sphere of identity building. Both are based on the task of creating a proposition or undertaking, usually based on emotion-based values that may be transformed into symbols that are clear and flexible and that should be effective to impact in many situations and many target groups. There is no doubt that countries today compete with one another on the global market and just as is the case with products, one of the aims before them is to maintain their competitive advantage over other countries.

The brand of a country is linked to its economy, exports, tourism and direct investments. All of these contribute to the promotion of a country. Looking at this process from the other perspective it may be said that a country that has a good brand promotes tourism, inflow of direct investments and export.[4] Culture and its presentation is very important in the positive creation of a country's image. Cultural diplomacy may be conducted within a particular country, abroad or utilizing media, which may reach within a country as well as abroad. All these three spheres should interact. It is not only a case of promoting a country's image to foreigners but also to its own citizens. To paraphrase a certain classic quotation, cultural diplomacy begins at home.'[5]

Taylor divides the key elements of 'soft power' into long-term ones (cultural and educational exchanges, creation of mutual confidence) and short-term ones (information disseminated via the media).[6] Nye feels that cultural diplomacy is the best example of the so-called soft power, i.e. the possibility of communicating, via the conduit of culture, of values and

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[4] Marta Ryniejska – Kiełdanowicz, , Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication. University of Wrocław. Wroclaw.2011. p10
[5] IBID. p 13
[6] Taylor P.M., Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945, London and NewYork: Routledge.2007. P 6

ideas, which is in contrast to hard power, i.e. one that uses military instruments.[7] Furthermore Nye claims that it is the ability to achieve to what is desired rather than attractiveness or coercion or money. It is the result of the attractiveness of a given culture, political ideals and the substance of the policy of a given country.[8]

Meilsen, Taylor and Gilboa also write about public diplomacy in terms of it being a being a basic instrument of soft power, which, according to them, supports foreign policy. "Soft power" can be a substitute for traditional forms of power (military measures, economic sanctions) as these days the preferred method of attaining one's aims and trust are peaceful ones. As J.S. Nye notes both are inextricably linked. For any student it is abundantly clear that 'soft power' is very important in an era of global information and its lack can entail the loss of 'hard power' on the international stage, moreover arguing that no power will be potent by merely limiting itself to using the instruments of hard power such as its military and the economy.[9] Bugajski[10] claims that, 'an interest in soft power is the result of a number of factors, such as an understanding of the limitations of hard power or combat power, a greater probability that other countries would like to join in such initiatives, the relative success of certain non-military undertakings and finally, the feeling, that the United States should improve its image on the international stage so as not to be seen as a unilateral, militaristic tyrant.[11]

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[7] Nye J., The Paradox of American Power. Oxford University Press, Oxford. 2002. p. 8
[8] Kuźniar R., Soft Power i wielkość Ameryki, [in:] Nye J., (2007), Soft Power. Jak osiągnać sukces w polityce światowej, Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne,Warszawa. 2007. p.11
[9] Melissen J.: Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy, , Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.; Taylor P., What is a Public Diplomacy?, Institute of Communications Studies, University of Leeds. UK. 2005
[10] Janusz Bugajski, was the Director of the Programme: New European Democracies on the Center for Strategic and International Studies, in the year 1984-85 he worked in The Radio Free Europe as Senior Research in the Polish Section Research and Analysis (RAD)
[11] Ameryka musi bardziej polegać na soft power, interview with J. Bugajski, www.wolnaeuropa.org (21.07.2008).

The Purpose of Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy like any other form of diplomacy is used in promoting foreign relations of state in the pursuit of satisfying national interests of states. China and South Africa as will be discussed by this study; have not delayed in using cultural diplomacy for this purpose.

The purpose of cultural diplomacy is essentially determined by the parties involved. The following segments present examples of various purposes by various parties:

Union of nations: i.e., <u>United Nations, African Union, League of Arab States, European Union</u>. Cultural diplomacy plays an essential role in the operational integrity of these unions as they thrive on consensus through voting systems that determine a cause of action. The absence of consensus often leads to deadlock. Cultural diplomacy is often used to influence voting decisions that cover such matters as military action, border disputes and trade.

Individual nations: commonly use cultural diplomacy to improve international relations and secure agreements that cover issues like trade, investment, immigration and security.

Private and public enterprises: often employ cultural diplomacy to secure mergers and acquisitions or to resolve customer complaints. Institutional cultural dynamics are epitomised by corporate ethos, practices and conventions.

<u>Non-governmental organisations</u> (NGOs): often employ cultural diplomacy to influence government policy for the benefit of a given cause. Humanitarian aid agencies may use cultural diplomacy to influence traditions and practices that work against efforts to reduce poverty and illness in local communities. This ensures that their work is sustainable.

Individuals: often use cultural diplomacy to build friendships or in discussions to influence opinion about a particular subject. The cultural dynamics of an individual are represented by personal beliefs, values and general way on life.

Evolution of Cultural Diplomacy

Perhaps the most remarkable practice of cultural diplomacy to date was displayed by William Wilberforce in his associations with a campaign for the abolition of slavery. His campaign was spearheaded by a famous speech in the British House of Commons on 12 May 1789. Wilberforce engaged members of parliament and all who would listen in debates over the abolition of slavery, through a dialogue that recognised the distinct culture of a people who possessed an inherent human right to freedom, on the same terms as the rest of humanity. His understanding of the miserable nature of the slave trade and the cultural dynamics pertinent to African slaves was used to sow the seeds for a groundbreaking consensus in the Parliament of the United Kingdom which led to the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833.

Today, cultural diplomacy is practised within the context of general diplomacy and alongside other generic forms. The art has grown to become a global industry with legal foundations and a comprehensive set of conventions, epitomised by the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations and Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Most governments enshrine their approach to cultural diplomacy within a foreign policy document and appoint a foreign minister to lead its implementation. The foreign minister is normally supported by a network of ambassadors and full body of diplomatic staff.

The continued evolution of cultural diplomacy is dependent on the behavioural economics of its adherents, as people develop better understandings of each other and new mediums of dialogue. The development of new technologies has arguably had the most profound effect on the conduct of cultural diplomacy. The advent of <u>multimedia</u> technologies including telecommunication, electronic mail, <u>VoIP</u> and audio video conferencing has made it possible for adherents to conduct cultural diplomacy without ever meeting, in a physical sense.

Soft Power

Nye[12] created the term "soft power," which he described as "the ability to shape the preferences of others" and "getting others to want the outcomes you want." Although the phrase was coined in 1990, the concept behind soft power has been evolving for some time. During the Cold War era, the United States actively used a rich portfolio of soft power tools and established organizations to promote democratic values and ideals.[13] America employed a variety of public diplomatic activities, such as the Congress of Cultural Freedom, the Marshall Plan, and the United States Information Agency (USIA). It also launched the Peace Corps, Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe, and put libraries in foreign cities. The United States sent museum exhibitions and performers abroad, furthering the understanding and appeal of American culture – often despite host country governments' preferences.[14] To win the hearts and minds of the

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[12] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "<u>The Benefits of Soft Power</u>." Harvard Business School Working Knowledge for Business Leaders, August 8, 2004

[13] United States Naval Institute (USNI) symposium, "<u>Dealing With Today's Asymmetric Threat to U.S. and Global Security, Symposium Two: Soft Power</u>," co-sponsored by CACI International Inc (CACI) and the United States Naval Institute (USNI). Virginia. CACI International Inc. 2009.

[14]Ambassador Brian Carlson, USNI-CACI symposium comments.

populace, "we must make the ordinary folks feel secure. If they feel secure, they will not resist. It is that simple, and has always been that simple, but we had to learn it the hard way.[15]

In using cultural diplomacy, the ability must now go beyond the traditional tools of foreign policy, defense, and diplomacy and be complemented by enhanced development efforts to counter the conditions that breed instability and empower the enemies of this century. Providing food, clean water, sanitation, medical services, and disaster relief to the people around the world who need it most has been viewed as a moral imperative, but only tangential to national security. Today these tools and the positive political image and reputation they promote are seen as crucial components of a credible national security strategy.

Leadership and power are inextricably intertwined. Broadly speaking, power is the ability to affect the behavior of others to get the outcomes you want, and there are three basic ways to do that: You can coerce them with threats, you can induce them with payments or you can attract and co-opt them.

Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others. At the personal level, we all know the power of attraction and seduction. In a relationship or a marriage, for example, power does not necessarily reside with the larger or richer partner, but in the poorly understood chemistry of attraction. Smart executives know that leadership is not just a matter of issuing commands, but also involves leading by example and attracting others to do what you want. Your power is greater if you can get others to buy in to your values and vision.

The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible assets such as an attractive personality, values, institutions, and a vision that are seen as legitimate or having

[15] Roger Barnett, Asymmetrical Warfare: Today's Challenges to U.S. Military Power. Dulles: Potomac Books, 2003. pp 75- 89

moral authority. If a leader represents a vision and values that others want to follow, it will cost

less to

lead. Soft power often allows a leader to save on costly carrots and sticks. Simply put, in

behavioral terms, soft power is attractional power. In terms of resources, soft power resources

are the assets that produce such attraction. The two main sources of hard power, threats and

inducements, are closely related. Inducements, rewards and bonuses are more pleasant to receive

than threats, but the hint of their removal can constitute an effective threat[16] American pop

culture embodied in products and communications has widespread global appeal[17]

Theories on cultural diplomacy

Liberalism is a theory that vouches for cooperation in international relations. It advocates for

states to work together, depend on each other and build mutual relationships for the good of all.

It therefore indirectly advocates for use of soft power. States use friendly means to interact with

each other. This paper argues that cultural diplomacy use by states is based on this theory of

cooperation, institutionalism and interdependence using peaceful means. This is in many ways

similar to using soft power in interactions between and among states.

International relations involve interactions of states in many areas like trade. States in the

international system compete to gain power and influence over other states. This has made them

to adopt aggressive economics. This is due to economic crisis, debts, poverty, unemployment

and greed for wealth. It creates a need for wealth. It creates a need for interdependence of states;

it could be through international organizations, treaties or bilateral agreements. This amounts to

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[16] Ruth Grant, "Ethics and Incentives: A Political Approach." American Political Science Review, Feb, 2006, pp. 29-39.
[17] Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power. New York: Basic Books, 1990.

international relations states use different strategies to maintain good relations, it could be through diplomacy or sometimes war.

States were highly destabilized by the first and second world wars. The economy was not stable. New states emerging from de-colonialisation faced the challenges of establishing governments that seeked support of all classes of people with minorities feeling left out. States in their traditional from faced disruptive forces from two directions: defence and some major economic needs called for merger in larger units whereas dissatisfaction at home required greater pluralisation, recognition of the interests of groups the granting of autonomous powers below governmental levels and in the case of really dissatisfied national minorities, even full devolution. The two groups of demands were often incompatible both threatened the very continuation of states.[18]

A regime is a set of norms, principles, rules and decision making procedures which act as the underlying foundation of many international organizations.[19] International organizations are naturally built on co-operation, institutionalism, liberalism and good will. They are built on regimes. Regimes do not necessarily have a formal framework to enact the agreements. International organizations have the ability to respond to world events because the formal institutionalization that exists within these entities for example the Rome Statute is a regime and precursor to the formation of the more formal institution of International Criminal Court (ICC).

Keohane and Nye[20] among other scholars rose in the 70's to challenge realism; they focused on international integration, interdependence, and regimes. The problem today is not new challengers of hegemony it is the new challenge of transnational interdependence, and it

[18] Frankel, J., International Relations in a changing world. 4th Ed. Oxford University Press. Oxford. 1988. p 58.

[19] Luard, E., Types of International Society. The Free Press. New York. 1995. p 114

[20] IBID. pp 6-7

appears that 'welfare' not 'warfare' will shape the rules and global threats like ozone holes and pollution will dictate the agenda.

States that have suffered in wars especially developing states have since then tended to prefer peaceful means in interactions with other states. They have entered into agreements and international organizations in order to have collective security. Some have resulted to being non-aligned like China and South Africa. In the formation of international organizations, governmental roles have been reduced and individuals are given freedom to form opinions. In this process there has been non-governmental organizations being formed where the government has less control.

Claude[21] adds that international agencies are products not of the aspirations of idealists standing outside of and above international politics but of the necessities felt by statesmen operating within the arena of international politics. International organization is a functional response to the complexities of the modern state system, an organic development rooted in the realities of the system rather than an optional experiment fastened upon it.

According to Biersteker[22], the realist paradigm is dominant but in a system where states are not the only actors, there are international institutions and NGOs that create forums for states to relate, and through interdependence states gain without suppressing each other.

This paper is based on the argument of liberalism theory, and other theories of cooperation. It argues that hard power is not effective as will be further discussed in the realism

[21] Claude, I.L.Jr., Swords into Plow Shares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization. Random House, Inc. New York. 1971. p 6

[22] Biersteker, T. J., International Law and International Relations: Bridging Theory and Practice. Social Science Research Council (US) Routledge. New York. 2007. p83.

theory, it brings destruction. The force behind cultural diplomacy is the use of soft power which is the reason why states use peaceful means and other friendly avenues to meet their national goals. After all the destruction that first world war and second world war caused, states have no other choice but to use friendly means not wars or threats to war, to reach national goals. Cooperations could be bilateral or multilateral, especially in the formation of international organizations.

This paper however will majorly focus on how China and South Africa as individual states have resulted to friendly means to advance their foreign policies globally. The two states have been in the forefront of cooperation, hence promoting South-South alliances.

Realism

Realism, a dominant theory in international relations advocates for power use to achieve power. Here the end justifies the means, and its pretty much the cause of many wars. Strong states use force or threat of force to get others (weak states) to do as they want. This directly is similar to the use of hard power by states in the quest of satisfying their national interests without being mindful of others.

Jack Donnelly[23] defines realism in international relations as tradition of analysis that stress the imperatives states face to pursue a power politics of the national interest. Politics is the oldest and most frequently adopted theory of imposed on human selfishness (egoism) and the absence of international government (anarchy) which require the primacy in all political life of power and security. States centrism and rationality are core realist premises.

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[23] Burchill, et al, <u>Theories of International Relations</u>.3rd Ed. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. 2005. P 29

Threat to national interests of a state by another state can also make states to go to war.[24]

The sovereignty of a state is most important territorial sovereignty extends over the land within the state frontier and the air space about it but not to the upper air that is outer space. Sovereignty also extends with certain limitations over the internal waters and territorial sea. The international regime for determining maritime legality is based on the 1958 Geneva Convention and the 1982 law of the sea conventions.[25]

Mwagiru says that conflicts are dynamic and organic. Conflicts have a life of their own and this life changes from day to day and week to week. The birth life and death of all conflicts occurs in the contest of the life cycle of a conflict. This starts institutions of peace then with accumulation of power and competition increase tensions develop. If not addressed crisis develops and can mature into violent conflict. Conflicts are addressed through litigation arbitration, negotiation or mediation. In the cases that are successful, peace agreements which lead to reconstruction are reached and conflicts are resolved it is the only time where death is celebrated, the death of a conflict.[26]

A sense of history provides the basis for the understanding that international organization has become a necessary part of the system for dealing with international problems.

Morgenthau, Hobbes and Machiavelli thought of states as rational actors and the quest for more power was justified . It is better to be feared than to be loved was

[24] Daddow, O., International Relations Theory. Sage Publications Ltd. London. 2009. P 184
[25] Falk, R.A and Black, C.E.,The Future of International Legal Order, Vol 1; Trends and Patterns. Princeton University Press. New York. 1969. P 137
[26] Makumi, M., The Waters Edge: Mediation of Violent Electoral Conflict in Kenya. Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, UON, Nairobi. 2008. P 6

Machiavelli's advice to   princes.[27] Conflicts of interest are seen to be inevitable. The purpose of statecraft is national survival in a hostile environment. No means is more important than self-help the ultimate dependence of the state on its own resources to promote its interests and protect itself. Tate sovereignty, ma cornerstone of international law, enshrines this perspective, giving heads of state the freedom and responsibility to do whatever is necessary to advance the state's interests and survival. Respect for moral principles is a wasteful and dangerous interference in the rational pursuit of national power.

· The game of international politics takes place under conditions of permanent anarchy and revolves around the pursuit of power: acquiring it, increasing it, projecting it, and using it to bend others to one's will. Since the eve of the Second World War, realism has by far been the most popular theoretical perspective for viewing world affairs. Realism found a fertile ground in which to flourish during the conflict-ridden fifty year period between 1939 and 1989.

Waltz[28] a neorealist scholar, in his argument of structural realism after the cold war states that international institutions are shaped and limited by the states that found and sustain them and have little independent effect. He further said that the global system is anarchical in its structure, where states are the primary actors in international relations although international non-state institutions do play a significant role. States share complementary interest with other states, cooperation is then possible and normally it occurs under the auspices of international institutions. According to neoliberal institutionalists it is from complementary interest that states often forge for an international institution.[29]

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[27] Kegley, C.W.Jr.: Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. 1995. P 4

[28] Waltz, K.N., International Security. Vol 25. No. 1. Summer 2000. P 162

[29] Leonard, E.K., The Onset of Global Governance. International Relations Theory and the International Criminal Court. Ashgate Publishing Limited. Hampshire. 2005.P 9

The Leiden journal said that the war in Europe 1914 which engulfed the whole world, led to terrible destruction and loss of life, it was felt that an international organization had to be established to avert war in the future.[30]

India being a colony of Britain was in the forefront of formation of the United Nations (UN). War is strenuous. It strains the freedom and economy of the players, so after war they feel the need to be liberated, strong and stable. They therefore work towards interdependence and having allies and forming international organizations to give them a sense of belonging and collective security as well as repairing the damaged economies especially for weaker states.

Interpretation, Hard Power Vs Soft Power

Whereas hard power as advocated for by the realism theory, uses force to make ends meet, soft power as advocated for by the liberalism theory, uses cooperation and integration to make ends meet. The results of the two help explain which of the two is most effective.

During the Second World War, strong states used military force to take over colonies for themselves. They took over territories and all that was in them including the inhabitants. They took over all productive industries including agriculture, mining, government and labour. This led to so much torture on the inhabitants that they also resulted to war for their freedom fight. At the end of it all, there was so much destruction of property, lives, economies, displacements and many scars.

On the other hand ceasure of use of hard power can not only create friendships but also avoid loss of lives. Take a case of German military involvement in Afghanistan. Calls for a stronger military involvement in Afghanistan from Germany were getting louder. With the

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[30] Leiden Journal of International Law, The _Formation of International Organizations and India: A Historical Study_ Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 2010, 23:5-21

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Norwegian Quick Reaction Force (QRF) retreating in the summer of 2008, the North Atlantic

Treaty Organization (NATO) is pressing Germany to replace the Norwegian QRF and to take up

a larger share in the multilateral military mission in Afghanistan. From the beginning of

Germany's involvement in Afghanistan, the German government has had a hard time defending

its policy to the general public. Germany's justification for troop deployments was therefore

premised on conflict reduction and reconstruction, rather than on military combat. Despite this,

Germany's non-combat approach proved to be very successful. The German government

successfully defended its actions to the general public, and the German troops in Afghanistan

were equally successful in their stated goals of conflict reduction and reconstruction.[31] The

German approach was heavily based on building understanding and trust among cooperating

partners in order to improve security and reconstruction efforts in the region.

In a broad sense the German non-combat approach can be seen within the framework of

cultural diplomacy. This more cultural diplomatic approach shows how useful and successful

soft power (cooperation, reconstruction) can be in comparison to hard power (military force)

conflict resolution. Indeed the new strategy emphasizes human relationships and the cultural

diplomatic approach: "To be successful, you must understand the Iraqi perspective. Building

trust, showing respect, cultivating relationships, building a team, and maintaining patience are all

central features of the human terrain system which emphasize the power of people - friendship,

trust, understanding—the most decisive factor in winning the war in Iraq.[32]

Until 2007 the German military conducted over 316 projects in Kabul with the purpose of

being able to react on a short-term basis to the needs of the Afghan people and to deliver fast

[31] Schmunk, Michael , Die Deutschen Provincial Reconstruction Teams. SWP-Studie, Berlin.2005
[32] Sheila Miyoshi Jager , On the Uses of Cultural Knowledge. Strategic Studies Institute, 2007. p.11

results.[33]These include such projects as the equipment for a girl's school in Kabul with material for their arts classes, building wells or the reconstruction of bridges. This can truly be seen as an example of cultural diplomacy, working at the basis of the society and in direct contact with the people in order to establish dialogue, understanding and trust.[34]

Conclusion

In conclusion, cultural diplomacy is obviously not a new term in the practice of diplomacy, but it has been through evolution and now it is more visible than it ever was. It focuses on using soft power in the relations between and among states. It is built on the theory of liberalism which promotes cooperation. Cultural diplomacy is a better option since it promotes peace and friendliness. States are more likely to cooperate with friendly states more than with states that use force.

In this concept cultural diplomacy is as important a pillar as military pillar in foreign policy. States should invest equally in cultural diplomacy if not more than. There are states like Switzerland which are doing well without an army. In these times of after-war crisis, cooperation is a better option. The following chapters will discuss the foreign policy of China and South Africa and how they have used cultural diplomacy in their foreign relations.

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[33] Bundesministerium der Verteidigung: Unsere Bundeswehr in Afghanistan. information brochure, last edited December 2007
[34] Milton C. Cummings, Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey. Center for Arts and Culture, 2003, p.1.

CHAPTER THREE

CHINA AND HER INTERPRETATION OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Introduction

This chapter discusses China's foreign policy, beginning with the background, all the pillars of her foreign policy and finally expounding on understanding of cultural diplomacy .

Foreign policy is the strategy of a government in the totality of its relationships with other states, governments or agencies in the international system. It is based on a general conception of a states national international interest. It hence can be seen as national objectives that a country has to achieve, means for achieving those objectives as identified by a particular state. These decisions affect the country's actions on the international stage.[1] National interest is the total interest of a state and comprises of three pillars that constitute national power, military, economy and diplomacy. The interests of a nation could be either supreme vital, tactical, national or strategic as categorized by foreign policy scholars depending on their significance.

China, a communist state with about 1.3 billion population is the largest country in Asia .Its history dates back to 3,500 years and was dominated by successive dynasties. The last dynasty was established in 1644 which was the Qing dynasty. It gained control of many border areas including Xinjiang, Yunnan, Tibet, Mongolia and Taiwan. During the 19th century the Qing control weakened, and prosperity diminished. China suffered massive social strife, economic stagnation, explosive population growth and western population and influence Chinese resources were drained by along others Russian supported Muslim separatist movement in Xinjiang. The Britain's desire to continue its illegal opium trade with China collided with imperial edicts

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[1] Mingtz, A. and DeRouen K., <u>Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making</u>. Cambridge University Press. New York. 2010. P 3

leading to the first opium war in 1840, china lost.[2] Britain and other western powers including the United States (U.S) forcibly occupied concessions and gained special commercial privileges. Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1842 under the Treaty of Nanking and in 1898, when the opium wars finally ended, Britain executed a 99 year lease of the new territories.

Western powers wielded superior military technology, gained more economic and political privileges, but the Qing dynasty played down both the western threats and the benefits of western threats and the benefits of western technology. In the early 20th century people who opposed Qing's resistance to western reform including young officials, military officers and students inspired by Sun Yat – Sen began to advocate the overthrow of the Qing dynasty and creation of a republic. The last Qing monarch was abducted on 10th October 2011.

After Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai – Shek led the Kuomintang (KMT) to war with Chinese communist party (CCP) and after 1949 the CCP occupied most of the country and KMT with its leader fled to Taiwan and proclaimed Taipei to be china's provincial capital. Taiwan still calls itself the Republic of China. On 1st October 1949 Mao Zedong proclaimed the founding of the people's republic of chain (PPR) but economically ravaged. Since then China undertook self reconstruction programs as it had suffered on the soviet example but in 1958 there was the great leap forward break with the soviet model. Poor planning and bad weather led to famine. In 1960 the Sino-Soviet relationship ended and soviets withdraw all their personnel from china.

In the 1960s under President Liu Shaoqi there was the great proletarian Cultural Revolution and there was opposition by Mao leading after Mao there were new leaderships, more reforms and improvements in the standards of living under President Deng Xiaoping up to 1997. President Deng is considered as the one who opened China's door to the world. China

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[2] Law, E., InterContinental's Best of China. China International Press. Beijing. 2007. p 19

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experienced great changes since 1978.[3] Jiang zemin took leadership up to 2003 where President

Hu Jintao took over. Still continuing with reforms to revive economy and uplift living standards

china is firmly committed to economic reforms and opening to the outside world. The

government is authoritarian in structure and ideology led by the CCP. The government role is

subordinate to the CCP and its role is to implement the party policies. The state organs are: The

national people's congress (NPC), the president (head of state) and the sate council which

includes the premier (head of government), vice premiers (now four), five state councilors (vice

premiers) and 25 ministers, the control bank governor, and the audit general.

Political Pillar of China's Foreign Policy

There have been tremendous reforms in various areas including legal reforms. To generally

restrain abuses of official authority and revolutionary excesses. In 1982, the national people's

congress (NPC) adopted a new constitution that emphasized the legal reforms.[4]

In the 1990's, legislation was enacted to modernize and professionalize the nation's lawyers,

judges and prisons. 1994 saw the administrative procedure law allow citizens to sue officials for

abuse of authority or malfeasance. Criminal law and procedure were amended. In 2004 the

constitution was amended to include protection of human rights and legally obtained property.

Since 1978, Chinese leadership has adopted a more pragmatic perspective on many political and

socioeconomic problems.

Economic Pillar of China's Foreign Policy

Since 1978, china has reformed and opened its economy. This ongoing transformation has had a

profound impact not only on china but on the world. The market oriented reforms china has

implemented over the past two decades have unleashed individual initiative and

[3] Wu, X., China Emerging: How Thinking about Business Changed, 1978-2008. China International Press. Beijing. 2008. Pp4-12

[4] Xiao, J. and Zhang, T., Investment, Merger, and Acquisition in China. Foreign Languages Press. Beijing. 2005. P 43

entrepreneurship.[5] These have resulted to large reduction of poverty and one of the fastest increases in income levels which has led China to be the third largest economy in the world, with an economic growth of over 9.5% over the past 26 years annually.

China has continuous development economically in the following areas:[6]

Agriculture – Its one of the largest producers and consumers of agricultural products. Which are rice, corn, wheat, soy beans, vegetables, tea and pork. This contributes to 11% of Chinas GDP. Industry – these accounts for about 48.67% of china's GDP. With major industries in ore processing and mining and electronics, automobiles and transportation equipment. The problem of regulatory environment which has led to substandard or tainted products but China is working with US and others to better regulate the problem. Energy – China is the world's largest consumer of energy and third largest net importer of crude oil after U.S and Japan. China is second largest producer of energy after U.S. It installed renewable capacity of 52.5 gigawatts (Gw) in 2009 and is second in the world behind U.S. Since 2004, the U.S China Energy policy dialogue has strengthened energy related interactions between the two countries. Environment – This is one of the serious negative consequences of china's rapid industrial development. It costs Chinese economy 7% - 10% of GDP each year. In 1998 the state environmental protection administration (EPA) was officially upgraded to a ministry level agency, the ministry of environmental protection (MEP). In 2005 China joined the Asia pacific partnership on clean Development which brings together industries and governments to implement strategies that reduce pollution and address climate change. China is active in climate talks. It is a signatory to the Basel convention governing the transport and disposal of hazardous waste, the Montreal protocol for the protection of the ozone layer and the convention on international trade in

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[5] Wu, X.: China Emerging; How Thinking about Business Changed, 1978-2008. Op cit. p38
[6] Xiao, J. and Zhang, T.: Investment, Merger, and Acquisition in China. Pp 103-126

endangered species and other major environmental agreements. Science and technology –

China's political leadership comes almost exclusively from technical backgrounds and has a high

regard for science. The U.S china science and technology agreement remains the framework for

bilateral relations in this field. A five year plan extends the science and technology agreement

was signed in April 2006. In their meetings the two sides coordinate joint science and technology

cooperation. Trade – China's greatest trade partner is the U.S. The U.S is one of the China's

primary suppliers of power generating equipments, aircraft and parts, computers and industrial

machinery, raw materials, and chemical and agricultural products. They convene for joint

commission on commerce and Trade (JCCT) yearly to discuss among other trade issues,

intellectual property rights, government procurement etc. Foreign investment – this has increased

since the 80's. Opening to the outside remains central to china's development. Lately china has

opened up more to south – south trade relations. It is focusing on other developing countries with

an eye on the unexploited resources and raw materials.

Military Pillar of China's Foreign Policy

China's professional military force equipped with modern weapons and doctrine was established

in 1963. China has acquired weapons systems from abroad. It has modernized its strategic and

conventional missile capabilities. The nuclear weapons program was commenced on in 1955. In

1980's china became a major international arms exporter. It joined the nuclear non-proliferation

treaty (NPT) in 1992. It signed the comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) in 1996. In 1992 China

undertook to abide by the missile technology control regime (MTCR) guidelines and parameters.

The U.S. continues to seek ways to work with china in order to strengthen its implementation

and enforcement of rigorous export controls for missile technology.[7]

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[7] Suisheng, Zhao, <u>Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behaviour</u>. East Gate. New York. 2004. Pp151-163

China's Foreign Relations Strategy

China's foreign policy is based on the following points stipulated by Premier Li Peng's speech at the 96th Inter-Parliamentary Conference on September 19, 1996

Independence is the basic principle of China's foreign policy.

In the past five decades China has overcome difficult international problems one by one in part thanks to its flexible and practical strategies. The policy is based on the following main elements: Maintaining independence. Maintaining world peace. Friendly relations and cooperation. Good-neighborly and friendly relations. Enhanced unity and cooperation with developing countries. Opening policy. China, the world's largest developing country and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, stands ready to make unremitting efforts to ensure world peace and development, and the establishment of a new fair and equitable international political and economic order based on peace and stability. [8]

Cultural Diplomacy in China

China's cultural diplomacy policy has been the most aggressive and topical of recent times. Just as America has been compromised by events in Iraq, the memories of Tiananmen Square and the purges of the cultural revolution continue to colour international and particularly Western thinking with regard to China. Communism system of governance of China has been highly criticized, but largely by western countries, as an officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya says. [9] The developing states seem not to worry about their system of governance since China does interfere in their states and also because the help China is offering is far better than western help. There had been reluctance to give China the International light it

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[8] Excerpts from Premier Li Peng's speech at the 96th Inter-Parliamentary Conference on September 19, 1996; http://www.china-embassy.org/eng//zmgx/zgwjzc/t35077.htm

[9] Political Officer, Interview with Judy Wamuya, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nairobi, September 2011.

seeks with focus placed on Tibet, alleged Human Rights abuses, and a perceived lack of basic freedoms. There has troubled passage of the Olympic torch through Paris and London suggested a reluctance to grant China acceptance.

Cultural diplomacy remains a key tool of Chinese foreign policy, perhaps out of the understanding that Chinese state media, internet and diplomatic channels are viewed with scepticism. The streets of the world's China towns are for many their most immediate contact with Chinese culture, while the dragon dancers of Chinese New Year evoke a begrudging fondness even among some of China's harshest critics. The communist leadership seems to recognize this: Confucius Institutes, comparable to the French Alliance Francaise, are planned around the world in the next five years. The extent of government interference in these bodies has yet to be determined. Chinese cultural policy marks an attempt to separate itself from such images.

China's utilization of cultural diplomacy can be seen as somewhat cynical. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that culture is a two-way affair, and that no amount of technology can truly insulate a country from the narratives, stories and ideas of other peoples. A small example is Pop Idol, or *Supergirls*, a show dubbed 'vulgar and manipulative' by Chinese State Television which attracted 3.5 million viewers. More significantly, it introduced the concept of voting to a country that has never held national elections.[10]

An officer at the China political desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya in an interview said that China is definitely using Cultural Diplomacy to promote her foreign relations.[11] Citing examples of the cultural presentations and exhibits, trainings of Chinese language and culture and setting up of hospitality industry businesses like the Chinese

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[10]Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, John Holden, Samuel Jones, Culture is a central component of international relations. It's time to unlock its full potential. Demos think tank , p 91

[11] Political Officer, Interview with Judy Wamuya, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nairobi, September 2011.

restaurants in Kenya. The officer further added that the Chinese government picks people from the Kenyan government and sponsors them to study short courses in China. The people who are selected are taken to China and they are taken round all over China, visiting the historical cities, old parks, cultural centres, the mausoleum of the First President, and the religious sites like the Buddha centre, that way they get to experience Chinese culture and tour the country. This is a form of marketing China as a country and its culture.

The officer also added that China's no-intervention kind of approach is also a form of soft power use to promote her relations. More to that China is offering development to developing states like the roads constructions in Kenya which is done even overnight because its Chinese culture to work round the clock. This makes them finish projects in less time than other contracted foreign nationals.

An officer at the Chinese Embassy in Nairobi echoed the same comments, saying that China is set to promote her relations especially with the third world countries.[12] The officer added that China as a peace loving country uses non-intervention to promote peace and let the conflicting parties solve their problems without outside interference. Further to promoting peace, China's economy is based on industrial support and hence China is willing to support other states to develop their economies as China has technological know how to offer while the other states offer market for Chinese products. The officer added that China has a rich culture and that is why cultural exchanges are good platforms to sell China.

The 2008 Olympics

China being in the limelight of the world in the recent years has come to host many events and the 2008 Olympics was not a big surprise. States are looking east with the growth of China's

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[12] Political Officer, Interview with Judy Wamuya, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Nairobi, September 2011.

popularity in the recent years. The 2008 Summer Olympics, officially known as the Games of the XXIX Olympiad, were termed as a major international multi-sport event that took place in Beijing, China, from August 8 to August 24, 2008.[13] A total of 11,028 athletes from 204 National Olympic Committees (NOCs) competed in 28 sports and 302 events (a total of one event more than the schedule of the 2004 Games). China became the 22nd nation to host the Olympic Games and the 18th to hold a Summer Olympic Games. It was the third time that the Summer Olympic Games were held in Asia, after Tokyo, Japan in 1964 and Seoul, South Korea in 1988. These Games were the third time that Olympic events have been held in the territories of two different NOCs, as the equestrian events were held in Hong Kong.[14]

Beijing was awarded the Games over four competitors on July 13, 2001, having won an absolute majority of votes from members of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) after two rounds of voting.[15]http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Summer_Olympics_-_cite_note-1 The Government of the People's Republic of China promoted the Games and invested heavily in new facilities and transportation systems. A total of 37 venues were used to host the events including 12 constructed for use at the Games. The official logo of these Olympic Games was titled "Dancing Beijing". Media outlets reported unprecedented audience interest in the Games, and these Olympics had the largest television audience in Olympic history.[16]

It can be logical to speculate that the reason why China got votes is because of the efforts it has put through cultural diplomacy to improve its image world wide and especially in third world states. Although members of the IOC did not disclose their votes, news reports speculated

[13] International Olympic Committee (August 1, 2008). "NOC entry forms received". Press release. http://en.beijing2008.cn/news/official/preparation/n214496035.shtml. Retrieved 2008-08-9-08.
[14] Ibid
[15] Longman, Jere (July 14, 2001). "OLYMPICS; Beijing Wins Bid for 2008 Olympic Games". *New York Times.* http://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/14/sports/olympics-beijing-wins-bid-for-2008-olympic-games.html
[16] Fixmer, Andy (September 5, 2008). "Beijing Olympics Attracted Most Viewers, Nielsen Says". *Bloomberg.* http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=conewsstory&refer=conews&tkr=62553Q:US&sid=aT3QhOOTmtmQ

that broad international support led to China's selection, especially from developing nations who had received assistance from China in the construction of stadiums. The size of China, its increased enforcement of doping controls, and sympathy concerning its loss of the 2000 Summer Olympics to Sydney were all factors in the decision.[17]

The emblem combines a traditional Chinese red seal and a representation of the calligraphic character *jīng* (京) "national capital", with athletic features. The open arms of the calligraphic word symbolises the invitation from China to the world to share in its culture. IOC president Jacques Rogge was very happy with the emblem, saying, "Your new emblem immediately conveys the awesome beauty and power of China which are embodied in your heritage and your people."[18]

The slogan for the 2008 Olympics was "*One World, One Dream*".[19] The slogan called upon the whole world to join in the Olympic spirit and build a better future for humanity. It was chosen from over 210,000 entries submitted from around the world.[20] The mascots of Beijing 2008 were the five Fuwa.[28] each representing both a colour of the Olympic rings and a symbol of Chinese culture.

On the media coverage of the event, it was widely covered which put China extensively in the international light. The 2008 Games were the first to be produced and broadcast entirely in

[17] Longman, Jere (July 14, 2001). "Olympics: Beijing Wins Bid for 2008 Olympic Games". The New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/14/sports/olympics-beijing-wins-bid-for-2008-olympic-games.html. Retrieved June 11, 2011
[18] "Rogge's Message for Beijing Olympics Emblem Unveiling". People's Daily Online. August 3, 2003. 200http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200308/03/eng20030803_121618.shtml. Retrieved June 11, 2011.
[19] 'One World One Dream' selected as the Theme Slogan for Beijing 2008 Olympic Games". BOCOG. December 25, 2005. http://en.beijing2008.cn/75/66/article211996675.shtml. Retrieved August 5, 2011
[20] "New Olympic slogan: One World, One Dream". The Sydney Morning Herald. April 27, 2005. http://www.smh.com.au/news/Sport/New-Olympic-slogan-One-World-One-Dream/2005/06/27/1119724547278.html. Retrieved August 6, 2011.

high definition (HD) by the host broadcaster.[21] In their bid for the Olympic Games in 2001, Beijing stated to the Olympic Evaluation Commission "that there will be no restrictions on media reporting and movement of journalists up to and including the Olympic Games",[22] although some media outlets claimed that organizers ultimately failed to live up to this commitment.

According to Nielsen Media Research, 4.7 billion viewers worldwide tuned in to some of the television coverage, one-fifth larger than the 3.9 billion who watched the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens.[23] American broadcaster NBC produced only 2 hours of online streaming video for the 2006 Winter Games but produced approximately 2,200 hours of coverage for the 2008 Summer Games. For the first time "live online video rights in some markets for the Olympics have been separately negotiated, not part of the overall 'broadcast rights,'"; this new media of the digital economy was growing "nine times faster than the rest of the advertising market".[24]

The Olympics seem to have also bolstered some domestic support for the Chinese government, and support for the policies of the Communist Party of China, giving rise to concerns that the state will possibly have more leverage to disperse dissent, at least momentarily.[25] It is also believed that the number of gold medals won at the Olympics helped the pro-Beijing party (DAB) win at Hong Kong legislative election, 2008, in which the DAB remained the largest party

[21]Beaumont, Claudine (August 1, 2008). "The first high-definition Olympics". Telegraph (London). http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/3358070/The-first-high-definition-Olympics.html
[22] "Report of the IOC Evaluation Commission for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in 2008" (PDF). International Olympic Committee. http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en_report_299.pdf. Retrieved August 10, 2011
[23] "2 Out of 3 People Worldwide Watched 2008 Beijing Olympics". Nowpublic.com. 2011http://www.nowpublic.com/culture/2-out-3-people-worldwide-watched-2008-beijing-olympics. Retrieved August 12, 2011.
[24] "Olympics enter the '2.0' era - CNN.com". July 10, 2008. http://www.cnn.com/2008/TECH/07/09/oly.media/index.html. Retrieved August 25, 2008.
[25] Gardner, Dinah (August 25, 2008). "China's Olympic legacy". http://english.aljazeera.net/focus/beijing08/2008/08/20088255274440438.html. Retrieved August 12, 2011.

The long-term economic impact of the games on China and Beijing in particular is not yet clear. Some sectors of the economy may have benefited from the influx of tourists, and other sectors such as manufacturing lost revenue because of plant closings related to the government's efforts to improve air quality. It is generally expected by economists that there will be no lasting effects on the city's economy from the games.[26]

The Shanghai Expo

The Expo 2010 Shanghai China was held on both banks of the Huangpu River in the city of Shanghai, China, from May 1 to October 31, 2010. It was a major World Expo in the tradition of international fairs and expositions, the first since 1992. The theme of the exposition was *"Better City – Better Life"* and signifies Shanghai's new status in the 21st century as the "next great world city".[27] The Expo emblem features the Chinese character 世 ('world', Chinese "shì") modified to represent three people together with the 2010 date. It had the largest number of countries participating and was the most expensive Expo in the history of the world's fairs. The Shanghai World Expo was also the largest World's Fair site ever at 5.28 square km.[28]

The Shanghai World Expo provided an unparalleled opportunity for the tourism industry. During 2010's Spring Festival, Shanghai received 2.79 million tourists, an increase of 12 percent from the previous year, resulting in record high numbers of visitors. Overall Shanghai's tourism revenue achieved an increase of 13 percent year on year during Spring Festival, resulting in RMB 2.1 billion in total revenue.[29] Approximately, 192 countries and 50 organizations registered to participate in the Shanghai World Expo. By the end of the expo, over 73 million people had

[26] "Beijing's economy – Going for gold". The Economist. August 25, 2008.
http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=11920899. Retrieved August 12, 2011.
[27] China Rules the World at Expo 2010. Retrieved August 13, 2011
[28] "Shanghai World Expo showcases China's soft power". Associated Press.
http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=10469579&page=2. Retrieved August 13, 2011.
[29] Knight Frank China Knight Frank Research, Shanghai Retail Quarterly Report, Q1 2010

visited, a record attendance and 250 countries and international organizations had participated.[30] On October 16, 2010, the expo set a single-day record of having over 1.03 million visitors enter the exhibition that day.[31]

The innovations and achievements of the event were summarised in the Shanghai Declaration issued by the participants of the Expo. The declaration also nominated the Shanghai Expo's closing day October 31 as "World Better Cities Day". United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated at the closing of the Expo,

> "Thanks to this Expo, millions of people learned about possibilities for making our cities healthier and safer, cities that better integrate nature and technology, cities that offer their citizens cleaner air and water, and better lives all around".[32]

Shanghai has announced plans to build a World Expo Museum with the intention of exhibiting Expo exhibits and popularising World Expo history.[33]

The Shanghai Expo was touted by the Chinese government as yet another first-rate global scale event, similar in significance to the Beijing Olympics, which would symbolise the economic and political rise of China in the 21st century. The event would demonstrate to both the Chinese populace and foreign nations the enormous progress of China's urban development in the heart of the nation's economic hub of Shanghai. The event received saturation media coverage in the Chinese media both in the lead up and during the World Expo. According to China analyst Tom Doctoroff, *"In terms of what the city was able to achieve, the Chinese were*

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[30] "Shanghai World Expo wins worldwide applause". Xinhua. 31 October 2010.
http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-10/31/c_13584040_2.htm. Retrieved August 12, 2011.
[31] Fauna, October 19, 2010, Shanghai World Expo Sees 1+ Million Visitors In A Single Day, Chinasmack
[32] Zhang Fengmin (01/11/2010). "Expo legacy will live on". http://en.expo2010.cn/a/20101101/000005.htm.
Retrieved August 12, 2011
[33] An,Shanghai to build world expo museum, November 7, 2010

impressed. Shanghai stepped up a level in internationalization".[34] Although the event was widely recognised domestically, the Expo was far less effective in reaching a global audience. This was demonstrated by the fact that only less than 10% of the 70 million plus visitors was foreign. This shows how China was dedicated to making the event successful, to have the global impact and impression it desired.

China's Confucius Institute

The institute aims at spreading Chinese culture around the world. The so-called CI's are planned and overseen by the *Office of the Chinese Language Council International* (*"Hanban"*, for short), a governmental organization run by the government of the People's Republic of China. The Hanban's mission statement:

> "Hanban is committed to developing Chinese language and culture teaching resources and making its services available worldwide, meeting the demands of overseas Chinese learners to the utmost degree, and to contributing to global cultural diversity and harmony." [35]

As such, it follows in the footsteps of other national cultural organizations like the Alliance Française (France), the Goethe-Institut (Germany) and the Società Dante Alighieri (Italy). Most CI's are located on the campuses of major universities and cater to students eager to include Chinese studies of all types in their educational experience.

The world's first full-fledged Confucius Institute opened in Seoul, South Korea, in late November of 2004 (though a pilot institute had previously opened in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in June of 2004. By March 2009, 81 countries and regions worldwide hosted 256 Confucius Institutes and 58 Confucius Classrooms. Just over a year later in July of 2010, 316 Confucius Institutes and 337 Confucius Classrooms were thriving in 94 countries and regions.

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[34] "Expo 2010's Legacy: What Did Shanghai Gain?". 24/11/2010.
[35] Steve Levenstein: CHINA.new. InventorSpot.com

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The Chinese Language Council International has announced plans to open the 500th Confucius Institute sometime in 2011 – by then, approximately 100 million people oversees will be learning Chinese in a Confucius Classroom. The Chinese Language Council International is now working to establish 1,000 Confucius Institutes by 2020 and from there, who knows?

This rapid expansion has set off alarm bells among foreign commentators who are suspicious of the Confucius Institute's (and by extension, the PRC's) ulterior motive. What most agree on is that the CI's act as a venue for Soft Power; basically a kinder, gentler way to advance China's standing in the world.

President Hu Jintao[36] said that culture is becoming more and more important source of national cohesion and creativity and a factor of growing significance in the competition in overall national strength. He added that as America's power wanes on a variety of fronts, China is taking action to match its own increasing wealth with greater soft power. In 2007, Hu Jintao told the 17th Communist Party Congress that China must work on enhancing its cultural capital.

A teacher[37] at the Confucius Institute Nairobi says that China has a lot to offer on Language and Culture. He said that there are long term courses, short term courses, summer camps and educational tours offered. He added that China has succeeded in boosting her relations using these grounds because the offers are non-conditional. Further to the tours he said that confucious institutes are meant to teach Chinese language, since language is key to penetrate understanding in relations.

Miss World Competitions Venue

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[36] Kelly Chung Dawson (China Daily)Updated: 2010-04-23 09:19
[37] A Teacher at Confucius Institute University of Nairobi, Interview with Judy Wamuya, Nairobi, September 2011.

The competition started in the year was 1951, introduced as part of the Festival of Britain celebrations, and it was the audience it attracted who guaranteed its success. The founder Eric Morley's PR expertise, the first Miss World pageant welcomed a global audience greater than international events like the World Cup and the Olympic Games.

Miss World is the longest running event of its kind. Launched in 1951, it has become the world's most watched annual event, with a worldwide viewing audience of over 1 billion. Miss World is a celebration of beauty, fashion, talent and culture as contestants tour the host country supporting charitable causes, participating in spectacular events and visiting the local attractions.

2010 was the fifth time that China has held the Final, after successfully hosting the 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2007 events. Miss World has been credited for producing a rapid surge in Sanya's tourism. The unprecedented rise in tourism has been describe by former Mayor Lu[38] as the "Miss World effect" .Contestants were from over 120 countries competing in Miss World's Final which began the Miss World's Diamond year. The event is live televised in many countries and was held in China's tropical paradise, Sanya.

Cultural Centres

China Culture Center-Beijing

China Culture Center (CCC)[39] is the premier cultural education organization & licensed cultural tour travel agency for anyone (expatriates and foreign visitors) in Beijing and China looking to deepen their understanding of Chinese culture. CCC started in 2000 in Beijing with its former name Chinese Culture Club and has proven to be very popular with Beijing's expat community. The English-language tours, walks, special events, classes and lectures all guarantee high levels

[38] http://www.missworld.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=218&Itemid=118&lang=en
[39] www.chinaculturecenter.org

of quality,service,and well-educated and friendly group environment.

The CCC was founded on this simple premise: To introduce the richness and variety of the Chinese culture: its music, art, history, cuisine, customs & traditions, language and people, to the world and to illustrate it in as much detail as possible. Since its launch, CCC has continued to provide discerning independent travelers and corporate groups with a unique insight into both traditional and contemporary Chinese heritage and culture.

Chinese Cultural Foundation

The New York based Chinese Cultural Foundation[40] is an independent, non-profit and a registered 501 (c) (3) philanthropic organization whose mission is to share the finest Chinese art and culture with the rest of the world. It is supported by contributions from individuals, public and private institutions, corporations and foundations.

Since its founding in July 2003, the Chinese Cultural Foundation has successfully provided a series of cultural and educational programs at many prestigious global gatherings. These include: the First World Cultural Summit at the Palace of Versailles in France, the World Economic Forum China Business Summit in Beijing, the Asia Capital Forum in Dongguan, the Institutional Investor China Investment Forum in New York City, the China-U.S. Business Forum at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing and special events at the United Nations, the National Arts Club, Bank of China, Citibank and other cultural, business, government and academic venues throughout the world.

China has entered into many cultural agreements, both bilateral and multilateral all in the persuit of good relations and cooperation with other states. For example, Cultural agreement

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[40] http://www.chineseculturalfoundation.org

between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America. 2005/08/02, also with India [41]and Norway. [42]

Tourism

The China National Tourism Administration promotes a tourist theme every year; 1992 was "Friendly Sightseeing Year." Then came "Landscape Tour", "Tour of Cultural Relics and Historical Sites", "Folk Customs Tour", "Holiday Tour", and "Ecological Environment Tour." From 2000 to 2004, the themes were "Century Year", "Sports and Health of China", "Folk Arts of China", and "Culinary Kingdom of China", and "Catch the Lifestyle."

The themes for 2005 are "China Travel Year" and "Beijing 2008 -- Welcome to China." In order to strengthen exchange and cooperation with the international tourism industry, the China National Travel Administration is planning a series of related events, including the Shanghai-hosted "2005 International Tourism Fair of China", the Beijing-hosted 2005 annual meeting of the Federation of Travel Agencies of France, and "the 2005 China-Australia Tourism Symposium."

Tourism in China has greatly expanded over the last few decades since the beginning of reform and opening. China is the world's third most visited country in the world. The number of overseas tourists was 55.98 million in 2010. This figure is limited to only mainland China and does not include Hong Kong (16.9 million visitors in 2009) and Macau (10.4 million in 2009) or

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[41] (http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/yzs/gjlb/2711/2712/t15917.htm)

[42] (www.norway.cn/Embassy/Norway-and-China/Bilateral.../culture/)

Taiwan (4.4 million). Foreign exchange income was 41.9 billion U.S. dollars, the world's fifth largest in 2009. The number of domestic tourist visits totaled 1.61 billion, with a total income of 777.1 billion yuan.

According to the WTO, in 2020, China will become the largest tourist country and the fourth largest for overseas travel. In terms of total outbound travel spending, China is currently ranked fifth and is expected to be the fastest growing in the world from 2006 to 2015, jumping into the number two slot for total travel spending by 2015. China's tourism revenue reached $185 billion in 2009.

Education/Scholarships

The China Scholarship Council (CSC)[43] is a non-profit institution with legal person status affiliated with the Ministry of Education. The objective of the CSC is to provide, in accordance with the law, statutes and relevant principles and policies of China, financial assistance to the Chinese citizens wishing to study abroad and to the foreign citizens wishing to study in China in order to develop the educational, scientific and technological, and cultural exchanges and economic and trade cooperation between China and other countries, to strengthen the friendship and understanding between Chinese people and the people of all other countries, and to promote world peace and the socialist modernization drive in China.

Movie Industry

China has the fastest growing film market in the world. China is now the third largest film producer in the world, after India and the United States. China's film industry produced over 500 films in 2009, compared to just 100 in 2002. According to the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television, China's box office receipts exceeded $1.6 billion in 2010, a 40 percent

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[43] http://www.csc.edu.cn/

increase from the previous year, with much the increase attributed to the success of *Avatar* and Chinese blockbusters such as Feng Xiaogang's *Aftershock* and *If You Are the One 2* .[44]

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Chinese filmmakers needed to sell a movie to Europe and the U.S. to make a profit. This is no longer the case, with China's robust box office. Chinese films do well at international festivals. In 1995, Chinese films won 48 prizes at international film festivals.

Conclusion

China as a developing state has pulled up her socks very well in the recent years to the extent that superpowers like America are feeling threatened. One cannot entirely say that cultural diplomacy is the sole reason for these positive changes, but it is quite a big contribution to the developments.

Over and above her economic benefits, China is being regarded as a better option by developing states because of her generous help; this has been seen in construction of roads, mining, scholarships and many more offers that are benefiting the developing states. China has also grown to be a tourist spot where people are not only travelling to china for business but also for pleasure. International meetings are also finding venues in China.

Finally, even though some states still have reservations for china's communism, or non-alignment, or pollution, she is still a force to reckon with and worth consideration when states are making their foreign policies. Her cultural diplomacy strategy has definitely put her on the international light; she has already caught the world's attention, both as an upcoming superpower and as a developing state.

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[44] Jeffery H.: Chinese Film Industry. http://factsanddetails.com/china. 2008. Last updated July 2011

CHAPTER FOUR:

SOUTH AFRICA AND HER INTERPRETATION OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Introduction

The Republic of South Africa is a parliamentary democracy comprising nine provinces which is located at the southern tip of Africa, with a 2,798 kilometres (1,739 mi) coastline[1]. South Africa is known for diversity in cultures and languages. Eleven official languages are recognised in the constitution. Two of these languages are of European origin: Afrikaans, a language which originated mainly from Dutch that is spoken by the majority of white and Coloured South Africans. and South African English. Though English is commonly used in public and commercial life, it is only the fifth most-spoken home language. South Africa is ethnically diverse. About 79.5% of the South African population is of black African ancestry.

Government and International cooperation

South Africa is a constitutional democracy in the form of a parliamentary republic; unlike most parliamentary republics, the positions of head of state and head of government are merged in a parliament-dependent President. It is one of the founding members of the African Union, and has the largest economy of all the members. It is also a founding member of the United Nations and NEPAD. South Africa is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, Antarctic Treaty System, Group of 77. South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone, Southern African Customs Union, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, G20 and G8+5.[2]

Since the end of apartheid, the South African foreign policy has focused on its African partners particularly in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union. South Africa has played a key role as a mediator in African conflicts over the last decade,

[1] Booth, D. , The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa. Frank Cass , London. 1998. p 32
[2] Thompson L., A History of South Africa. 3rd Ed. Yale University Press. New York. 2001. pp 134-162

such as in <u>Burundi</u>, the <u>Democratic Republic of Congo</u>, the <u>Comoros</u>. and <u>Zimbabwe</u>. After apartheid ended, South Africa was readmitted to the <u>Commonwealth of Nations</u>.

South Africa was a founding member of the United Nations. The then Prime Minister <u>Jan Smuts</u> wrote the <u>preamble to the United Nations Charter</u>. South Africa was a non-permanent member of the <u>United Nations Security Council</u> between 2007 and 2008. South Africa is a member of the <u>Group of 77</u> and chaired the organisation in 2006. South Africa is a member of the <u>South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone</u>, <u>Southern African Customs Union</u>, <u>World Trade Organization</u>, <u>International Monetary Fund</u>, <u>G20</u> and <u>G8+5</u>.

Military

The <u>South African National Defence Force</u> (SANDF) was created in 1994, as an all volunteer force composed of as the former <u>South African Defence Force</u>, the forces of the African nationalist groups (<u>Umkhonto we Sizwe</u> and <u>Azanian People's Liberation Army</u>), and the former Bantustan defence forces.[3] The SANDF is subdivided into four branches, the <u>South African Army</u>, the <u>South African Air Force</u>, the <u>South African Navy</u>, and the <u>South African Medical Service</u>.

In recent years, the SANDF has become a major <u>peacekeeping</u> force in Africa, and has been involved in operations in Lesotho, the <u>Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>, and Burundi, amongst others. It has also participated as a part of multi-national UN <u>peacekeeping</u> forces.[4]

South Africa undertook a <u>nuclear weapons programme</u> in the 1970s[5] and <u>may have conducted</u> a nuclear test over the Atlantic in 1979. It is the only African country to have

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[3] Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993 (Section 224).
<u>http://www.info.gov.zadocuments/constitution</u> . Retrieved on 21 September 2011
[4] Mosiuoa L., "<u>Address by the Minister of Defence at a media breakfast at Defence Headquarters</u>, Pretoria. Department of Defence." 5th September 2005.

successfully <u>developed nuclear weapons</u>. It has become the first country (followed by Ukraine) with nuclear capability to voluntarily renounce and dismantle its programme and in the process signed the <u>Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty</u> in 1991.[6]

Contemporary South Africa

In 1990 the National Party government took the first step towards dismantling discrimination when it lifted the ban on the African National Congress and other political organisations. It released Nelson Mandela from prison after twenty-seven years' serving a sentence for sabotage. A <u>negotiation process</u> followed. The government repealed apartheid legislation. South Africa destroyed its nuclear arsenal and acceded to the <u>Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty</u>. South Africa held its first universal <u>elections in 1994</u>, which the ANC won by an overwhelming majority. It has been in power ever since. The country rejoined the <u>Commonwealth of Nations</u>.

In <u>post-apartheid South Africa</u>, unemployment has been extremely high as the country has struggled with many changes. While many blacks have risen to middle or upper classes, the overall unemployment rate of blacks worsened between 1994 and 2003. Poverty among whites, previously rare, increased. While some have attributed this partly to the legacy of apartheid, increasingly many attribute it to the failure of the current government's policies. In addition, the current government has struggled to achieve the monetary and fiscal discipline to ensure both redistribution of wealth and economic growth. Since the ANC-led government took power, the United Nations <u>Human Development Index</u> of South Africa has fallen, while it was steadily rising until the mid-1990s.[7] Some may be attributed to the <u>AIDS pandemic</u>, and the failure of the government to take steps to address it in the early years.[33]

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[5] Ibid
[6] Mosiuoa L.: "Address by the Minister of Defence at a media breakfast at Defence Headquarters, Pretoria. Department of Defence." Op Cit.
[7] "South Africa". Human Development Report. United Nations Development Programme. 2006.

Mr. Ndawonde[8], the Cultural attaché at the South African High Commission in Nairobi said that Cultural diplomacy use in South Africa is mostly at the individual level, with artists, musicians, movie production taking center stage. He however states that the government funds the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) whose mandate is to spread South African culture and learn form other cultures as well.

Cultural Agreements

South Africa has many cultural agreements with states like, Jamaica, India, Algeria and Congo. Z. Pallo Jordan[9], Minister The Department of Arts and Culture in his Minister's Message for DAC Annual Report 2005, he said:

> "The Department continues to manage its n early 40 international cultural agreements and memoranda of understanding. New agreements were signed with Mexico in October 2004; with Tunisia in November 2004; with Greece in July 2005; and with Gabon in August 2005. These agreements provide for cultural exchanges and opportunities for training in the various cultural disciplines. They also enhance South Africa's international relations."

Jamaica, South Africa Cultural Ties

A cultural agreement[10] between the Republic South Africa and Jamaica was signed on 14th December 2009 at New Kingston. Minister of Youth, Sports and Culture, Hon. Olivia Grange, explained that:

> "The agreement covers the arrangement of cultural exchanges, in which artistic people and/or groups including theatre groups, visual artists, actors, dancers, musicians, writers and journalists will participate in festivals, fairs and other events staged in each country, and the exchange of cultural professionals across institutions. We have also agreed to

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[8] Mr. Ndawonde, Interview with Judy Wamuya, Nairobi, September 2011.

[9] (http://www.dac.gov.za/speeches/minister/SpeechARAug05.htm)

[10] (http://www.jamaicalabourparty.com/base/content/jamaica-south-africa-initiate-cultural-ties)

promote co- productions in film, video and other audio visual works, and to collaborate on projects and programmes to enhance both our cultural industries.

There was an agreement to share information regarding cultural industries, including natural history, art and craft, and to encourage greater participation in the activities of cultural institutions, especially in relation to documentation, studies and research.

In relation to studies and research, greater cooperation was encouraged between institutions of higher learning and research institutes. The agreement also presented opportunities for both countries to learn and to improve the quality of life of both peoples.

Sports in South Africa

Sport is of greatest importance in South Africa. Like in many former British dominions, rugby and cricket are the absolutely predominant sports, at least for the white population. Both sports are taught and practised intensely at the schools. They are proud of the "Springboks", South Africa's national rugby team, which won the World Cup of the Rugby Union in 1995 and the Tri Nations Tournament against Australia and New Zealand in 1998 and 2004.[11]

Mr Ndawonde[12], says that South Africa has a variety of cultural events and sports is the most dorminant. Sports is used to bring cultures together and also is is used as a marketing strategy tro put South Africa on the international map. South Africa has hosted Rugby World Cup, Cricket World Cup, All African Games will be held in 2013 and FIFA World Cup 2010. he says that South Africa has been awarded the privilege to host those events because it is a sports friendly state.

Football

The national team "Bafana Bafana" meaning the boys in Zulu was founded in 1992. But now many of its members are playing for European clubs. Since the end of Apartheid, when South

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[11] "Sport in South Africa". SouthAfrica.info. http://www.southafrica.info/about/sport/sportsa.htm. Retrieved 28 June 2011.

[12] Mr. Ndawonde, Interview with Judy Wamuya, Nairobi, September 2011.

Africa was re-accepted to the FIFA, they managed to qualify twice for the finals in soccer world cups, in 1998 and 2002, but unfortunately not in the world cup in Germany in 2005. Bafana Bafana won the Africa Championship in 1996. The youth league Amaglug-glug with players under the age of 23 is by now also internationally successful. Its biggest sponsor is the petrochemical giant SASOL, which explains the funny name.

In [13]order to win the rights to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup leaders of the post-1994 government and soccer administrators used sport and cultural diplomacy as enabling instruments to assert South Africa's credentials. Such a move was made possible by the fact that sport had been successfully used for decades as an oppositional tool against the apartheid regime. Another important contributory factor was that since 1994, South Africa's foreign policy has been based on a vision of a 'better South Africa, a better Africa and a better world'. This Pan-African vision is defined by the following values: freedom, equality, solidarity and tolerance. These values also inform South Africa's cultural diplomacy which underpins the staging of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Football was a highly contested space during the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. The anti-apartheid movement won an early, crucial victory when South Africa was suspended from FIFA in 1961, which kept the country out of international football until 1992.[14] The apartheid regime deployed sport diplomacy in an attempt to promote minor reforms intended to end international isolation.

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[13]Ndlovu, S. M. , Sports as Cultural Diplomacy: the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa's Foreign Policy. Routledge. Soccer & Society. 2010. http://www.informaworld.com/. P 1

[14]Alegi, P., Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa , University of KwaZulu-Natal Press , Scottsville. 2004

During the negotiations to end apartheid in the early 1990s, South Africa's foreign policy [15]and international relations were already changing. Some of the recommendations later incorporated into the foreign policy of the post-apartheid government included 'promoting such international relations, including trade, finance, culture and sport relations ... [that] ... will benefit the country [South Africa] as a whole'. The democratically elected leaders of post-1994 South Africa built on this previous experience and continued to use sport diplomacy to assert the country's 'African-ness'. They also used sport to promote South Africa's 'soft power' - that is, according to Joseph Nye, 'the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies.'[16] Such efforts sought to achieve strategic goals, such as the political and economic integration of the continent along the lines of the European Union. This historical background underscores how the liberation movement's deployment of sport in support of the anti-apartheid struggle partly explains the ANC's contemporary enthusiasm for sport as cultural diplomacy in the democratic era. As Pahad's testimony suggests, forces like the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) in exile, led by Dennis Brutus, as well as the ANC and other organizations, used platforms provided by the United Nations (UN), Organization of African Unity (OAU) and other international fora to enforce a sport boycott against the apartheid regime.[17]

In the formulation and implementation of South Africa's foreign policy in Africa, the newly formed ANC government paid particular attention to concerted preventive diplomacy, including sport diplomacy. Aziz Pahad, the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs notes that

[15] Cornelissen, S., Scripting the Nation: Sport, Mega Events, Foreign Policy and the State-building in Post-apartheid South Africa. Sport in Society 11:4 2008, pp. 481-493
[16] CONCACAF Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football
[17] Darby, P., Stanley Rous's 'own goal' football politics, South Africa and the contest for the FIFA Presidency in 1974. 2008. p. 2.

since 1994, South Africa's foreign policy has been based on a vision of 'a better South Africa, a better Africa and a better world'. [18]Consequently, the South African government identified some fundamental values essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. These included freedom, equality, solidarity and tolerance. These values also inform South Africa's cultural diplomacy - a fundamental force behind the staging of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Cornelissen notes that South Africa's foreign policy in Africa, is at the core of understanding the nation's commitment to staging a successful 2010 FIFA World Cup on behalf of the people of Africa. Cornelissen adopts the political economy paradigm to explain South Africa's 2010 project.[19] Other scholars, such as Lincoln Allison and Terry Monnington, have argued that the links between sport and international relations has been ignored by academics who study international relations and foreign policy because it does not fit into the traditional disciplinary paradigms and debates.[20] Building on the insights of Cornelissen and Allison and Monnington, I argue that South Africa's 2010 FIFA World Cup bid was influenced by the African philosophy of humanism, or *ubuntu*. The values of *ubuntu* originate from the isiZulu proverb, *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. Loosely translated, it means: 'you are a person because of other people'. This proverb highlights the importance of communalism and human solidarity to African values.

Neighbouring countries occupy a special place in South Africa's multilateral foreign policy and, by extension, its 2010 sport diplomacy. The people of Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana share the same language, culture and traditions as many South Africans. This cultural

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[18] Grundlingh, A., Odendaal, A. and Spies, B., Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society. Ravan Press, Johannesburg. 1995

[19] Keys, B., Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. 2006

[20] Lapchick, R., Apartheid Sport and South Africa's Foreign Policy: 1976. UN Centre Against Apartheid. Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. 1976

and historical affinity also informs South Africa's interest in pursuing cultural diplomacy with both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, where amaNdebele, amaThonga and Tsonga people also have deep connections to South Africa. Also, the migrant labour system of apartheid familiarized black South Africans with their people from southern and central Africa. Such Pan-African solidarity also influences South Africa's cultural diplomacy with Tanzania. For example, the ANC donated both the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) and the Dakawa Vocational Institute to the Tanzanian government, which subsequently converted them into institutions of higher education. Finally, through cultural diplomacy, and in line with UNESCO's goals, the South African government has funded the Timbuktu Manuscripts Project in Mali.[21]

Sport diplomacy and continental integration inform the 2010 LOC intention to spread the benefits from hosting the event to SADC countries. For example, representatives from neighbouring Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho (particularly from the hospitality sector) serve as committee members in official structures that are overseeing the planning of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. These structures also include representatives of South African provincial governments that share a border with these three southern African countries. FIFA president Sepp Blatter awarded South Africa a grade 9 out of 10 for successfully hosting the event.[22] In addition, countries such as Botswana, Namibia and Portuguese-speaking Angola are kept informed on the planning process because they too are in line to reap economic benefits from the tournament.

South Africa's sport diplomacy has been strongly supported by the African Union (AU). The AU welcomed South Africa's commitment to make 2010 a truly African event. Members of the AU assembly committed themselves 'to provide all-round support to the government and

[21] Gevisser, M., Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred, Jonathan Ball Publishers , Johannesburg and Cape Town. 2007
[22] Cooper, Billy (12 July 2010). "South Africa gets 9/10 for World Cup". Mail & Guardian. http://www.mg.co.za/article/2010-07-12-sa-gest-910-for-world-cup. Retrieved 9 August, 2011.

people of South Africa in their efforts to organise the 2010 World Cup tournaments successfully and effectively'. They urged FIFA, the Confederation of African Football (CAF), the international sport community and friends of Africa to 'provide the necessary support to South Africa in its preparation for the 2010 World Cup'. The AU also urged its member states to develop national programmes and identify African Union sport ambassadors to help implement the International Year of African Football, 'Sports for All' programmes, and the 2010 FIFA World Cup Legacy Programme. In January 2007 the AU's assembly of heads of state and government launched 2007 as the International Year of African Football, to reinforce solidarity with South Africa in its hosting of the World Cup, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the CAF - and to celebrate the history of football in Africa. Through this initiative the AU sought to promote sport as an instrument for sustainable economic development and poverty reduction, peace, solidarity and social cohesion.

Additional recent examples of South Africa's sporting diplomacy on the continent include assistance to Mali for its hosting of the Africa Cup of Nations in 2002. South Africa provided the West African nation with human resources, financial assistance, technical skills, communication facilities and transport (via South African Airways). According to CAF, South Africa's assistance was crucial in keeping the tournament in Mali when, at the eleventh hour, it seemed that the competition would not take place. To a lesser extent, the South African government also extended its help to Ghana when it hosted the African Cup of Nations in 2008. Another aspect of sports' impact on South Africa's international relations has been the use of its powerful private sector to finance and ideologically support South Africa's 2006 and 2010 World Cup bids.[23] Major companies such as MTN, the cellular phone giant, Standard Bank, and Multichoice

[23] Ndlovu, S., The ANC in Exile. 1960-1970. The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Zebra Press. Cape Town. Vol 1.pp 411-478

Supersport, Africa's leading satellite broadcaster, provide sponsorships and other financial support to African football as well as other sports.

These are not isolated examples of government and private sector cooperation in South Africa's sport diplomacy. For example, SABMiller, the world's second-largest brewery, has worked with SAFA, provincial governments and the national Department of Sport and Recreation, to fund competitions of the regional Confederation of Southern African Football Associations (COSAFA), including youth and women's competitions.

The 2010 World Cup use as a tool of cultural diplomacy stemmed from the government's position that political liberation marked only the beginning of freedom. This understanding evoking Julius Nyerere's[24] conceptualization of liberation as a four-stage process is useful: (1) freedom from colonialist and racialist minority rule; (2) freedom from external economic discrimination; (3) freedom from the poverty, injustice and oppression imposed upon Africans by Africans; (4) mental freedom - an end to the psychological subjugation which makes Africans look upon other peoples or nations as inherently superior, and their experiences as being automatically transferable to Africa's needs and aspirations. Nyerere's conceptualization of the struggle for freedom is instructive because it aptly contextualizes the broader reasons for South Africa's staging of 2010 FIFA World Cup.

2010 FIFA World Cup can be linked with the need to historicize football's role as a space for contesting power in the apartheid era and the continuing significance of sport in the country's post-apartheid international relations, particularly in regards to other African nations. 2010 can be understood as an effort in cultural diplomacy that reveals how Pan Africanism informs the South African government's foreign policy principles, if not interests. Of course, ideas about

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[24] Nyerere, J. 'Address delivered to the convocation of Ibadan University Nigeria Julius Nyerere Foundation, Dar es Salaam

African unity and freedom have deep roots, as the examples of Pixley kaSeme and Julius Nyerere indicated.[25] They inform the cultural philosophy and world-view of *ubuntu* (a person is a person through other people) which lies at the heart of the 2010 FIFA World Cup project.

Tourism

International travel to South Africa has surged since the end of apartheid. In 1994, the year of South Africa's first democratic elections, only 3.9-million foreign visitors arrived in the country. By 2004, international arrivals had more than doubled to 6.7-million. And in 2007 a total of 9.07-million foreigners visited South Africa - an 8.3% increase over 2006 - as the country broke its annual tourist arrivals record for the third year running.

Cultural tourism

South Africa is home to diverse cultures, ranging from the Zulus who resisted European conquest to the nomadic San of the Karoo desert. Each culture has evolved its own distinctive art forms, music and traditional rituals, while the descendants of colonial settlers have evolved variations of their European roots. South Africa's history has been one of confrontation, but more recently one of reconciliation. Since 1994, a number of world-class sites have been established to commemorate the country's past and celebrate its new unity, while the number and quality of cultural villages, community and township tours has grown dramatically.

Four of South Africa's eight Unesco World Heritage sites are cultural sites, while one is a mixed cultural/natural site. These are: Robben Island, the Cradle of Humankind, the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, the Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape, and the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park.

World-class venues and supporting infrastructure, top international events, and South Africans' passion for sport combine to make the country a huge draw card for sports fans. More

[25] Ndlovu, S., The ANC in Exile. 1960-1970. The Road to Democracy in South Africa. Op cit. pp 411-478

than 10% of foreign tourists come to South Africa to watch or participate in sport events, with spectators accounting for 60% to 80% of these arrivals. There are numerous world-class sporting events on South Africa's calendar every year, and the country has proved that it can successfully pull off the really big events. These have included the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 2003 Cricket World Cup, the Women's World Cup of Golf 2005-2008, the inaugural World Twenty20 Cricket Championships in 2007, and the only street race in the A1GP World Cup of Motorsport, held in Durban in 2006, 2007 and 2008.

Conclusion

South Africa like China in many ways has worked her way up to promote good relations with other states. South Africa has promoted South-South relations especially in the way she relates with her neighbours. She has a past of suffering from racism and for that reason has tried to integrate with other states on friendly basis. One can conclude that sports diplomacy have greatly contributed to the ending of racism and promoting good relations with her neighbours. The world cup 2010, was a great achievement of sports diplomacy. Through the leadership of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's image has been a positive one in the international arena because of their fight for humanity and peace.

CHAPTER FIVE:
ANALYTICAL CHAPTER

Introduction

From the previous chapters, it is apparent that both South Africa and China have tremendously involved cultural diplomacy in their foreign policies. This is going to be an analytical chapter where all the pillars of diplomacy will be explored, this is because Cultural Diplomacy like any other pillar of Foreign Policy cannot stand on its own. The ultimate goal of foreign policy is to achieve the national goals of a state. The goals are intertwined between politics, economy, military strength, cultural positioning and social needs. This chapter will hence explore the backgrounds of the China and South Africa, relationship, similarities and their use of cultural diplomacy in their foreign policies.

The international cultural agenda is now structured more by the challenges faced by each culture in the age of globalization, as cultural products are increasingly swept into the transnational communication and economic flows. To be culturally powerful-or even culturally significant-in today's world, a country must exercise control over these flows[1], which are increasing in tandem with the development of new information and communication technologies (NICTs) and trade liberalization[2]. Cultural diplomacy has developed with time from the time of promoting artists to the times of information technology.[3]

China's Soft Power

From the onset, in the foreign policy of china, there is advocacy of soft power use this is by peaceful co-existence. While China has moved increasingly towards a market-based system, the

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[1] Nye, J. S., & Owens, W. A, <u>America's Information Edge</u>. Foreign Affairs, 75(2), 1996 pp25-36

[2] Kaplan, L. G. C., <u>The European Community's "Television Without Frontiers" Directive: Stimulating Europe to regulate culture</u>. Emory International Law Review, 8, 1994. pp255-346.

[3] Louis Bélanger, <u>Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada</u>. Political Psychology, Vol. 20, No. 4. (Dec., 1999), pp. 677-699

principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of others remains constant, with the consequence that China's aid to Africa is unconditional.[4] China believes that upholding noninterference and offering unconditional aid are important to its principles to develop lasting relations with Africa. The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence are mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; noninterference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.[5]

It is worth noting that China has really bought her way through Africa the hard way. There is no other country that is investing in developing the third world states currently like china is. China is building roads, constructing railways, developing mining, and giving scholarships among other things. China has really worked hard to be acceptable to the developing states considering that it has been enclosed from the world for many years, now it has to actually teach people Chinese because few know the language in the first place. As a state she could not be able to penetrate African market if the language is a barrier.

Directly, China has used cultural diplomacy through the many events and functions she has hosted like the Shanghai Expo, the 2008 Olympics, the Miss World Competations and the FOCAC among many other means like the Confucius Institute. This is helping bring China to good world light as states are able to know more aboutt China and interact with her people. During the FOCAC meeting in Beijing the African leaders who went were met by slogans on bill boards praising Africa outside the venue. That alone is using soft power to impress other states. China has taken advantage of where the western powers had failed and is utilizing every chance to penetrate the world market.

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[4] He Wenpin, <u>The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy</u>. World Security Institute, China Security, Vol. 3 No. 3 Summer 2007, p 33
[5] Ibid p 40

South Africa's Soft Power

Having suffered racism, South Africa has been in the fore front to advocate for human rights. The Ubuntu philosophy is meant to promote good relations and respect for other humans. It has been discussed earlier that South Africa used cooperation strategies to promote anti-racism. South Africa has been in the fore front of regional integration. This has been through the formation of intergovernmental organizations like SADC and international organizations like the AU.

South Africa is said to have used cooperation strategies to bring people together during apartheid, this was also through soccer. Soccer is at the heart of the South Africans. Hosting the FIFA 2010 was a major privilege, and they did not hesitate to take pride in it. The Vuvuzela (South African horn) became known world wide as well as South African music heard. The country has taken the spirit of soccer to promote relations with other states especially her neighbours. She has funded soccer projects in states like Mali.

The relationship between China and South Africa

Common Backgrounds

He Wenping says that both China and Africa have a common sense about human rights and sovereignty, meaning that the Chinese government sees an abiding cultural and political context based on historical experience felt by both the Chinese and the Africans.[6] An examination of China's diplomatic focus on Africa and the historical context in which China's African policy emerged reveals a deep relationship based on common experiences, values and principles.[7]

More to the past wars and economic strains the two states have both suffered under the hegemony of the west countries, the previous superpowers when the world was having bipolar

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[6] He Wenping, The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy. Op cit. pp. 23 - 40
[7] Ibid

and unipolar systems. This has led to the two states and other pro- South-South states to have ties to basically counter the existing superpowers. As Wen Jiaobao[8], Chinese premier said at the China-Africa cooperation in Addis Ababa 2003 that hegemony of the west is raising its ugly head and that Chinese ties with Africa would be to counter that hegemony.

Trade, economic and investment asymmetry

Due to the advancement in technology and development there is more trade on China's Side. According to Broadman[9], China along with India invests more in Africa than Africa invests in China. He says that it is imperative that both sides of this promising South-South economic relations address asymmetries and obstacles to its continuous expansion through reforms.

Economically, the growth in two-way trade and investment since the start of diplomatic relations in 1998 has allowed SA to diversify its commercial relations away from their traditional northern axis, but it has not been without its challenges. Trade between the two replicates traditional North-South patterns, where South Africa largely exports raw materials and imports manufactured goods. One way to diversify South Africa exports to China is through the removal of non-tariff barriers that are holding back the export potential of other.

According to Ana Cristina Alves, China Research Fellow and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos national director at the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg[10] the economic relationship of the two states is assymetrical. China's global competitiveness makes it difficult for South Africa, with its high-cost structure in some sectors, to compete. South Africa's reluctance to proceed with a free trade agreement with China reflects concerns about the threat it may present to the survival of the local labour-intensive industry (namely textiles and clothing),

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[8] Chris Alden, China in Africa: African arguments. International African Institute, Royal African Society, Social Science Research Council. Claremont. 2007. p 16
[9] Broadman, Harry., Africa's Silk Road: China and India's New Economic Frontier. World Bank. 2007
[10] Ana Cristina Alves and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, South Africa-China Relations: Getting Beyond the Cross-roads? South African Institute of International Affairs: Sunday Independent. 29 August 2009.

although a recent study by the Trade Law Centre indicated that expected losses (fall in employment, wages and manufactures production) would be largely offset by gains in other sectors with a stronger competitive potential (chemicals, plastics, non-ferrous metals, machinery). SA's decision to implement its own industrial strategy to address the erosion of its industrial base and job losses is also an important factor.

Chinese investment in South Africa is smaller than South Africa's into China. Despite the strong Chinese appetite for South Africa mining resources and the attractiveness of its open market, South Africa's significantly more complex socio-economic structure (with strong labour unions and a large industrial base) compared with other African countries, has largely constrained the expansion of Chinese interests in Africa's largest economy. In 2008 discussions between the two states focused on negotiating a Partnership for Growth and Development, which would include market access for value-added and beneficiated products from South Africa. As of 2010, China was South Africa's largest trading partner.[11] In March 2009 business deals worth more than R2.3 billion were signed. These included SA supplying more goods to China, including mohair, fish, wine, wool, copper, manganese, granite blocks and ferrochrome. The Comprehensive Strategic Partnership signed in Beijing on August 2009, the first of its kind ever put forward by China with another country, recognises the need to address these issues going forward.[12]

In the recent years, there has been successful investment of Chinese enterprises in South Africa, the case is also dazzling. In the past few years, ZTE and Huawei, and some other Chinese companies have had outstanding success in South Africa, Chinese enterprises invest and

[11] http://www.algorithm.seks-anonse.pisz.pl/p-People%27s_Republic_of_China_%E2%80%93_South_Africa_relations
[12] http://www.saiia.org.za/china-in-africa-project-opinion/south-africa-china-relations-getting-beyond-the-cross-roads.html

build factories, and select companies in South Africa as the headquarters of the African continent. China Steel Group is South Africa's largest Chinese companies, which in 2008 committed to Limpopo Province, South Africa, 400 million U.S. dollars of new investments. With this growing trend there seems to be likeliness that many Chinese companies will enter the African market South Africa as a base, and the use of local enterprise network quickly into the African continent.[13]

In 2008, China Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, South Africa, Standard Bank acquired a 20% stake, worth 5.5 billion. In July 2009, China Construction Bank's second-largest banking group in South Africa - South Africa's First Rand Bank signed a strategic cooperation memorandum of understanding aimed at expanding the two sides in consulting, finance, investment and other areas of practical cooperation. The collaboration is aimed at focusing on the joint for the relevant provision of advisory and financing services to customers. In addition, the China-Africa Development Fund has opened an office in South Africa, the fund created by the Chinese government to encourage Chinese enterprises to invest in Africa, and it is currently in South Africa for power and alternative energy-related projects to provide assessment of the financing.[14] No doubt that China determined to penetrate the African market.

South Africa's investments in China are also growing. For example, South Africa, Standard Bank and Industrial and Commercial Bank of China set up a joint venture, by the end of 2009, Sasol (Sasol Synfuels International, Inc.) and the Shenhua Group and other large Chinese companies co-operation coal-oil investment, South Africa's rainbow mining company, Anglo American is also active in China and other South African companies.[15]

[13] Shenzen Kingway International Logistics CO. LTD. South Africa's high-level trade delegation to China to look. Trade News. Luohu. August 22, 2011.
[14] Ibid
[15] Ibid

In December 2010, South Africa was invited to join China in <u>BRIC</u> group of emerging economies. With the invitation, it was expected that South Africa would expand its trade relations with other BRIC countries, including China.[16] The two states' relationship is based more on the principles of sustainability and mutual benefit rather than charity, aid projects are both stable and inherently equal, whereby China's aid to Africa is not one of a "superior" providing for an "inferior" but rather of one developing nation assisting another.[17]

China's bilateral trade with South Africa grew to over R40-billion in 2005, with SA's exports to China growing from R7.85-million in 1996 to well over R8.5-billion in 2005, and imports surging from R2.4-million to R31.5-billion over the same period.[18]

China is looking to further cooperation with Africa both horizontally and vertically – to increase interaction between China and Africa at a multitude of political, social and cultural levels while also expanding economic cooperation beyond traditional sectors to all areas of commerce, industry and technology.[19] Both states have been in the front line of promoting South-South cooperation.

Political asymmetry

It is sometimes argued that because China is a huge country with a large population of more than 1.3 billion, its relations with an Africa fragmented into 50 plus nations is necessarily and logically asymmetrical,but not necessarily[20].Despite having 53 independent countries, African countries often vote mostly *en bloc* on topical international issues. For example. China got the

[16] Joining BRIC not a game changer Moneyweb.co.za15. Retrieved August 14, 2011.
[17] He Wenping, <u>The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy</u>. Op cit. p 33
[18] Michael Appel, <u>SA, China: 10 years of relations. 10 January 2008</u>. BuaNews. Retrieved Mon, 22 Aug 2011
[19] He Wenping, <u>The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy</u>. Op cit. p 36
[20] A. B. Bodomo , <u>Africa-China relations: Symmetry and Soft Power</u>. University of Hong Kong. Jinhua. 2009. Pp 1-19

Beijing Olympics awarded it because of an "en bloc" vote by Africa during the IOC decision-making process.

High Level Exchanges and Visits

This paper explores also the visits made by officials of both governments to enhance relations as a form of cultural diplomacy and soft power. The visits though friendly brought about economic benefits, which in most cases yielded cooperation for mutual benefits.

By 2005, cooperation in culture, science and technology, education, tourism and other field made rapid progress. A grand cultural event entitled "Bravo China --- Chinese Cultural Tour to Africa" staged in South Africa successfully in 2004. A series of culture activities named "Experiencing China" will take place in South Africa later this year. The Confucious College (Chinese Language Center) was established at Stellenbosch University. There are currently 3000 Chinese students studying in South Africa. Since South Africa was granted Approved Destination Status for out-bound Chinese tourist groups in 2001, more and more Chinese sightseers have traveled to South Africa.[21]

Talks between Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and her Chinese counterpart, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, in Pretoria in January 2008, South Africa and China, who were celebrating 10 years of diplomatic relations, are to strengthen these further through the establishment of a strategic dialogue mechanism. The strategic dialogue mechanism will focus on boosting cooperation and support between South Africa and China in the economic, trade and political spheres.

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[21] Chinese Embassy in South Africa, Ever Deepening China-South Africa Strategic Partnership. 2006/06/12

Dlamini-Zuma said that it was the Beijing Olympics this year in China, and in 2010 it would be the Fifa World Cup in South Africa. "The year 2010 will be a big year for both of us, as it is also the 2010 World Expo in China, which South Africa hopes to participate in." Yang said the last decade had seen "rapid progress in our relations ... and this is indeed a partnership of strategic importance." His visit to SA forms part of a four-nation which includes the DRC, Ethiopia and Burundi. "The China-Africa Cooperation Forum is witnessing good progress," Yang said, with China committed to an eight-point programme that includes increased debt relief, certain tariff exemptions and increased aid for the continent.

For the first time in China's diplomacy, released *China's African Policy*. In April and June, President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao visited 10 African countries respectively. At the end of 2006, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and the first Chinese and African leaders' summit was successfully held in Beijing. Early in 2007, in order to implement the achievements of the summit and promote concrete cooperation between China and Africa, President Hu Jintao set foot on the African continent for the second time in nine months, visiting nine countries in Africa.[22] On 2007, February President Hu Jintao completed his eight-country tour of Africa.[23] The countries visited were Cameroon, Liberia, Sudan, Zambia, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and the Seychelles.[24]

[22] He Wenping, *The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy*. Op cit, p 38
[23] "Chinese leader boosts Sudan ties", BBC News, February 2, 2007
[24] "President Hu's Africa Tour", china.org.cn (Retrieved August 2, 2011)

The year 2010 marked the height of China –South Africa cooperation characterized by the many high-level visits and the agreements reached. The following are exerpts form a report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.[25]

From 28 March to 1 April 2010, CPPCC Chairman Jia Qinglin paid a visit to South Africa and met with South African President Jacob Zuma and held talks with Chairman of the National Council of Provinces of South Africa Mninwa Mahlangu. During the visit, Chairman Jia Qinglin attended the China-South Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum in Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa, and delivered a speech entitled "Deepening Economic and Trade Cooperation to Achieve Mutual Benefit and Win-Win Results". Chairman Jia also attended the China-South Africa commodity purchase contract signing ceremony. The total contract value was more than US$300 million.

Vice President Xi Jinping paid a visit to South Africa from 16 to 19 November 2010. He met with President Zuma and Speaker Sisulu in Cape Town, the legislative capital of South Africa, held talks with Vice President Kgalema Motlanthe and co-chaired the fourth plenary of the China-South Africa Bi-National Commission (CSABC). Vice President Xi and Vice President Motlanthe attended the signing ceremony of four documents regarding cooperation between the two sides in energy, trade statistics, banking regulation and supervision and other areas. In Pretoria, Vice President Xi attended the opening ceremony of the seminar commemorating the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the FOCAC and delivered a speech entitled "Work Together to Create a Promising Future for China-Africa New Type of Strategic Partnership".

Before the fourth plenary of the CSABC, Chinese officials accompanying Vice President

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[25] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: 'China and South Africa'

Xi held subcommittee meetings with their South African counterparts under the CSABC. Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Zhai Jun and Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation Ebrahim Ebrahim held the third meeting of the CSABC Diplomatic Sectoral Committee and the third China-South Africa Strategic Dialogue. On 23 December, following the consensus with Russia, India and Brazil on South Africa's participation in the "BRIC" cooperation mechanism, President Hu Jintao, in his capacity as the BRIC rotating chair, sent a letter to South African President Jacob Zuma to invite him to attend the third BRICS Leaders' Meeting in China in 2011. Earlier in the year on 15 April 2010, President Hu Jintao met with President Zuma on the sidelines of the second BRIC Summit. NPC Chairman Wu Bangguo had a bilateral meeting with Speaker Sisulu on the sidelines of the Third World Conference of Speakers of Parliament in Geneva on 20 July.

President Zuma paid a state visit to China from 23 to 26 August 2010. President Hu Jintao held talks with President Zuma. NPC Chairman Wu Bangguo, Premier Wen Jiabao and Vice President Xi Jinping met with President Zuma separatesly. The two heads of state signed the Beijing *Declaration on the Establishment of a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa*, taking the relations between the two countries to a new level, and making overall plans for the practical cooperation between China and South Africa in nearly 30 fields. Competent government departments of the two countries signed seven documents on setting up a mineral subcommittee and an energy subcommittee under the CSABC and engaging in cooperation in environment, transportation and other fields.

The speaker of the National Assembly of South Africa Max Sisulu visited China from 21 to 29 October 2010. President Hu Jintao met with him. Chairman Wu Bangguo held talks with

him, and the two sides had in-depth exchange of views on China-Africa relations and international and regional issues of shared interest. Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi maintained frequent communication and exchanges with Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa Maite Nkoana-Mashabane. Mashabane visited China in February. Vice President Xi Jinping met with him and Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi held talks with him. In September, Foreign Minister Yang met with Mashabane on the sidelines of the 65th UN General Assembly. Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi talked with Minister Mashabane on 23 December and informed him of the unanimous decision of China, Russia, India and Brazil to have South Africa as an official member of the BRIC cooperation mechanism.

Exchanges between the ruling parties of the two countries have been active. In September, alternate member of the CPC Central Committee and Deputy Secretary of CPC Chongqing Municipal Committee Zhang Xuan attended, upon invitation, the National Congress of the African National Congress (ANC) as the representative of CPC.

Bilateral trade recovered from the impact of the international financial crisis and grew by a large margin. During Vice President Xi Jinping's visit to South Africa in November 2010, Vice Chairman of NDRC and Director of the National Energy Administration Zhang Guobao and Deputy Director of the National Energy Administration Qian Zhimin had in-depth exchange of views with Minister of Energy Dipuo Peters and Director General of the Energy Department of South Africa N. Magubane on nuclear energy and renewable energy respectively.

New progress was made in exchanges and cooperation between the two countries in art, culture, news media, tourism and other people-to-people and cultural fields. In May 2010, the preliminary of the third Chinese Bridge-Chinese Proficiency Competition for Foreign Secondary School Students in South Africa was held in Pretoria. The South African Department of Tourism

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set up an office in Beijing in the same month. In July 2010, Deputy Director of the General Administration of Press and Publication Li Dongdong visited South Africa at the invitation of the Department of Arts and Culture of South Africa. The China Publishing Group and China International Book Import and Export Company organized and sent a delegation composed of representatives from over 60 Chinese publishing units to the Cape Town International Book Fair. In August, the "Exhibition of Art Photography Farmer Painting of Henan Province, China" was held in the Capital Arts Festival in Pretoria.

The two countries cooperated closely on matters relating to the Shanghai World Expo. In April 2010, commissioned by the Chinese Embassy in South Africa, *Business Day* of South Africa published a special issue on the Shanghai World Expo. Minister Mashabane attended the opening ceremony of the South Africa Pavilion in May. President Zuma visited the Shanghai World Expo Site in August. The South Africa Pavilion, which covered 2,000 square meters, was the largest rented pavilion in the Expo Site. About 4.1 million visitors from across the world visited the Pavillion. Military-to-military exchanges between the two countries were deepened. Exchanges between local authorities of the two countries maintained good momentum.

Confucius Institute

As discussed earlier in Chapter Three these institutes are a prominent feature of China's cultural diplomacy or soft power. More than 20 such institutes out of 300 worldwide have been opened or will soon be opened throughout Africa which teach Chinese language and culture. This focus helps Africa-China relations to move away from the skewed economic focus. I agree with Bodomo[26] that there is a danger of creating an asymmetry if Africa does nothing in return, and that South Africa as the most stable economy in Africa has a role to play to balance the symmetry of China-Africa relations.

[26] A. B. Bodomo , Africa-China relations: Symmetry and Soft Power. University of Hong Kong. Jinhua. 2009. Pp 1-19

China is setting up Confucius Institutes around the world to spread its language and culture and to increase collaboration with foreign academic institutions. The institutes could increase China's "soft power" and help it project an image of itself as a benign country. Concerns exist about a "Trojan horse" effect.[27] There is anxiety around the world especially with the super powers on China's rise, which has led the government to strife for a more favourable image to reassure the world that its intentions are benign, its approaches includes espousing theories of China's peaceful rise and development.[28]

The role of South Africa

With the development of South Africa's political, economic and cultural stability she is more and more portraying better skills to advance her relations with many states including China. South Africa is already playing a leading role in advancing Africa-China relations only after 10 years of diplomatic relations with Beijing, since January 1998. Bodomo[29] says that South African firms have been more successful in penetrating the Chinese markets than Chinese firms in establishing themselves on the South African market.

The following report by the China Business Frontier (April 2008) newsletter testifies to this:

"What followed (since the start of diplomatic relations in January 1998) was an initial rush of Chinese investment into the country...However, a general lack of local market knowledge, inexperienced management and a vastly different business culture all contributed to failure of these companies."
"In contrast, South African corporations have been extremely successful in penetrating the often challenging China market. A handful of firms have been "industry shapers" in the Chinese economy – after entering the market in 1994, SAB Miller became the largest brewer by volume in China last year, Naspers is a leading media player...: and Sasol could soon become the single largest investor in China if it goes ahead with two coal-to-liquid gas projects in China."[30]

[27] James F. Paradise, China and International Harmony: The Role of Confucius Institutes in Bolstering Beijing's Soft Power. Asian Survey. Vol. 49, No. 4. July/August 2009
[28] Bonnie S. G. and Evans S. M., The Changing Ecology of Foreign-Policy Making in China: The Ascension and Demise of the theory of 'Peaceful Rise'. China Quartely 190. June 2007. Pp 291-310
[29] Ibid
[30] China Frontier Advisory. 2008. China Business Frontier, April 2008

South Africa is trying to strengthen her cultural ties with other states like India. On 24th August 2011 marked the start 'Festival of India'[31] a two months long extravaganza exploring Indian culture. The festival is part of South Africa-India-Programme of cultural cooperation aimed to strengthen the cultural ties between the two countries. Present at the kick off was Virendra Gupta, the High Commissioner of India to South Africa and S'bu Xaba, Director General of department of arts and Culture. Gupta said that this is the first time the festival is taking place on such a high magnitude. Xaba informed that culture is important to South Africa as it promotes people-to-people contact and social cohesion, passing on skills to young people, and contributes to the wealth of a nation. He added that South Africa will hold a cultural diplomacy conference this November to discuss the power of culture as a tool of South Africa's international relations, inviting India and other states to share about their cultural diplomacy experiences.

Being the most stable economy in Africa, South Africa can use such forums that brings African countries together on a different, less political level, where the states share a experiences to find for better avenues of bringing solidarity and selling the African name internationally.

Though South Africa has come a long way in developing its cultural diplomacy using soccer. Since apartheid, when Soccer was for the elite to now where it is for business by all classes.[32] Soccer, is being challenged by the global political economy of the game which is challenging African and Third world soccer today. The country needs to venture more avenues using cultural diplomacy to promote its foreign policy. For example, opening cultural institutes.

[31] G'day India, 'Festival of India' Kicks off in South Africa. Melbourne. Wed 24 2011
[32] Sakhela Buhlungu(et al): State of the nation, south africa 2005-2006.Hences Research Council Press. Capetown.2006. p434

On 2010, during a parliamentary breifing on 25th may 2011 of the Monitoring South African Parliamentary Committees since 1996.[33] When asked about the cultural agreements and who they benefit, Ms Louise Graham, Chief Director, International Relations, Department of Arts and Culture, responded that it was difficult to find a balance between South African arts and culture taken out of the country with skills and benefits brought in. This would be raised at the cultural diplomacy conference. When agreements with other countries were made, South Africa tried to ensure that they were mutually beneficial.

Mr Xaba[34], addressed how agreements were linked to job creation, and listed a number of ways in which the creative industry could drive growth. Films made in South Africa, which were then showcased internationally, marketed South Africa, its expertise and facilities for film-making, which then would grow the industry and create jobs. Additionally, major cultural events could create a large number of sustainable jobs. The Department was currently developing business plans and creating enterprises to popularise arts and culture in various areas, and would brief the Committee further. Mr Xaba, added that the Department of Arts Culture was working to develop nationally supported arts and culture festivals in every province. It was also looking at the possibility of hosting "carnivals" in cities other than Cape Town and Johannesburg.

Mandela Institutes

Ms, Graham[35], notes that other countries had cultural institutions based in South Africa, such as France's Alliance Francais. However, South Africa did not have similar cultural institutions based in other countries, to teach South African languages and culture. This would be one of the

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[33] Parliamentary Monitoring Group: International Cultural Agreements: Departmental briefing 25th may 2011. http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20110525-department-arts-culture-international-cultural-agreements

[34] Ibid

[35] Parliamentary Monitoring Group: International Cultural Agreements: Departmental briefing 25th may 2011. http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20110525-department-arts-culture-international-cultural-agreements

issues discussed during the cultural diplomacy conference at the end of 2011. It would, however, have huge financial implications.

Bodomo suggests that African countries should aim at setting up African Cultural Institutions in China. For South Africa, he proposes that the most apt designation should be the *Mandela Institute*:

> Teaching South African languages and cultures and spreading Mandela's policy of rapprochement between races and all peoples of the world
> African governments can collaborate with Chinese government and Chinese Universities to promote African Studies by setting up MoUs.
> The new University of Hong Kong African Studies Programme (www.hku.hk/AfricanStudies) and similar programmes in mainland China have an important role to play given the right intergovernmental support.[36]

2006 marked the "Year of Africa" in China's diplomacy. According to He Wenping,a research fellow for the Institute of West-Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and secretary general for the Chinese Asian and African Research Society, The highly intensive diplomatic activities that took place were unprecedented both for China's diplomatic history and the China-Africa relationship.[37] On 2006, November 3 China hosted a Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Summit in Beijing with the leaders of 48 African countries designed to cement its economic and political influence in the continent. Over 2000 business were being negotiated at the time. At the opening of the summit, President Hu Jintao stated China would offer $3 billion in preferential loans and $2 billion in export credits over the next three years. China announced that it would double its foreign aid though it did not offer details.[38]

China's Success in Overtaking Superpowers

The fact that China has come up very fast using cultural diplomacy, doesn't mean that though insignificantly, that America was making efforts too. During the cold war, two super

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[36] A. B. Bodomo , Africa-China relations: Symmetry and Soft Power. Op cit. P 17
[37] He Wenping, The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy. Op cit. p 23
[38] "China to double its aid to Africa", BBC News, November 4, 2006

powers emerged and the world was torn into two. After this, America made efforts to enhance its image to the world through promoting its culture of music, slang and more. Few scholars have studied this option, Prevots[39] explores how dance touring programme from 1954, and how the modern government of post cold war was the government's desire to present America's culture positively to the world. Dr. Harvey Feigenbam suggests to Americans that since, both cultural exchanges and public diplomacy need the resources and administrative muscle to carry out their particular mandates, they should both be funded and structured separately. He adds that since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Americans national conversation has assumed a new tenor. Americans now better understand how culture affects the way we are viewed by some people in other parts of the world.[40]

However, whether or not China is a super power now or is going to be is still not certain. But China's efforts have paid off well so far, she has become popular especially with the developing states. This is because china's strategy is not only different but also friendlier. Chinese aid is different. The context of Chinese aid is simpler influenced by their own form of development, they emphasize production, infrastructure and scholarships at a time when traditional donors downplayed all these. China has had the most tremendous growth as a developing state in the last decade that it has sparked concern from Europe and America.[41]

In the 1990s, increasing numbers of Chinese companies developed connections with African countries with the aim of increasing trade between China and the African continent. This development of Sino-African relations has not gone unnoticed, but the discussion in the West has

[39] Naima Prevots, Dance for export. cultural diplomacy and the cold war.Wesleyan university press. Middletown.1998. P4
[40]Harvey B. Feigenbaum , Globalization and cultural diplomacy, center for arts and culture. The George Washington University. Art, Culture & the National Agenda Issue Paper. P 2
[41] Deborah Brautigam, The dragon's gift: The Real Story of China in Africa. Oxford University Press. Oxford. 2009. P 11

not been well informed. The relationship is on African exports of natural resources, the export market for Chinese products in Africa, and Chinese investments in Africa.[42]

It has been found that more interpersonal strategies have been employed by Chinese and Indian business managers when initiating a business relationship. In contrast, the New Zealand and South African managers tend to use more impersonal communication strategies to promote public relations. Similar interpersonal communication strategies are employed in all the target cultures for maintaining relationships. However, a stronger orientation for long-term relationships in the Chinese and Indian cultures has been identified. Furthermore, the communication strategies are dynamic in all the countries investigated since they are becoming more and more multicultural and increasingly globalized in international business and management.[43]

The global governance of the 1990's was geared towards a multilateral world order and creating new patterns of co operations between governmental and private actors. Corporations and non-governmental organizations became more prominent in global governance.[44]

There is a rising China's foreign policies towards three targeted regions in the global south—Africa, East Asia, and Latin America. On the one hand, due to Beijing's carefully-designed and soft power-based foreign policies, the global south has become an increasingly harmonious environment for Beijing to cultivate a favorable national image, exert its political influence on regional affairs, benefit its own domestic economic developments, etc. On the other hand, some problems such as the so-called "China's New Colonialism" and the increased

[42] Looy J. Van De: Africa and China: a strategic partnership? African Studies Centre, Leiden. 2006. P1
[43] International Journal of Cross Cultural Management. SAGE Publications. December 2006 vol. 6 no. 3 pp.319-341
[44] Humphrey, J. and Messner, D. (2006), China and India as Emerging Global Governance Actors: Challenges for Developing and Developed Countries. IDS Bulletin. 2006, 37: 107–114.

vigilance from the other powers have already began to challenge Beijing's harmony in those regions.

During the last decade Chinese media and scholars have paid more attention to the development and wielding of Chinese of soft power-based foreign policies in the recent years.[45] To the South African case, the crucial significance of institutional foreign policy instruments for the power over policy outcomes at the regional and global level is demonstrated. But although Pretoria is ready to pay the costs of co-operative hegemony (capacity building for regional institutions and peacekeeping for instance), the regional acceptance of South African leadership is constrained by its historical legacy.[46] Additionally Pretoria's foreign policy is based on ideational resources such as its reputation as an advocate of democracy and human rights and its paradigmatic behaviour as a 'good global citizen' with the according legitimacy. The Mbeki presidency was more successful in converting these resources into discursive instruments of interest-assertion in global, than in regional bargains. In effect the regional power's reformist south-oriented multilateralism is challenging some of the guiding principles of the current international system.

Challenges facing China and South Africa in Promoting Cultural Diplomacy

China and South Africa still have a long way to go in impressing the world especially with their system of governance. But both have rich cultures and a big potential at that to attract other states. China needs to work on improving the image especially because of the low quality of products and the pollution. The three top most polluted cities in the world are in China. There is still the pending debate on whether China should be classified as a developing or developed state

[45] Sheng Ding, To Build A "Harmonious World": China's Soft Power Wielding in the Global South. Journal of Chinese Political Science. Volume 13. Number 2. 2008
[46] Daniel Flemes, Regional power South Africa: Co-operative hegemony constrained by historical legacy. Journal of Contemporary African Studies .Vol. 27, Iss. 2, 2009

there by following the annex 1 states rules on environmental conservation. There is also the problem of overproduction which has led to an influx of low quality products. Some people argue that China is penetrating raw market in such of places to sell their surplus.

China also has the problem of promoting its governance image. Most states especially the west do not support communism kind of governance. It seems like the kind of governance that is government controlled and can be use to benefit a few elite. The west view it with sckepticsm as though it's a dictatorship kind of leadership. Furthermore, China is known for supporting dictatorships like the Zimbabwe's Mugabe regime and Sudan's Bashir regime.

China's stand of being non-aligned is also questioned most times. Their non-interference policy can be interpreted as a selfish strategy to make sure that no side appears as an enemy. They all then take China as a neutral partner.

South Africa on the other hand is working on development and needs to look into her immense potential to promote herself culturally around the world. Ms Graham[47], said that not all of the arts, heritage and culture sectors in the various provinces were well organized, which gave rise to some problems. She stated that South Africa had about half a dozen cultural *attaches, who were* appointed by Dirco some years ago, but after their terms of office the practice was discontinued, for financial reasons. This discussed during the national cultural diplomacy conference. She agreed that diplomats generally did not have the necessary skills and expertise to speak with authority on South African arts, culture and heritage. Mr Xaba[48] adds that Public schools did not have a strong tradition of teaching arts and culture, partially because of problems employing teachers. However, the teaching of arts and culture at schools encouraged students to choose arts and culture as a viable career path. However, part of the problem at higher education

[47] Parliamentary Monitoring Group: International Cultural Agreements: Departmental briefing 25th may 2011.
http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20110525-department-arts-culture-international-cultural-agreements
[48] Ibid

institutions was that the arts were taught too generically, and thus did not equip students with specific skills.

Evaluation of the Hypothesis of the Study

In the first chapter, I outlined the following hypotheses for the study. Below is a look at each one of them and how they have been verified in the research.

1. Cultural diplomacy influences foreign policy- this is indeed true, as the research has shown how states that have used cultural diplomacy have promoted their foreign policy. It is also true because diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy, so cultural diplomacy has been used as a tool for promoting foreign policy.

2. Cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power is more effective than hard power- the study has shown that states that have used cultural diplomacy in promoting their foreign policy have been more successful in doing it than the ones using hard power. This is because states that are friendly have more friends than those that use threats.

3. Cultural diplomacy as a strategy used by China and South Africa has boosted their relations- China has boosted her image especially with third world countries and ultimately she got the bid to host the Olympics 2008. South Africa has boosted her relations especially with her neighbours, and ultimately she got the bid to host 2010 FIFA.

Comparative analysis

Soft Power Activity	China	South Africa
• Cultural exchanges	China has cultural exchanges and agreements with many countries like US, Norway, India, Cuba, Ghana, Egypt and Greece.	South Africa has had cultural exchanges and agreements with countries like India and Jamaica.

• High-Level visits	Many high level visits have been exchanged between China and others states she relates with. For example the Vice President Xi Jinping paid a visit to South Africa from 16 to 19 November 2010.	An example of high level visits by Soth Africa is when President Zuma paid a state visit to China from 23 to 26 August 2010.
• Scholarship offers	China is well advanced this. The China University College Admission Scholarship(CUCAS) is a platform where international students get scholarships.	This is not as common with international students as with China.
• Aid and donations	China has offered a lot of technological and monetary help to developing countries. For example the construction of roads in Kenya between the year 2007 and 2011.	South Africa's sporting diplomacy on the continent include assistance to Mali for its hosting of the Africa Cup of Nations in 2002.
• Sports, fairs and festivals	China became the 22nd nation to host the Olympic Games and the 18th to hold a Summer Olympic Games
The Expo 2010 Shanghai China was held in the city of Shanghai, China, from May 1 to October 31, 2010	In order to win the rights to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup leaders of the post-1994 government and soccer administrators used sport and cultural diplomacy as enabling instruments to assert South Africa's credentials
• Language and cultural studies	The Confucius institutes aims at spreading Chinese culture around the world	South Africa does not have similar cultural institutions based in other countries, to teach South African languages and culture.
• Film and Media	China is now the third largest film producer in the world, after India and the United States. Famous movies are like "Shanghai express" which revolves an electric train, marketing China's technology.	South African films like the 'Sarafina' which was advocating for freedom from arpatheid.
• Music and arts	The year 2010 was the fifth time that China has held the Miss World Final. China is also famous for martial arts like 'Kung Fu".	Four of South Africa's eight Unesco World Heritage sites are cultural sites. South African music like the "makoma" sang in their native language are known widely.
• Hosting meetings and forums	China hosted the World Economic Forum China Business Summit in Beijing among other forums.	South Africa has hosted many forums and meetings like the famous Coca Cola Popstars forum, Miss Malaika, and Kora Awards.
• Tourism	China is the world's third most visited country in the world.	In 2007 a total of 9.07-million foreigners visited South Africa -

		China's tourism <u>revenue</u> reached $185 billion in 2009.	an 8.3% increase over 2006 - as the country broke its annual tourist arrivals record for the third year running.
• Bilateral	and multilateral agreements	China has entered into many cultural agreements, both bilateral and multilateral, like the agreement with the Government of the Republic of India in 2002.	South Africa has many agreements like the cultural agreement between the Republic South Africa and Jamaica was signed on 14th December 2009

Conclusion

China's cultural diplomacy is yielding fruits especially with the countries that are recieving her aid. Her progress in promoting various sectors like tourism and trade is a show of the positive outcome. South Africa too has made progress to a point of being the first African country to host the FIFA world cup, but they both have their own challenges. Both countries, as seen in the comparative table have been involved in many activities around cultural diplomacy; however China is ahead like in establishing institutions that teach Chinese language and culture, in giving aids and donations and in technology. The following chapter discusses the way forward to achieve success with cultural diplomacy in a country's foreign policy.

CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSION

This conclusion chapter, will have first introduction, summarize my findings, indicate the implications of my findings, explain what as a diplomat what I'm I advising in policy making suggestions, Contribution to the diplomacy field, and finally list further recommendations of research.

Introduction

According to Nye, soft power refers to "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment".[1] Cultural Diplomacy as a form of Soft Power is very much visible in the Foreign policies of the two states. It can be concluded that indeed it has contributed to the growth of their economies and good relations with other states. China and South Africa have both engaged in using Cultural Diplomacy for different reasons, but majorly is to boost their image; however they have met certain hurdles in pursuit of Soft power.

Cultural diplomacy use in both South Africa and China is not only by government controlled firms but also private firms and individuals. It can be concluded that Cultural Diplomacy has indeed been used by the two countries to boost their image, this has been through;

Cultural exchanges, high-level visits, scholarship offers, aid and donations, sports, fairs and festivals, language and cultural studies, film and media, music and arts, tourism, hosting meetings and forums and bilateral and multilateral agreements

All these channels of cultural diplomacy are forms of soft power. Means that maintain friendly relations without coercion, use of force or threats. Soft power can be generally

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[1] For a detailed elaboration of the concept, refer to Joseph Nye. : Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. New York: Public Affairs. 2004.

interpreted as all forms of conducting diplomacy that do not involve force or threats to use of force. They are friendly ways of relating with other states, aimed at impressing others.

It can also be concluded that these two states used the soft power option because they are against hard power use. The two states both suffered due to wars with the examples of apartheid and Opium War. They hence prefer to use friendly means to conduct diplomacy, since they only know too well the effects of hard power use, as they were victims of it.

The past history also explains why they are in the non-aligned movement. They have both suffered due to other people interfering with their internal affairs, hence its quite understandable that they choose to stay out of the internal affairs of other states. This has been translated otherwise to mean that they are greedy since they choose to have all parties as friends and not take sides.

One of the things that has made the two states have a good ground for cultural diplomacy is that the two have deep cultural background. Their cultures, art, music, films and languages are diverse and rich. It takes a country with a rich culture to use cultural diplomacy successfully since it has lot to offer in the international market.

Implications of My Findings

Having come to the conclusion above it is notable that states that have suffered from the use of hard power are inclined to using soft power and this could meant that states that succeeded in using hard power may not be very successful in using soft power.

States that use soft power are guided by the theory of liberalism, where they choose to cooperate for mutual benefits other than be selfish. They hence invest heavily in cultural diplomacy, friendly relations, agreements, tourism, aid, and other means meant to create friendships.

The states that have thrived in hard power may not have a problem being aligned, that is taking sides and interfering with internal affairs of other states. They may even go to as far as taking over governance of weak states with the aim of achieving national interests.

Such hard power states end up creating hegemonies and dominance in the international arena. They are guided by the theory of realism where struggle for power is guided egocentric motives. States are viewed as rational actors, the end justifies the means. They are guided by the principle of 'it is better to be feared than loved'. For this reason they invest heavily on military power, and political supremacy.

Advice in policy making

In policy making many factors come into play, they could be internal or external. The external factors include aid and donations, while the internal factors are the history, the people, geographic position, climate and such.

Guided by cultural diplomacy as discussed in previous chapters, the history of a country can be used to determine the foreign policy to be adopted by a state.

The people of the state can contribute to the foreign policy making. For example the people of South Africa are of diverse cultures, which gives them a rich background.

The people and most specifically individuals can shape the foreign policy. In the case of South Africa, the presidents, Nelson Mandela, and Thabo Mbeki have been of pivotal role in marketing the country abroad.

Following South Africa's example, it is apparent that a country can use its culture to promote its foreign policy. This is through national heritage, museums, wildlife, tourism, music and art. This is similarly reflected in the Chinese cultural diplomacy of organizing exhibitions, tours and teaching its culture and language to other states voluntarily. A country can henceforth

use what it readily has to promote its image. Kenya, for example has a rich and diverse cultural background, looking at tribes that have preserved their culture up to date like the Maasai, which is has a great potential. So far, this tribe has been famous in promoting tourism, but in areas like films and music are yet to be exploited. The country can even have an airline by the name "Maasai Airlines" aimed at taking guests from the airport to any destination in the country.

Concerning language, Kenya can promote the national language which is Kiswahili by having Kiswahili institutes and teaching the world voluntarily in world wide campuses, probably even offer short courses scholarships to Kenya to study the language.

Sports and athletics are a great tool that Kenya has, the talented athletes of Kenya have flown the Kenyan flag high wherever they have competed world wide. The government can assist in putting up well furnished training camps and stadiums in the country to promote the sports industry. More so, use sports to unite the Kenyan people as South Africa did. This would help counter tribalism which puts Kenya on the map negatively especially during the ethnic violence that erupted after 2007 Presidential elections. Since history can tell Kenyans love athletics and this can be used to harmonize the people.

It is already a fact that regionalism helps strengthen unity. Starting with the sub-region organizations like the East African Community (EAC). Kenya being in the EAC is in the fore front of solidifying the region, however much more should be done like having a common force, language, passport, and a common stand like when voting in the UN. Further, the African Union having followed suit to strengthen the African block will henceforth give Africa a voice. The African Union can then make impact by having a united stand like in UN. Promoting relations in the African countries and boosting trade.

Countries can also increase the number of cultural exchanges they have either at the bilateral level or the multilateral level. This helps a country to know and learn more from the other country. My advise is to have cultural exchanges more with the states that have advanced in cultural diplomacy like China and South Africa. Also, have exchanges with culture-rich countries like Brazil and Korea. That way they will learn how to maintain their heritage.

Then apart from tourism, Kenyans as one culture, image should be promoted. The famous saying of "Najivunia kuwa mkenya" meaning, I am proud to be Kenyan, is a good start to unite Kenyans and be proud of their land, but there could be a slogan after that to indicate why. May be by stating "Najivunia kuwa mkenya, boma la Simba" meaning, I am proud to be Kenyan, home of the Lions. There should be a Kenyan dress to accompany that, the idea does not have to do with the flag like it is assumed one color of the flag, and the Maasai idea could be incorporated with an African design. The Chinese have their dragon, Kenyans could have their lion, and everbody who visits Kenya would like to see the lion.

Further areas of research

In the course of this research, the phrase 'Sports Diplomacy' has come up and seems to have more undiscussed material. Football diplomacy has also come up.

Another area of research is the role of history in diplomacy. This is based on the fact that history influences foreign policy making and it is in the core of cultural diplomacy.

Language is also prominent in cultural diplomacy and so it could be a good area to look into how language as a key point in cultures can be used to advance cultural diplomacy.

These and other areas around cultural diplomacy are worth researching since Cultural diplomacy just like technology is a new pillar in diplomacy and is worth looking at.

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List of Interviewees

1. Raymond Ndawonde- First Secretary South African High Commission

2. Mr. Mariera-   Third Secretary, China Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

3. Political Officer-   South Africa Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

4. Political Officer-   Third Secretary, Chinese Embassy in Nairobi

5. Rebbeca Anyango-   Former Kenyan University student in South Africa- International Relations

6. Wahu -   Former Kenyan University student in South Africa- International Relations

7. Mr. Lukaka-   Former Kenyan University student in China on Scholarship- Chinese Language

   Teacher at Confucius Institute, University of Nairobi.

8. Dan Kuria-   Former Kenyan University student in China on Scholarship- Chinese Language

INTERVIEWS

Introduction

These questions to be asked are for assisting in a research paper"Cultural Diplomacy as Soft Power: A Comparative Study of China and South Africa (1990-2010)". The paper will be presented to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies of University of Nairobi. Answers to the questions will be for the sole purpose of completing this research. The information will be edited to fit the scope required but the information will not be altered.

A brief explanation of the variables of the study and the topic itself can be done if necessary. Thank you.

QUESTIONS:

1. What do you think cultural diplomacy is? soft power? And hard power?

2. In your opinion, which one is more effective, soft power or hard power and why?

3. Do you think China/South Africa is using cultural diplomacy, and why?

4. In what ways is China/South Africa using cultural diplomacy?

5. How would you rate the use of cultural diplomacy of the said country in the recent years compared to before the 90's?

6. What is your opinion about the foreign relations of the said countries, has it improved and how?

7. Would you attribute the change to cultural diplomacy, and why?

8. How would you summarize your experience with either of the two countries?

9. Any other information on the two countries?

Thank you