

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

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ABSTRACT

Cultural diplomacy carries a set of prescriptions which are material to its effectual practice such as unequivocal recognition and understanding of foreign cultural dynamics and observance of the tenets that govern basic dialogue. 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 depends on behavioural economics of its adherents, as people develop better understandings of each other and new mediums of dialogue. Emergence of globalization carries with it cultural erosion which directly affects relevance of cultural diplomacy; a prevalent culture would remove the need for cultural recognition and understanding, if all people identified with a common culture. This study was based on the search for better ways of forging 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 identified why it could be attributed to their intense soft power and cultural diplomacy. The study examined cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power, and how it affects foreign policy and inter-state relations. The framework used was theory of idealism, which helps explain why soft power is more effective than hard power. It used two case studies: China and South Africa. In concluded, cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power not only boosts relations but also economies.

Keywords: Globalisation, International relations, South-south cooperation, Security

INTRODUCTION

Cultural diplomacy specifies a form of diplomacy that carries a set of prescriptions which are material to its effectual practice. These prescriptions include unequivocal recognition and understanding of foreign cultural dynamics and observance of the tenets that govern basic dialogue. Milton C. Cummings Jr¹. draws out the meaning of these cultural dynamics in describing cultural diplomacy as "the exchange of ideas, information, art, lifestyles, values systems, traditions, beliefs and other aspects of culture."

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. 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.

Nations often 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 depends on the behavioural economics of

its adherents, as people develop better understandings of each other and new means 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 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 aimed 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.

Soft power Versus Hard Power

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

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

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, military and political strengths. 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 occurrence could be seen during the world war and the cold war periods, where hard power was predominantly used.

This not only led to colonialism but also to loss of lives and deterioration of economies. States that were colonized have taken long to get back on their feet to restructure their economies and lives. 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 to rely on other States and thereby still be under their rule indirectly. When there is too much hegemony, effects are felt in almost all spheres of life.

This paper 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 resorted to using soft power to promote their foreign relations.

Research Methodology

This research focused on two case studies, China and South Africa in their attempts to use cultural diplomacy to advance their foreign policy. It targeted the contemporary situation of the two countries in the development of cultural diplomacy. It relied on written and reported works on China and South Africa and other secondary sources related to the study. There were also interviews with personalities from institutions and foreign missions relating to the case studies. This section involved data collection and analysis.

The research design used content analysis of the two case studies. This was because there was in-depth evaluation of secondary data and materials and investigation of an individual, group or institution. It aimed at determining factors and relationships among the factors that have resulted in the behaviour that

was being studied. It was appropriate for this study because there was an in-depth investigation of the consequences of using cultural diplomacy to promote foreign policy of States.

The study was conducted within the administrative boundaries of Kenya and was specifically in Nairobi, Kenya. The interviewees were mostly 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 data collected gave in-depth holistic information, skills and attitudes, values and knowledge which could not be obtained using survey and experimental methods. In this case, data were obtained from interviews held with subjects through rapid assessment procedure.

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 principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others remains constant, with the consequence that China's aid to Africa is unconditional.² China believes that upholding non-interference 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; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence.³

It is worth noting that China has really brought 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 doing. China is constructing roads, railways, developing mining industry, and giving scholarships, among other things, in Africa. China has really worked hard to be acceptable to the developing States, considering that it had 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, China could not be able to penetrate African market if the language is a barrier.

² Wenpin, H. 2007. The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy. World Security Institute, China Security, Volume 3 Number 3 Summer, p. 33.

³ Ibid p 40

Directly, China has used cultural diplomacy through the many events it has hosted like the Shanghai Expo, 2008 Olympics, Miss World contest and Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), and Confucius Institute. This is helping bring China to good world light as States are able to know more about it and interact with its people. During the FOCAC meeting in Beijing, African leaders were met by slogans on billboards outside the venue praising Africa. That alone was using soft power to impress the States. China has taken advantage of where western powers had failed and is utilizing every chance to penetrate the world market using soft power.

South Africa's Soft Power

Having suffered racism, South Africa has been in the forefront to advocate for human rights. The Ubuntu philosophy is meant to promote good relations and respect for humanity. It has been discussed earlier that South Africa used cooperation strategies to promote anti-racism. South Africa has been in the forefront of regional integration. This has been through the formation of intergovernmental organizations like South African Development Corporation (SADC) and international organizations like the African Union.

South Africa is said to have used cooperation strategies to bring people together during apartheid, and also it has used soccer, which is in the hearts of 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 worldwide, and South African music was heard worldwide. The country has taken the spirit of soccer to promote relations with other States especially its neighbours. South African has funded soccer projects in States like Mali. There have also been noticeable efforts towards international education programmes, scholarships and funding.

Relationships between China and South Africa Common backgrounds

Wenpin says that both China and South 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 South Africans. ⁴An examination of China's diplomatic focus on South Africa and the historical context in which China's African policy emerged reveals a deep relationship based on common experiences, values

⁴ Wenpin, H. 2007. The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy. World Security Institute, China Security, Volume 3 Number 3 Summer. Op cit., p. 23-40

and principles faced by the two States⁵ and more so the past wars and economic strains the two States have suffered under the hegemony of the western countries and the previous superpowers when the world was having bipolar 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 Jiaobao⁶, Chinese Premier said at the China-Africa cooperation in Addis Ababa in 2003 that hegemony of the west is raising its ugly head and that Chinese ties with Africa would be strengthened 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 Broadman⁷, China along with India invests more in Africa than Africa invests in China. Broadman says that it is imperative that both sides of these promising South-South economic relations address asymmetries and obstacles to continuous expansion through reforms.

Economically, the growth in two-way trade and investment since the start of diplomatic relations in 1998 has allowed South Africa to diversify its commercial relations away from their traditional northern axis, but it has not been without 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 barriers that are holding back the export potential of the other.

According to Ana Cristina Alves, China Research Fellow and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos National Director at the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg⁸ the economic relationship of the two States is asymmetrical. 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), although a recent study by the Trade Law

⁵Ibid

⁶Alden, C. 2007. China in Africa, African arguments. International African Institute, Royal African Society, Social Science Research Council, p. 16

⁷Broadman, H. 2007. Africa's Silk Road: China and India's New Economic Frontier. World Bank.

⁸Ana Cristina A. and Sidiropoulos, E. 29th August, 2009. South Africa-China Relations: Getting Beyond the Cross-roads? South African Institute of International Affairs: Sunday Independent.

Centre indicated that expected losses (fall in employment, wages and manufacture production) would be largely offset by gains in other sectors with a stronger competitive potential (chemicals, plastics, non-ferrous metals, machinery). South Africa'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 partner⁹. In March 2009 business deals worth more than R2.3 billion were signed. These included South Africa supplying more goods to China, including mohair, fish, wine, wool, copper, manganese, granite blocks and ferrochrome. The Comprehensive Strategic Partnership signed in Beijing in August 2009, the first of its kind ever put forward by China with another country, recognized the need to address these issues going forward¹⁰.

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 Corporation and Huawei, and some other Chinese companies have had outstanding success in South Africa; Chinese enterprises invest and build factories, and select companies in South Africa as the headquarters on the African continent. China Steel Group is South Africa's largest Chinese company, which in 2008 committed to Limpopo Province, South Africa, 400 million US dollars of new investments. With this growing trend there seems to be likeliness that many Chinese companies will enter the African market with South Africa as a base, and

the use of local enterprise network to quickly spread into the African continent.¹¹

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 was aimed at focusing on joint ventures for provision of relevant advisory and financing services to customers. In addition, the China-Africa Development Fund had opened an office in South Africa. The fund was 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.¹² No doubt that China is 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 known as Sasol (Sasol Synfuels International Inc.), Shenhua Group and other large Chinese companies co-operation coal-oil investment, South Africa's rainbow mining company, Anglo American, and other South African companies, are also active in China.¹³

In December 2010, South Africa was invited to join China in BRIC group of emerging economies. With the invitation, it was expected that South Africa would expand its trade relations with other BRIC countries, including China¹⁴. The relationship of the two States is based more on the principles of sustainability and mutual benefit rather than on charity. Aid projects are both stable and inherently equal, whereby China's aid to South Africa is not one of a "superior country" providing to an "inferior country", but rather of one developing nation assisting another developing nation.¹⁵

⁹http://www.algorithm.seks-anonse.pisz.pl/p-People%27s_Republic_of_China_%E2%80%93_South_Africa_relations

¹⁰<http://www.saiia.org.za/china-in-africa-project-opinion/south-africa-china-relations-getting-beyond-the-cross-roads.html>

¹¹Shenzen Kingway International Logistics Co. Ltd. 22nd August, 2011. South Africa's high-level trade delegation to China to look.Trade News. Luohu. 22nd August, 2011.

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴Joining BRIC not a game changer Moneyweb.co.za.15. Retrieved 14th August, 2011.

¹⁵He Wenping, The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy. Op cit, p. 33.

China's bilateral trade with South Africa grew to over R40 billion in 2005, with South Africa'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.¹⁶

China is looking to further cooperation with South Africa both horizontally and vertically, to increase interaction between China and South 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 technology¹⁷. Both states have been in the front line of promoting South-South cooperation.

High level exchanges and visits

The purpose of any form of diplomacy is to achieve national interests be it political, economic or military, but it all comes down to economic development. Friendly relations, exchanges and good cooperation are aimed at achieving specific national interests. High level exchange visits made for different reasons also encourage friendly relations between the top officials. It gives them a platform of exchanging ideas, gifts and touring the State. That is why this paper explored 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, technology, education, tourism and other fields made rapid progress. A grand cultural event entitled "Bravo China — Chinese Cultural Tour to Africa" was staged successfully in South Africa in 2004. A series of cultural activities, named "Experiencing China" took place in South Africa later in the year 2005. The Confucius College (Chinese Language Centre) 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 sight-seers have traveled to South Africa¹⁸.

The talks between Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and her Chinese counterpart, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, held in January, 2008 in

Pretoria, South Africa and China, who were celebrating 10 years of diplomatic relations, were aimed at strengthening them further through the establishment of a strategic dialogue mechanism. The strategic dialogue mechanism focused on boosting cooperation and support between South Africa and China in the economic, trade and political spheres.

Dlamini-Zuma said that it was the Beijing Olympics in 2008 in China, and in 2010 it was 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 South Africa formed part of a four-nation, which included the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia and Burundi. "The China-Africa Cooperation Forum is witnessing good progress," Yang said, with China committed to an eight-point programme that included increased debt relief, certain tariff exemptions and increased aid for the Continent.

For the first time in China's diplomacy, *China's African Policy* was released. In April and June, 2006, President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao visited 10 African countries. At the end of 2006, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and the first Chinese and African leaders' Summit was held successfully in Beijing. In early 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 eight African countries¹⁹. In February, 2007, President Hu Jintao completed his eight African countries tour²⁰. The countries visited were Cameroon, Liberia, Sudan, Zambia, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and the Seychelles²¹.

From 28th March to 1st April, 2010, China People's Political Consultative Conference (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 Mnin wa Mahlangu. During the visit, Chairman Jia Qinglin attended the China-South Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum in Pretoria, the administrative

¹⁶Michael Appel. Monday, 22nd August, 2011. SA, China: 10 years of relations, 10th January, 2008. Bua News. Retrieved Mon, 22nd Aug 2011.

¹⁷He Wenping, The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy. Op cit., p. 36.

¹⁸Chinese Embassy in South Africa. 2006/06/12. Ever Deepening China-South Africa Strategic Partnership.

¹⁹He Wenping, The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy. Op cit, p. 38.

²⁰"Chinese leader boosts Sudan ties", BBC News, 2nd February, 2007.

²¹"President Hu's Africa Tour", china.org.cn. Retrieved 2nd August, 2011.

capital of South Africa, and delivered a speech entitled: "Deepening Economic and Trade Cooperation to Achieve Mutual Benefit and Win-Win Results". Chairman Jia Qinglin 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 16th to 19th 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 4th 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".

Earlier in the year, on 15th April, 2010, President Hu Jintao met with President Zuma on the sidelines of the 2nd BRIC Summit. NPC Chairman Wu Bangguo had a bilateral meeting with Speaker Sisulu on the sidelines of the 3rd World Conference of Speakers of Parliament in Geneva on 20th July, 2010.

President Zuma paid a state visit to China from 23rd to 26th 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 separately. The two Heads of States 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, transport and other fields.

The speaker of the National Assembly of South Africa Max Sisulu visited China from 21st to 29th 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 23rd December and informed him of the unanimous decision of Brazil, Russia, India and China 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 representatives 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 exchange 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 3rd Chinese Bridge-Chinese Proficiency Competition for Foreign Secondary School Students in South Africa was held in Pretoria. The South African Department of Tourism 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 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 of Arts Festival in Pretoria.

The two countries cooperated closely on matters relating to 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. Military-to-military exchanges between the two countries were deepened. Exchanges between local authorities of the two countries maintained good momentum.

Confucius Institute

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 to teach Chinese language and culture. This focus helps Africa-China relations to move away from the skewed economic focus. I agree with Bodomo²² 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.

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" effect²³. 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, approaches include espousing theories of China's peaceful rise and development.²⁴

The role of South Africa

After the development of political, economic and cultural stability, South Africa is more and more portraying better skills to advance its 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. Bodomo²⁵ says that South African firms have been more successful in penetrating the Chinese markets than Chinese firms in establishing themselves in the South African

markets. 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 challenging Chinese markets. A handful of firms have been "industry shapers" in the Chinese economy. After entering the market in 1994, SAB Miller became the largest brewer 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."²⁶

South Africa is trying to strengthen cultural ties with other States like India. The 24th August, 2011 marked the start of 'Festival of India'²⁷ a 2-month-long extravaganza exploring Indian culture. The festival is part of South Africa-India-Programme of cultural cooperation aimed to strengthen cultural ties between the two countries. Present at the kick off was Virendra Gupta, the High Commissioner of India to South Africa and S'buXaba, 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 stated that culture is important to South Africa as it promotes people interaction 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 in November to discuss the power of culture as a tool of South Africa's international relations, inviting India and other States to share in their cultural diplomacy experiences. Being the most stable economy in Africa, South Africa can use such forums to bring African countries together on different, less political level, where the States share experiences for bringing solidarity and selling African name internationally.

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. Soccer is being challenged by the global political economy of the game, which is

²²A.B. Bodomo. 2009. Africa-China relations: Symmetry and Soft Power. Op cit., p. 1-19.

²³James 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.

²⁴Bonnie, 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 Quarterly 190. June 2007., p. 291-310.

²⁵Ibid

²⁶China Frontier Advisory. 2008. China Business Frontier, April, 2008

²⁷G'day India, 'Festival of India' Kicks off in South Africa. Melbourne. Wednesday 24, 2011.

challenging African and third world soccer today²⁸. The country needs to venture into more avenues using cultural diplomacy to promote its foreign policy. For example, opening cultural institutes.

During a parliamentary briefing on 25th May 2011 on the Monitoring South African Parliamentary Committees since 1996,²⁹ 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.

Xaba³⁰ addressed that 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 popularize arts and culture in various areas, and would brief the Committee further. Xaba added that the Department of Arts and 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 Graham³¹ 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 issues discussed during the cultural diplomacy conference at the end of 2011. It would, however, have huge financial implications for South Africa.

²⁸Sakhela Buhlungu (*et al.*): State of the Nation, South Africa 2005-2006. Hences Research Council Press. Capetown. 2006, p. 434.

²⁹Parliamentary Monitoring Group: International Cultural Agreements: Departmental briefing 25th May, 2011. <http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20110525-department-arts-culture-international-cultural-agreements>.

³⁰Ibid

³¹Parliamentary Monitoring Group: International Cultural Agreements: Departmental briefing, 25th May, 2011. <http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20110525-department-arts-culture-international-cultural-agreements>.

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 MoU’s. 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 support³².

The year 2006 marked the “Year of Africa” in China’s diplomacy. According to Wenpin, the highly intensive diplomatic activities that took place were unprecedented both for China’s diplomatic history and the China-Africa relationship.³³ On 3rd November, 2006, 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 businesses were being negotiated at the time. At the opening of the summit, President Hu Jintao stated that 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 details³⁴.

China’s success in overtaking superpowers

The fact that China has come up very fast using cultural diplomacy doesn’t mean that, though insignificant, the west was not making efforts too. During the cold war, two super 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. Prevots³⁵ 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

³² Bodomo, A. B. Africa-China Relations: Symmetry and Soft Power. Op cit, p. 17.

³³Wenping, H. The Balancing Act of China’s Africa Policy. Op cit, p. 23.

³⁴“China to double its aid to Africa”. BBC News, 4th November, 2006.

³⁵Naima Prevots. 1998. Dance for export, cultural diplomacy and the cold war. Wesleyan University Press. Middletown, p. 4.

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 11th September, 2001, the American 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 world³⁶. 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. China 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 simply influenced by their own form of development. China emphasizes 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 America³⁷.

In the 1990's, an increased number of Chinese companies developed connections with African countries with the sole 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 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 Africa³⁸.

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 management³⁹. The global governance of the 1990's was geared towards a multilateral world order and creating new patterns of cooperation between governmental and non-governmental private actors. Corporations and non-governmental organizations became more prominent in global governance⁴⁰.

There is 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 favourable national image, exert its political influence on regional affairs and benefit its own domestic and economic developments. Some problems such as the so-called "China's New Colonialism" and the increased vigilance from the other powers have already begun 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 soft power-based foreign policy. 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. 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 legacy⁴¹.

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.

³⁶Harvey B. Feigenbaum. Globalization and cultural diplomacy, center for arts and culture. The George Washington University. Art, Culture & the National Agenda Issue Paper., p. 2.

³⁷Brautigam, D. 2009. The dragon's gift: The Real Story of China in Africa. Oxford University Press. Oxford, p. 11.

³⁸Looy J. Van De: Africa and China: a strategic partnership? African Studies Centre, Leiden. 2006, p. 1

³⁹International Journal of Cross Cultural Management. SAGE Publications. December 2006. 6 (3):319-341.

⁴⁰Humphrey, 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.

⁴¹Flemes, D. 2009. Regional power South Africa: Co-operative hegemony constrained by historical legacy. Journal of Contemporary African Studies. Vol. 27, Iss. 2.

Table 1: 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, 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. The Vice President Xi Jinping paid a visit to South Africa from 16 th to 19 th November 2010.	An example of high level visits by South Africa is when President Zuma paid a state visit to China from 23 rd to 26 th August 2010.
Scholarship offers	China is well advanced this. The China University College Admission Scholarship 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 years 2007 and 2011.	South Africa's sporting diplomacy on the continent includes assistance to Mali for its hosting of the Africa Cup of Nations in 2002.
Sports, fairs and festivals	China became the 22 nd 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 1 st May to 31 st October, 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 apartheid.
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. S. African music like the "makoma" sang in their native language is known widely.
Hosting meetings and forums	China hosted the World Economic Forum China Business Summit in Beijing among other forums.	S. Africa has hosted many forums and meetings e.g. Coca Cola Popstars forum, Miss Malaika, Kora Awards
Tourism	China is the world's third most visited country in the world. China's tourism revenue reached \$185 billion in 2009.	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.
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 14 th December, 2009.

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 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 thereby following the Annex 1 state 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 search of places to sell surplus products.

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 used to benefit a few elite. The west views it with skepticism as if it is 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 its immense potential to promote itself culturally around the world. Ms Graham⁴² said that not all of the arts, heritage and cultural sectors in the various provinces were well organized, which gave rise to some problems. Ms Graham stated that South Africa had about half a dozen cultural *attachés*, who were appointed by Dirco some years ago, but after their terms of office, the practice was discontinued, for financial reasons. This was discussed during the national cultural diplomacy conference. South Africa agreed that diplomats generally did not have the necessary skills and expertise to speak with authority on South African arts, culture and heritage. Mr Xaba⁴³ adds that Public schools did not have a strong tradition of teaching arts and culture, partially

because of problems of employing teachers. Nevertheless, teaching of arts and culture in schools encouraged students to choose arts and culture as a viable career path. However, part of the problem in higher education institutions was that the arts were taught too generically, and thus did not equip students with specific skills.

CONCLUSION

According to Nye, soft power refers to "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment"⁴⁴. 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 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 of China and South Africa to boost their images 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 interpreted as all forms of conducting diplomacy that does not involve force or threats to use 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.

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, and hence it is quite understandable that they chose to

⁴²Parliamentary Monitoring Group: International Cultural Agreements: Departmental briefing, 25th May, 2011.

<http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20110525-department-arts-culture-international-cultural-agreements>.

⁴³Ibid

⁴⁴Nye, J. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

stay out of the internal affairs of other States. This has been translated otherwise to mean that they are greedy, since they chose to have all parties as friends and do not take sides.

One thing 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 a lot to offer in the international market.

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 include the history, the people, geographical position, climate and such. Guided by cultural diplomacy as discussed in previously, the history of a country can be used to determine the foreign policy to be adopted.

The people of the State can contribute to the foreign policy making. For example, the people of South Africa are of diverse cultures, which give 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 ethnic groups that have preserved their culture up to date like the Maasai, which has a great potential. So far, this tribe has been famous in promoting tourism, but areas like film and music are yet to be exploited. The country can even have an airline by the name "Maasai Airlines" for taking guests from the main airport to any destination in the country.

Concerning language, Kenya can promote the national language, Kiswahili, by establishing Kiswahili institutes and teaching Kiswahili voluntarily in campuses/institutes worldwide; probably even offer short courses and scholarships to come to Kenya to study the language.

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

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 forefront of solidifying the region. However, much more should be done like having a common defense force, language, passport, and a common stand like when voting in the United Nations (UN). The African Union having followed suit to strengthen the African block will give Africa a voice. The African Union can then make impact by having a united stand like in UN for promoting relations in 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 from other countries. My recommendation is to have cultural exchanges more with 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 Kenya will learn how to maintain its heritage.

Apart from tourism, Kenya's one culture image should be promoted. The famous slogan: "*Najivunia Kuwa Mkenya*", meaning: I am Proud to be Kenyan, is a good start to unite Kenyans and be proud of Kenya, but there could be a phrase after that to indicate why. May be a slogan like: "*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 colour of the flag; the Maasai idea could be incorporated with an African design. The Chinese have their dragon, Kenyans could have their lion, and every person who visits Kenya would love to see the lion.

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