

GLOBAL PUBLIC DIPLOMACY



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GLOBAL PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **GLOBAL PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

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This thesis argues that states pursue public diplomacy policies at the national and global levels since they seek to achieve their own diverse self-interests regarding their foreign policy activities. In order to discuss this argument, the thesis seeks to explore various cases in which public diplomacy is practiced differently. In this respect, the cases of the United States of America, Britain, China and Turkey have been analyzed. The thesis demonstrates that states increasingly tend to use public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool in order to promote their national interests especially when they have to justify their foreign policy activities. This thesis has six main chapters. The first chapter is the introduction. In each of the following chapters, the cases of the US, Britain, China and Turkey are discussed in relation to their public diplomacy, respectively. And, finally the sixth chapter is the conclusion.

**Keywords:** Public Diplomacy, US, Britain, China, Turkey

## ÖZ

### KÜRESEL KAMU DİPLOMASİSİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Bu tez, devletlerin dış politika faaliyetleriyle ilgili kendi çıkarlarına olan ilgilerini elde etmek istediklerinden, ulusal ve küresel düzeyde kamu diplomasisi politikalarını sürdürdüklerini savunmaktadır. Bu argümanı tartışmak için tez, kamu diplomasisinin farklı şekilde uygulandığı çeşitli durumları araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, İngiltere, Çin ve Türkiye vakaları analiz edilmiştir. Tez, devletlerin, özellikle dış politika faaliyetlerini haklı çıkarmak zorunda kaldıklarında, ulusal ve güvenlik çıkarlarını teşvik etmek için kamu diplomasisini dış politika aracı olarak kullanma eğiliminde olduklarını göstermektedir. Bu tez altı ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm giriş bölümüdür. Aşağıdaki bölümlerin her birinde sırasıyla ABD, Britain, China ve Türkiye vakaları kamu diplomasisi ile ilgili olarak tartışılmaktadır. Ve son olarak altıncı bölüm sonuç bölümüdür.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kamu Diplomasisi, ABD, Britanya, Çin, Türkiye



*To my nephew Poyraz...*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|                 |                                                                    |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>AA</b>       | Anadolu Agency                                                     |
| <b>AKP</b>      | Justice and Development Party                                      |
| <b>ASEAN</b>    | Association of Southeast Asian Nations                             |
| <b>BATF</b>     | Britain Abroad Task Force                                          |
| <b>BATF</b>     | Britain Abroad Task Force                                          |
| <b>BBC</b>      | British Broadcasting Corporation                                   |
| <b>BBG</b>      | Broadcasting Board of Governors                                    |
| <b>CCP</b>      | Communist Party of China                                           |
| <b>CIIs</b>     | Confucius Institutes                                               |
| <b>CPAFCC</b>   | Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries |
| <b>CPI</b>      | Committee on Public Information                                    |
| <b>CPIFA</b>    | Chinese People's Institutes of Foreign Affairs                     |
| <b>CPPCC</b>    | Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference                 |
| <b>ECA</b>      | Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs                         |
| <b>EU</b>       | European Union                                                     |
| <b>FCO</b>      | Foreign & Commonwealth Office                                      |
| <b>FER</b>      | Fundamental Expenditure Review                                     |
| <b>HIV/AIDS</b> | Human Immunodeficiency Virus                                       |
| <b>IBB</b>      | International Broadcasting Bureau                                  |
| <b>IIP</b>      | Bureau of International Information Programs                       |
| <b>MFA</b>      | Ministry of Foreign Affairs                                        |
| <b>NATO</b>     | North Atlantic Treaty Organization                                 |
| <b>PA</b>       | Bureau of Public Affairs                                           |
| <b>PDSB</b>     | Public Diplomacy Strategy Board                                    |
| <b>PKK</b>      | Kurdistan Workers Party                                            |
| <b>R/PSO</b>    | Office of Private Sector Outreach                                  |
| <b>SARFT</b>    | State Administration for Radio, Film and Television                |
| <b>SCIO</b>     | State Council Information Office                                   |

|               |                                                        |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>SCIO</b>   | State Council Information Office                       |
| <b>SIIO</b>   | State Information Internet Office                      |
| <b>TİKA</b>   | Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency            |
| <b>TRT</b>    | Turkish Radio and Television Corporation               |
| <b>UK</b>     | United Kingdom                                         |
| <b>UN</b>     | United Nations                                         |
| <b>UNDP</b>   | United Nations Development Programme                   |
| <b>UNICEF</b> | United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund |
| <b>UNSC</b>   | United Nations Security Council                        |
| <b>US/USA</b> | United States of America                               |
| <b>USIA</b>   | United States Information Agency                       |
| <b>USSR</b>   | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics                    |
| <b>VOA</b>    | Voice of America                                       |
| <b>VSO</b>    | Voluntary Services Overseas                            |
| <b>WMDs</b>   | Weapons of Mass Destruction                            |
| <b>YEI</b>    | Yunus Emre Institute                                   |
| <b>YETEC</b>  | Yunus Emre Turkish Education and Teaching Centers      |
| <b>YTB</b>    | Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities    |

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This thesis aims to examine that states pursue public diplomacy policies at the national and global levels since they seek to achieve their own diverse self-interests regarding their foreign policy objectives. One of the most important issues that states have to take into consideration is how foreign publics regard foreign policy actions of a state when they pursue various policies in other countries. And, perception of a state in the eyes of foreign audiences shapes attitude of foreign publics towards that country. Therefore, states have to build a positive national image by means of an effective public diplomacy. In other words, public diplomacy can be considered as an instrument which makes it easier for a country to conduct foreign policy in other countries. This is so because, in the 21st century, governments have to persuade not only domestic public but also publics of other countries in relation to their actions. For that reason, especially in the 21st century, public opinion has gained significance more than ever and public diplomacy has become one of the most important subjects of academic circles as well as policy-makers.

#### **1.1. Scope and Objective**

The principal objective of this thesis is to analyze how states use public diplomacy as a foreign policy method, usually for national and security concerns, and also for the purpose of ideological intentions. In this thesis, cases of the United States, Britain, China and Turkey have been analyzed. All of these four countries have their own public diplomacy policies. However, while the Britain and the US have been pursuing public diplomacy for a relatively longer time, China and especially Turkey as emerging economic powers have been implementing public diplomacy

policies for a shorter time than the former two. So, aforementioned countries' public diplomacy policies are debated in relation to the objective of their national interests. In this way, it is aimed to find the answers to the following questions below:

- 1) In which ways and for which purposes do the aforementioned countries implement their public diplomacy policies?
- 2) How are the public diplomacy actors employed by the countries in question with regards to their public diplomacy policies?

## 1.2. Literature Review

Public Diplomacy (PD) based on soft power is a new type of diplomacy that was formed in the era of communication. Public diplomacy is based on the relation between soft power, diplomacy, public opinion and civil society, which makes it a "new art of diplomacy." In a new international system which is shaped by globalization, in order to adjust to changing global politics, states have developed public diplomacy. Therefore, public diplomacy can be described as the 21st century diplomacy which is based on not hard power methods but soft power methods.<sup>1</sup>

Evolution of the information society has brought about significant changes with regards to world politics. In this sense, Lee Edwars, in his work called **Mediapolitik: How the Mass Media Have Transformed World Politics**, claims that information technologies has created a new way of attaining power for states. Therefore, media is regarded as one of the most important tools of states in world politics.<sup>2</sup> In a similar way, John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, in their work called **The Emergence of Noopolitik: Toward an American Information Strategy**, state that information technologies has produced a new type of politics in world

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<sup>1</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards, Lee. 2001. *Mediapolitik, How the Mass Media Have Transformed Word Politics*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press.

politics.<sup>3</sup> As for David Bollier, in his work called **The Rise of Netpolitik: How the Internet is Changing International Politics and Diplomacy**, with his concept of “netpolitik”, explains how a new type of diplomacy based on soft power will get ahead of the concept of realpolitik in world politics.<sup>4</sup> It is also important to add that Philip Cerny’s work called **Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism** states that globalization and developments in information technologies has created a new understanding of power and diplomacy and that world has become a place where the importance of public opinion is gaining more and more importance in terms of international politics.<sup>5</sup>

In the discipline of International Relations, the concept of power is always associated with the theory of Realism.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, it is safe to state that Realism is an International Relations theory of power.<sup>7</sup> According to the realists who advocate one of the major theories in International Relations, states, which are the primary actors of the international relations, are all in the pursuit of their main national interest which is survival in a conflictual state-centric world. As survival is the main state interest, maximizing their power is the key to survival in the anarchical international system. In order to ensure their security and survival, states must maximize their hard power capabilities and must not trust any other actor or international organization, which is called self-help as a principle of action. Although there are several types of realisms, the idea mentioned above is

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<sup>3</sup> Arquilla, John, and David Ronfeldt. 1999. *The Emergence of Noopolitik: Toward An American Information Strategy*. Santa Monica California: RAND National Defence Research Institute.

<sup>4</sup> Bollier, David. 2003. *The Rise of Netpolitik: How the Internet Is Changing International Politics and Diplomacy: A Report of the Eleventh Annual Aspen Institute Roundtable on Information Technology*. Washington, D.C: Aspen Institute, Communications And Society Program.

<sup>5</sup> Cerny, Philip G. 2011. *Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, Michael C. 2010. *Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

<sup>7</sup> Schmidt, Brian C. 2005. “Competing Realist Conceptions of Power.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33 (3): 523–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298050330031401>.

the main promise of the realist tradition.<sup>8</sup> In a word, power is located in the center of relations between states.

The pioneers of Classical Realism Thucydides and Machievelli claimed that power politics stems from human nature which is bad and international politics alike is also power politics.<sup>9</sup> In similar way, According to E.H.Carr, power is an integral part of international politics and the reason why it is so is the pursuit of security in power politics. Therefore, power becomes indispensable for a government to govern. Carr continues by dividing political power in the international arena into three categories, which are military power, economic power and, most importantly for the argument of this thesis, power over public opinion. He describes the art of persuasion as the modern weapon of leaders and adds that use of power over public opinion, which also can be read as use of public diplomacy, as a foreign policy instrument that has been developing since the beginning of modern times. Therefore, public diplomacy activities abroad are used for the sake of national interests. Ideological purposes and national interests cloak themselves in public diplomacy activities aimed at publics of other nations.<sup>10</sup>

As for Hans Morgenthau, his ontological starting point to try to understand the origins of world politics which he defines as power politics and competition among different states is human nature. Therefore, for him, states have always been power-seeking, inevitably. In this framework, there are eight important factors of power, which are geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military readiness, population, national character, national moral and finally diplomacy.<sup>11</sup> In this sense, it can be considered that conceptual framework of

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<sup>8</sup> Baylis, John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. *The Globalization of World Politics : An Introduction to International Relations*. 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Burchill, Scott. 2005. *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Hallett Carr, and Michael Cox. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939 : An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

public diplomacy was formed by Carr and Morgenthau who defined public opinion as a power factor. In other words, it would be true to say that soft power and public diplomacy have a place in Classical Realism.<sup>12</sup> Later, in 2004, Joseph Nye would conceptualize what Carr said about indivisibility of power. So, Morgenthau and Carr conceptualized power by including non-material factors as well as material ones. Accordingly, diplomacy in the framework of political realism is regarded as “the art of bringing the different elements of the national power to bear with maximum effect upon those points in the international situation which concern national interest most directly.”<sup>13</sup>

As for Structural Realists, they claim that states seek power because the international system is anarchical. Thomas Hobbes, who is regarded as the first Structural Realist, claimed that there is no centralized authority above sovereign states unlike domestic society. According to Hobbes, organizing principle of international realm is anarchy which means the absence of a centralized authority above the main units which are states in international relations.<sup>14</sup> Kenneth Waltz inspired by the ideas of Hobbes argues that anarchical nature of international system causes to power struggle between states. Waltz also defines the concept of power based on seven factors which are population and size of geography, resources, economic capacity, armement and endurance, political stability and competence.<sup>15</sup> To conclude, from the Realist perspective, world politics is power politics.

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<sup>11</sup> Morgenthau, Hans J. 1967. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Knopf.

<sup>12</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>13</sup> Pashakhanlou H. Arash “Realism and Fear in International Relations: Morgenthau, Waltz and Mearsheimer Reconsidered.” Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Johnson, Curtis. "The Hobbesian Conception of Sovereignty and Aristotle's Politics." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46, no. 3 (1985): 327-47. doi:10.2307/2709471.

As for Soft Power, it was first coined by Joseph S. Nye in 1990 in his work called **Boun to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power**<sup>16</sup> and also in the same year in his article called “*Soft Power*”<sup>17</sup> as a response to the claims that the US power had been declining since 1980s. Later in 2004, Nye, in his work called **Power in a Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization**<sup>18</sup>, stated that in the 21st century and era of communion and information the importance of soft power has been growing more and more. In his other works like **The Paradox of American Power: Why the World’s Only Super Power Can’t Go It Alone**<sup>19</sup>, **Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics**<sup>20</sup>, **The Powers to Lead**<sup>21</sup> and **The Future of Power**<sup>22</sup>, Nye further developed the concept of soft power. Nye based the concept of soft power on ideas and values<sup>23</sup>. Besides, Nye built an analogy between human relations and relations between states in terms of attraction, admiration and modeling.<sup>24</sup> According to Nye, what makes soft power work is attraction which is also based on social norms and values. So, Nye’s views

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<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Neal Waltz. 2010. *Theory of International Politics*. Long Grove (Illinois, Estados Unidos) Waveland Press.

<sup>16</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 1990. *Boun to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.

<sup>17</sup> Nye, Joseph S. "Soft Power." *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153-71. doi:10.2307/1148580.

<sup>18</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2005. *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization*. London: Routledge.

<sup>19</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2002. *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World’s Only Super Power Can’t Go It Alone*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>20</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

<sup>21</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2010. *The Powers to Lead*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>22</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2012. *The Future of Power*. New York: Public Affairs.

<sup>23</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

<sup>24</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2012. *The Future of Power*. New York: Public Affairs.

shows that soft power has structural, relational, historical and cultural factors.<sup>25</sup> In this sense, soft power as an attractive power is the ability to make others do what you want them to do.

On the other hand, Nye presents soft power behaviours as a new type of diplomacy. He defines Public Diplomacy as a method and tool which sets soft power in motion. For Nye, for nations, power is described in terms of ability to obtain what a country seeks. However, the role of public diplomacy here is not to get the desired outcomes by coercion, force or payment, namely by the use of military and economic weapons, but by the means of attraction and persuasion based on culture, values and soft power policies. Therefore, public diplomacy has a power which is attractive, which has the potential of producing desired political results for a country in relation to its foreign policy objectives.<sup>26</sup> In a word, public diplomacy is soft power method to turn culture and values which are soft power resources into politics. Namely, Public Diplomacy is to make use of soft power resources in diplomacy. And, by means of public diplomacy, states mobilize their soft power.<sup>27</sup>

As it implies by its name, Public Diplomacy is a type of diplomacy which focuses on public opinion as its target audience. Jan Melissen, who is a prominent name in the field of public diplomacy, also defines public diplomacy as engagement with public.<sup>28</sup> Like Melissen, Nancy Snow, in **Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy**, also describes public diplomacy as public-to-public relations and treats public opinion as the most important factor of public diplomacy.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2012. *The Future of Power*. New York: Public Affairs. S84

<sup>26</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft Power : The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

<sup>27</sup> Nye, Joseph S. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 94-109. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097996>.

<sup>28</sup> Melissen, Jan. 2013. "Public Diplomacy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Likewise, György Szondi<sup>30</sup> , Geoffrey Cowan, Nicholas Cull<sup>31</sup>, and Kathy Fitzpatrick<sup>32</sup> also defines public diplomacy in the same way. Public opinion, with regards to public diplomacy, is regarded as a concept related to foreign policy and diplomacy. In this context, public opinion is treated as an important factor for foreign policy making and diplomacy.<sup>33</sup> In other words, it could be stated that public diplomacy is a policy developed by and for states to enable them to adopt to changing dynamics of global system like media, public opinion and civil society.<sup>34</sup>

### 1.3. Argument

The main argument of this thesis is that contrary to the views of some scholars and policy makers who argue that soft power primarily seeks to build relationship, to generate mutual understanding and to enhance cultural dialogues between both different states and publics, public diplomacy is rather a way of instrumentalization of soft power as a force to secure a fertile environment for states in order to easily achieve their foreign policy objectives by granting public opinion support and legitimacy to their foreign policy actions in disguise of the former argument above. In this respect, the cases of the United States of America, Britain, China and Turkey have been analyzed.

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<sup>29</sup> Snow, Nancy, and Philip M Taylor. 2009. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York ; London: Routledge.

<sup>30</sup> Szondi, György. 2009. "Central and Eastern European Public Diplomacy: A Transitional Perspectives on National Reputation Management." In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. Routledge.

<sup>31</sup> Cowan, Geoffrey, and Nicholas J. Cull. 2008. *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.

<sup>32</sup> Fitzpatrick, Kathy R. 2010. *The Future of U.S. Public Diplomacy: An Uncertain Fate*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

<sup>33</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>34</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

#### 1.4. Methodology

During the research process, web and library resources including books, academic journals, newspaper archives, speeches of historical important figures, official website databases and reports of governments and ministries were surveyed and referred. In addition to that, in the analysis of the each cases of this thesis, the Case Study methodology was utilized, which, during the process, provided the logic to understand and analyze complex issues by applying the questions “why” and “how” to find answers to some important questions related to the each case. Yin defines the Case Study methodology as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.”<sup>35</sup> Likewise, Tellis also states that case study “helps to explain both the process and outcome of a situation through complete observation, reconstruction and analysis of the cases under investigation.”<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, in order to analyze the cases of the four countries from four different continents, which are respectively the U.S., Britain, China and Turkey, data collection from various books and documents was made. The U.S, as the hegemonic power of the world since the end of the WWI, was first analyzed in order to understand why and how it had started public diplomacy activities. As for Britain, with its propaganda operations dating back to older times than the U.S., was considered as a country that needed to be analyzed. China and Turkey, as two emerging regional powers, have also designed public diplomacy strategies that enable them to achieve their foreign policy objectives.

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<sup>35</sup> Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Tellis, Winston. “Introduction to Case Study.” (1997). *The Qualitative Report*, Volume 3, Number 2. (<https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol3/iss2/>)

### **1.5. Organization of the Thesis**

In this thesis, there are six chapters. The first chapter is the Introduction Part which consists of the Scope and Objective, Literature Review, Argument and Organization of the Thesis.

The second, the third, the fourth and the fifth chapters analyze the cases of the U.S. Britain, China and Turkey in relation to public diplomacy. The positions of these states with regards to public diplomacy are examined under Introduction, Historical Background, Public Diplomacy of the country in question and Foreign Policy Making and finally Conclusion. The last chapter concludes the thesis with a general analysis and observations.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter discusses the US's attitude towards public diplomacy as a contributor to foreign policy interests. In terms of public diplomacy, the US is an important case to debate because it is the country with the hegemonic power in the world. Therefore, the strong, most probably the strongest position of the US in the international arena makes it necessary to dig into the aim, scope and the strategies of the US public diplomacy.

#### **2.2. Historical Background**

This part is divided into two sub-titles, which are respectively “Before 9/11” and “After 9/11 as the tragic event of 9/11 constitutes a defining moment in terms of the U.S. Public Diplomacy as well as many other issues.

In this part, it is examined that the U.S. Public Diplomacy which had been long ignored since the end of the Cold War was re-awakened by a “wake up” call that metaphorically refers to the alarmed situation of the U.S. officials in the wake of the Twin Towers attack.

##### **2.2.1. Before 9/11**

It would be correct to trace U.S public diplomacy legacy back to the First World War. Like for each country included in the war, conflicts of the war brought out

the essential need of public diplomacy / propaganda response for the US as well.<sup>37</sup> It was so to a great extent because of the fact that the nature of the war was almost nothing like the previous wars seen by humanity. It was a “total war”, which implies by its name that not only military, economic, industrial resources of the nation were employed in the war, but also the people as a warfare resource was involved in the war.<sup>38</sup> Unlike any war fought before that time, every ordinary citizen of the population, almost all the men and women, had to contribute to the nation’s efforts in the war in some form of help, and, therefore their lives were directly affected by the war. “In fact, the people themselves became the new front line”, wars were not regarded as “the sport of kings and nobles” anymore. “It was waged not only against the enemy’s armies, but also against the civilian population, and on all fronts – military, economy and propagandistic.”<sup>39</sup> Having mentioned the involment of regular citizens as a military asset in the war, it may be more important to state that the popular involvement of the society in the war mostly took place in psychological sense which started to constitute one of the most important pillars of the power of a nation in war in the twentieth century.<sup>40</sup> Additonally, it was such a meaningul coincidence that in the same century humanity met the modern mass media. Over time means of mass communication, press, telegraph, radio and TV became more available and accessible to society.<sup>41</sup> What it meant for a government’s efforts for war can be best explained in the sense of mass communication’s effects on public opinion. So, in this situation, it is easily concluded that the occurrence of the total war and the communications revolution

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<sup>37</sup> Snow, Nancy. 2005. “U.S. Public Diplomacy: Its History, Problems, and Promise.” In *Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion: New and Classic Essays*, 229. Sage.

<sup>38</sup> Strachan, Hew. "The War to End All Wars? Lessons of World War I Revisited." *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 1 (2003): 148-55. doi:10.2307/20033436.

<sup>39</sup> Demm, Eberhard. 1993. “Propaganda and Caricature in the First World War.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 28 (1): 163–92. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/260806.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab96e7e455d704664e6c4332ec1cbfd43>.

<sup>40</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

<sup>41</sup> WILLIAMS, DAVID. *Media, Memory, and the First World War*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt80wqv>.

in the same century paved the way for the awareness of public opinion's importance and effect in wars. The lesson was taken from the experiences in the war that modern media of the century with its ability to shape public opinion was the essential asset that had the power to determine the outcomes of wars between major powers. "Within a decade, the lessons learned from that conflict were to be put to the test in the bloodiest struggle yet experienced by mankind."<sup>42</sup> New conflicts were marching on the way to turn into a second world war. But now nations, which took the necessary lessons from the previous one, were more prepared to affect the public opinion. This war was fought not only with the help of military capabilities but also with the capability to shape both domestic public opinion and foreign public opinion. Therefore, the Committee on Public Information, also known as The Creel Committee, was founded in April 1917, under the direction of George Creel. The CPI's overseas duty was promotion of American democracy suggesting that for America it was a war for peace, freedom and justice not only for American people but for all peoples even including Germans who were being oppressed under ruthless regimes of autocrats.<sup>43</sup> In 1917 President Wilson put that important task in words as follows: "We have no quarrel with German people. We have no feelings towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It is not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war."<sup>44</sup> Hence, the duty was to have an impact on German people's opinion regarding their Kaiser and leaders. So, in that way, the US government tried to make it clear that the reason why the US was involved in that war was to bring democracy to the "Old World".<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

<sup>43</sup> Larson, Cedric, and James R. Mock. "The Lost Files of the Creel Committee of 1917-19." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1939): 5-29. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2744739>.

<sup>44</sup> April. "Wilson's War Message to Congress -- April 2, 1917." Khan Academy, 2017. <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history/euro-hist/american-entry-world-war-i/a/wilsons-war-message-to-congress-april-2-1917>.

<sup>45</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

On the other hand, the American motion picture industry was on the rise to contribute to war-time propaganda of the government with its department called War Cooperation Committee of the Motion Picture Industry in which worldwide famous stars like Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford and Willian Hart appeared in films.<sup>46</sup> Having taken its great success into consideration, the government decided to hand over the film propaganda to its successful partner Hollywood.<sup>47</sup> The achievement of the US wartime propaganda both in lifting the morale of the Allied and in demoralizing the enemy cannot be appreciated without calculating Hollywood effect or the American Motion Picture Industry's contributions. It had a world-wide effect on global public opinion. As Roosevelt stated: "The motion Picture industry could be the most powerful instrument of propaganda in the world, whether it tries to be or not."<sup>48</sup>

So, as of 1917, "propaganda became a fact of everyday life"<sup>49</sup>. Until the Second World War, in the history of warfare the governments had not been engaged in such big propaganda campaigns which were aimed at societies like artillery of political ideologies. With the development of the communications revolution, interfering with public opinion of other countries for victory became much easier and also indispensable for foreign policy making.<sup>50</sup>

With the post-WWII conflicts evolving into a new type of war called Cold War, a cold battle between two super powers started. That was the clash of two opposite

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<sup>46</sup> Klawans, Stuart. "FILM; How the First World War Changed Movies Forever." *The New York Times*, November 19, 2000. <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/19/movies/film-how-the-first-world-war-changed-movies-forever.html>.

<sup>47</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

<sup>48</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

<sup>49</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

<sup>50</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

ideologies dividing the world into two for the next four decades. From then on, the world was going to listen to the US promoting itself as the free world in contrast to the slave world, as a democratic and liberal way of life opposed to communism. The world almost turned into a kind of place one could only make sense of it through lenses of communism or anti-communism.<sup>51</sup> In 1948 the Truman Doctrine summarized it with the most appropriate words from the American point of view: “One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of personal liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political repression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and repression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and suppression of personal freedoms.”<sup>52</sup> Therefore, one can safely describe that notorious battle between the USSR and the USA as war of imagery and words, an abundance of imagery and words to rally world public opinion towards their own camp. An environment, where the one who had the greater capability to control world public opinion would be the most likely to win the war, had been already created. In such an environment, propaganda could do nothing but flourish.<sup>53</sup> The Americans were propaganda-fighting both on the domestic front and the international front. Regarding the international front, in 1948 the Smith-Mundt Act called for the war information services to ‘promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of United States and the people of other countries.’<sup>54</sup> The Americans called it “public diplomacy” which included various activities like introducing American literature and culture to world through the instrument of movies,

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<sup>51</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur. "Origins of the Cold War." *Foreign Affairs* 46, no. 1 (1967): 22-52. doi:10.2307/20039280.

<sup>52</sup> “American Rhetoric: Harry S. Truman - ‘The Truman Doctrine.’” *Americanrhetoric.com*, 2019. <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/harrystrumantrumandocctrine.html>.

<sup>53</sup> Barnhisel, Greg, and Catherine Turner, eds. *Pressing the Fight: Print, Propaganda, and the Cold War*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vk8tb>.

<sup>54</sup> Snow, Nancy. “The Smith-Mundt Act of 1948.” *Peace Review* 10, no. 4 (December 1998): 619–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659808426214>.

theatres, orchestras, visiting speakers and other strategic activities such as promotion of American language teaching and student exchange programmes. Within the context of American cultural activities abroad, exhibitions played an important role. In order to display what they were consuming abundantly and highlight what the rest had been missing; Americans conducted various exhibitions in different communist countries. For example, in 1959, at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, Russians saw cosmetics, clothing, televisions, kitchens, and automobiles and prefabricated suburban houses that Americans had been enjoying but at the same time they had been missing in their communist lifestyle. The objective behind the exhibition was to make the Soviet people feel dissatisfied with the share of the Russian pie which they received. The Officials in the State Department explained the success of the exhibition as “the most productive single psychological warfare ever launched by the US in any communist country”. There were also other exhibitions conducted in West Berlin, which was then not separated from the East Berlin yet, and sponsored by the Marshall Plan. In those exhibitions, domestic consumer goods were used as a propaganda weapon by the US State Department. By using the exhibitions strategically, Americans did not have to wait for television to be available in East German homes to show off the Western consumer lifestyle. Exhibitions revealed the Marshall Plan’s social contract contrasting what Americans had got with what the communists were deprived of.<sup>55</sup> The Americans tried to create a positive perception about themselves and thus to gain the sympathy of the world. Before that, the US had already been enjoying the world-wide attractiveness of American products like Coca-Cola, Levi jeans, McDonalds and American music already, not to mention Hollywood films which were as Walter Wanger expressed in 1950 a “Marshall Plan of Ideas” in 115 countries in the world.<sup>56</sup> Thereupon, in a world where image meant power, cultural activities designed to have an influence on world public opinion were of political significance. Wanger again had a saying about it: ‘Donald Duck as World

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<sup>55</sup> Castillo, Greg. "Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany." *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 261-88. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30036324>.

<sup>56</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>.

Diplomat!'. Public diplomacy ambassador, better fits maybe; and, Hollywood movies as "ideas ambassadors".<sup>57</sup> However, one could not expect that such cultural activities would produce immediate desired results. Therefore, in order to counter any kind of misinformation about the US policies, especially the ones coming from the Soviets, Americans needed a strategy with more urgent effects. For that purpose in 1950 the Voice of America was founded. In the following year, a Psychological Strategy Board to serve as an adviser body for the National Security Council was created by the President Eisenhower. In 1953, USIA as an agency separate from the State Department was founded.<sup>58</sup> The VOA started to work as the radio arm of USIA with the goal "to multiply and psychological deterrents to communist aggression".<sup>59</sup> Now it would not be a good idea for the US foreign policy makers to operate independent from propaganda warfare strategies. Eisenhower reflected that: "We are now conducting a cold war. That cold war must have some objective, otherwise it would be senseless. It is conducted in the belief that if there is no war, if two systems of government are allowed to live side by side, that ours, because of its greater appeal to men everywhere, to mankind, in the long run will win out. That it will defeat all forms of dictatorial governments because of its greater appeal to the human soul, the human heart, the human mind."<sup>60</sup>

Another important part of the propaganda war between the US and the Soviets was the space race. President Kennedy immediately realized that space race would be another asset to reinforce the positive perception about the US abroad. For that end, he started a new American space program that would outshine the success of

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<sup>57</sup> Wanger, Walter F. "Donald Duck and Diplomacy." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1950): 443-52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2746000>.

<sup>58</sup> Nicholas John Cull. *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Uttaro, Ralph A. "The Voices of America in International Radio Propaganda." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 45, no. 1 (1982): 103-22. doi:10.2307/1191297.

<sup>60</sup> Eisenhower, Dwight, and D Washington. "The 'Eisenhower Doctrine' on the Middle East," 1957. <http://insidethecoldwar.org/sites/default/files/documents/Eisenhower%20Doctrine%20on%20the%20Middle%20East%20January%205%2C%201957.pdf>.

Sputnik I. It worked well; Americans won the extra-terrestrial competition when Neil Armstrong landed on the moon in 1969.<sup>61</sup> And, When Ronald Reagan, known as ‘the Great Communicator’ by many, advertised the launching of the Strategic Defense Initiative to grant defence against a possible Soviet nuclear attack, this announcement contributed a lot to the US government’s overseas propaganda efforts, as well as the domestic propaganda, to persuade the Russians and the Americans too that the threat was real and the US was ahead of the race.<sup>62</sup>

With the end of the Cold War, the importance attached to public diplomacy started to diminish. The fall of the famous or the notorious wall Berlin Wall led to a kind of thinking about the role public diplomacy that “now that the Cold War was over and the USA won the war and there was not threat of the Soviet anymore, there was no as much need for public diplomacy/propaganda as there had been during the war”. Therefore, the government started to regard public diplomacy as relic of Cold War which was not urgent anymore as there was no more an ideological battle to fight and win. It was “the end of history”<sup>63</sup> where the United States became the sole super power of the world with its ideals like democracy and liberal economy. Therefore, commercial engagements and expanding markets became a more important issue for the Clinton administration.<sup>64</sup> For that reason, USIA activities were reduced together with the resources given to the agency in 1990s, which over time reached to the point where USIA was terminated as required by the Foreign Affairs Agencies Consolidation Act of 1998 and its public diplomacy responsibilities were transformed to the hands of the State Department

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<sup>61</sup> Kay, W. D. "John F. Kennedy and the Two Faces of the U.S. Space Program, 1961-63." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (1998): 573-86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27551902>.

<sup>62</sup> Weisberg, Jacob. "Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev and Disarmament." *The Atlantic*. The Atlantic, 2016. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/01/ronald-reagans-disarmament-dream/422244/>.

<sup>63</sup> Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and The Last Man*. New York: Perennial, 1992

<sup>64</sup> Snow, Nancy. 2005. "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Its History, Problems, and Promise." In *Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion: New and Classic Essays*, 233. Sage.

as a part of post-Cold War reorganization.<sup>65</sup> It was considered reasonable to dispossess USIA's dependency as public diplomacy activities ceased to constitute a strategic importance for the US foreign policy. Therefore, USIA that did not have the Cold War as a justification for its existence and functioning anymore started to engage in new issues like trade and economic liberalization.<sup>66</sup> With those steps taken by the US government, American public diplomacy would have to face a downfall and the country itself would not be able to exactly figure out its role and place for foreign audiences.<sup>67</sup>

However, the flow of history and unfolding of some events would make the US realize that paying such a little attention to public diplomacy was a big mistake that was going to cost them a much greater focus on public diplomacy in foreign-policy making and actions in near future. It was a strategic mistake to put public diplomacy in the back of dusty drawer with garbaged files of the Cold War time.

### **2.2.2. After 9/11**

The US came to realization of the mistake they had made when the Twin Towers were hit by terrorists. They were awakened by that tragic consequence of, as some argue, the lack of public diplomacy policy. That attack was a clear indication that the long-ignored public diplomacy for the foreign audiences had some important far-reaching outcomes. It gave the lesson that there was a problem concerning the US image especially in the Arab Muslim world and they must mobilize the frozen public diplomacy activities in order to effectively communicate with the foreign publics of Muslim Arab world and to change the country's deteriorating image.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Nakamura, Kennon H., and Matthew C. Weed. 2009. "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues." *Congressional Research Service*, November 18, 2009.

<sup>66</sup> Nakamura, Kennon H., and Matthew C. Weed. 2009. "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues." *Congressional Research Service*, November 18, 2009.

<sup>67</sup> Wallin, Matthew. 2012. "The New Public Diplomacy Imperative." *American Security Project*, September 2012.

After the 9/11 terror attacks, the question “Why do they hate us?” came to the fore in the most urgent agenda of America. It shocked the Americans that a group of terrorist came from several hundreds mile away to kill them.<sup>69</sup> The trauma was followed by the realization that there was something problematic in the Arab and Islamic world concerning the USA and especially the national security of the country. There was a feeling of hate and rage towards America. But, there must have been a reason for such a powerful feeling. It was agreed by the majority of the US officials that the reason was the worldwide poor image of America that had been in decline in recent years, especially in the Arab Middle East region. After Americans had found out the reason, the next step was to consider the causes of such a negative perceptions about themselves across the globe with the Middle East being regarded the priority region for the US as the threat was rooted in that region.<sup>70</sup> What they finally recognized was that having attached such a little importance to the public diplomacy of the country since the end of Cold War paid off in the worst way. The world was not fully embracing them and they were not appreciating their ideals and policies. Americans realized that they failed to sell themselves to the world. Especially the Arab-Israeli conflict had long been stirring up negative sentiments against the USA among Arabs and Muslims all over the world.<sup>71</sup> Only to crown it all, the anti-American sentiments, the US started military operations in Afghanistan in 2001 and then in Iraq and invaded the two countries. The invasion of Iraq was the last straw for the international public opinion. All the sympathy and support for America was now gone. Instead, more and more global discontent was rising up leading to anti-American and anti-war protests around the

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<sup>68</sup> Nakamura, Kennon H., and Matthew C. Weed. 2009. “U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues.” *Congressional Research Service*, November 18, 2009.

<sup>69</sup> Powell, Alvin. ““Why Do They Hate Us?”” *Harvard Gazette*. *Harvard Gazette*, September 9, 2011. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2011/09/why-do-they-hate-us/>.

<sup>70</sup> El-Nawawy, Mohammed. “US Public Diplomacy in the Arab World: The News Credibility of Radio Sawa and Television Alhurra in Five Countries.” *Global Media and Communication* 2, no. 2 (2006): 185–205.

<sup>71</sup> Meierrieks, Daniel, and Thomas Gries. ““Pay for It Heavily’: Does U.S. Support for Israel Lead to Anti-American Terrorism?”” *Defence and Peace Economics*, December 28, 2018, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2018.1560558>.

world. The more America took military action, the more the country was isolated in the eyes of international public opinion. As expressed by the Council of Foreign Relations in its July 2012 report America's image problem was not only regional but also it was global. Americans were seen as "arrogant, self-indulgent, hypocritical, inattentive, and unwilling or unable to engage in cross-cultural dialogue. However, for the US government, the most important concern was that it was the Middle East/Conflict Area rather than Europe or other parts of the world as that region constituted the most serious problem regarding the national security of the USA.<sup>72</sup>

### **2.3. The US Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Making**

Having looked at the ruined Twin Towers in Manhattan, the US authorities tried much to puzzle out what hit them, why it hit them and what respond should be given to those who hit them. The question "Why do they hate us?" began to pop up in Americans' minds. The answer to that question was found out to be the fact that the negative image of America and misperceptions about the country in the Middle East region, especially among Arabs, caused such a serious domestic consequence in the USA. It was a fact that the troubled image of US in that region constituted a real national security threat.<sup>73</sup> After that, public diplomacy activities as an instrument to effectively communicate with the Arab Muslim populations became a priority for the US government. If the root cause of the event was about the dismal picture of the US in the minds of Muslim Arabs, the foreign policy towards them must be shaped in accordance with a well-designed public diplomacy strategy. The US government took a step to employ public diplomacy that was aimed to stop the terrorists from coming to their own home and to kill them. So, delivering the Washington's message to the Arab and Islamic world which was the primary target audience became the first goal of the US public diplomacy. In addition to that, promotion of the American values and the fight to prevent the

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<sup>72</sup> Zaharna, R. S. 2010. *Battles to Bridges: US Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy After 9/11*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>73</sup> Peterson, Peter G. "Public Diplomacy and the War on Terrorism." *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 5 (2002): 74–94.

terrorists' messages from spreading were regarded as other long-term priorities of the US public diplomacy.<sup>74</sup> However, the course of events did not develop in a desired way. After he expressed his thanks to the international community for their support after the Twin Towers attack in his United Nations speech on November 10, 2001, with his remarks "the time for sympathy has now passed; the time for action has now come" President Bush gave the signal that America was going to take a military action against its enemies.

9/11 was an important event for the USA in every respect but it was also an important international event which triggered other events at all levels. The first and the most important one of them could be safely argued to be the Bush doctrine: "The War on Terror". Bush described the attack with the remarks such as "the despicable, evil acts of terror" and according to him they were "acts of war". Therefore on September 20 Bush waged "the war on terror" which "will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated."

<sup>75</sup> The first military response of the Bush administration to 9/11 within the framework of the doctrine of War on Terror was the invasion of Afghanistan. The US invaded Afghanistan on the ground that the Taliban regime was supporting al-Qaeda, the terrorist group that organized the attack on the Twin Towers. The legal framework for the US for the invasion of Afghanistan was "self-defense" meaning, in that case, that al-Qaeda attacked the US and they defended themselves. However, there was no UN Resolution for the invasion leading the US to go to the NATO to invoke the Article 5 for the first time in the history of NATO. As result, other NATO members' accepted the invasion and supported the US in its war against al-Qaeda, the war on terror, by opening their air spaces, sending troops and forces or providing other services. However, the time would show that the invasion of Afghanistan would not be the only military action that the US army would take and the US military action would not be limited to Afghanistan. Bush, in his speech in UN, in January 2002, stated that the war on terror just began

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<sup>74</sup> Zaharna, R. S. 2010. *Battles to Bridges: US Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy After 9/11*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>75</sup> Bush, George. "Address to the Nation." November 2001.

which meant that the invasion of Afghanistan was just the beginning; the war on terror would continue. Nevertheless, the US did not receive the same support from the international community, especially from its allies for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 after when the perceptions about America began to deteriorate all over the world. This time America, which had had the majority of international support behind it for the invasion of Afghanistan, started to lose support. Global discontent with the USA started to increase.<sup>76</sup> But, with international support or not, America would not “hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise the right of self-defense by acting pre-emptively.” From the point of view of the US, 9/11 made the invasion of Iraq justifiable both domestically in the US and internationally. It was a “pre-emptive” war as the other dimension of the Bush doctrine was that although there was no imminent threat from Iraq, they assumed there could be a threat in near future. However the UN Charter did not allow the use of force as it was against the Charter by virtue of the Article 51, Chapter 7 ruling that in such a situation in the absence of imminent threat use of force could not be justified. Therefore, UNSC did not support the US for its war against Iraq. So, in order to justify the invasion, US asserted two claims about Iraq. Firstly, they showed the picture of 9/11 attackers meeting with Saddam Hussein and secondly they claimed that Iraq had WMDs by showing picture of WMDs production and also claimed that Iraq had links with al- Qaeda. Another aspect of the war on terrorism was the “Freedom Agenda” that would bring moderation and pro-Western democracy in the Arab Middle East region as claimed by the US government. US suggested that they needed to make long term responses and they should erase the causes of terrorism and find out how to deal with it. Additionally, the US government claims that they hated them because, they thought, they were repressive and non-democratic governments. As result of “Freedom Agenda”, Greater Middle East Initiative showed up. Within the context of the Greater Middle East Initiative, the US argued that things were horrible in the Middle East with dictators putting extreme repression on the people and added that if they got rid of the authoritative regimes; democracy would come and be the panacea to terrorism. So, for the US,

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<sup>76</sup> “American Public Diplomacy in the Islamic World.” Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project. Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project, April 2003. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2003/02/27/american-public-diplomacy-in-the-islamic-world/>.

the change of the current regime would be the best solution for the region and if necessary the US would topple them by force. Therefore, the US concluded that they needed to get rid of Iraqi regime and establish a democratic regime so that it would spill-over effect to the rest of the Middle East. That was called “New Conservatism” of the Bush administration which regarded itself as the policeman or the superman of the world. Based on those claims, the US went to the UN to get public opinion support however there happened no UN Resolution for the war. As response, the US stated that “Coalition of the Willing”, consisting of the countries that were supporting the US, would do the job. While America was doing its best to start the war in Iraq, the Pew Research Center showed that the international support and sympathy for American upon the tragic 9/11 events was replaced by a growing global discontent with the USA. American was steadily losing international public opinion support.<sup>77</sup> Increasing global objections to the war evolved into global anti-war movements against the USA. The first and the largest international anti-war protests and demonstrations were held against the US invasion of Iraq. More than 6 million anti-war protestors not believing the US’s claims that Iraq had links with the 9/11 attack joined together forming large crowds on the streets of from London to Tokyo to San Francisco.<sup>78</sup> Despite all the international objections, especially not having had the support of France, Germany and Russia, on March 20, the war in Iraq was started by the US air strikes in Baghdad, which brought NATO to its worst crisis in its history. That was when America began to lose in terms of its global image, which would Public Diplomacy more than a priority for the US efforts to justify its foreign policy actions.

After the military actions of the US in the Arab Middle East, troubled anti-American sentiments of the long-ignored audience of the Middle East region were

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<sup>77</sup> “How the United States Is Perceived in the Arab and Muslim Worlds.” Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project. Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project, April 2010. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2005/11/10/how-the-united-states-is-perceived-in-the-arab-and-muslim-worlds/>.

<sup>78</sup> Blumenthal, Paul. 2018. “The Largest Protest Ever Was 15 Years Ago. The Iraq War Isn’t Over. What Happened?” HuffPost Canada. HuffPost Canada. February 16, 2018. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/what-happened-to-the-antiwar-movement\\_n\\_5a860940e4b00bc49f424ecb](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/what-happened-to-the-antiwar-movement_n_5a860940e4b00bc49f424ecb).

even intensified. For many Muslims in the region, the Bush doctrine “war on terror” was not really war on terror but rather they thought it was a war on Islam or a war on Muslim countries in disguise. As the Bush administration and Americans changed their rhetoric from “terrorism” to “radical Islam” ,concerns among Muslim populations started to increase and the Islamic world more and more began to ask whether it was war on terror or war on Islam. In the beginning, many Arabs even considered that America had rightful reasons to combat against Taliban and al-Qaeda. However, over time the US government began to use the word “enemy” for those except from al- Qaeda too. Therefore, Muslims realized that the description of the enemy was not the same for them and for America and they themselves were also included in the description of the word enemy by Americans. For Muslims, America’s common denominator of the target was the Muslim countries. Therefore, many Muslims concluded that it was a full-fledged assault on Islam. Such sentiments resulted in that under the unifying umbrella of Islam Muslims from Indonesia to Pakistan to Morocco started anti-American demonstrations with negative sentiments against the country.<sup>79</sup> According to a poll conducted by John Zogby International in September 2003, the US image hit the rock bottom in the Arab and Islamic world as a consequence of the US foreign policy in the region. According to the previous studies while it had been only the American policies, not the American people, values, technology, science towards that Arab public opinion had been against, now it was America as a whole including everything American that Arabs and Muslims didn’t like. And, anti-American sentiment and anti-Bush sentiment started to be used interchangeably. Furthermore, Muslim public opinion regarded the war on terror as a war waged by the Western civilization against Islam. Therefore, anti-American sentiments did not remain inside the region, it spreaded to predominantly Muslim countries like Indonesia in the Far East and Nigeria in Africa, which was well expressed by a

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<sup>79</sup> Zaharna, R. S. 2010. *Battles to Bridges : US Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy After 9/11*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

research of Pew Research Center that “the bottom has fallen out of support for America in most of the Muslim world.”<sup>80</sup>

It is also very important to note that one of the most significant reason of Arabs’ opinions about America stemmed from the Israeli-Palestinian issue. For the majority of Muslims of the world this conflict was not only about Israel and Palestine. It was an important issue for the whole Islamic ummah. They considered the conflict as the cause of the all Islam nation. Therefore as they declared Israel as the occupier of the holy Arab lands, they also saw America as the architect of that situation, as the big brother standing by Israel. With that resentment against America, the US invasion of Iraq came as another source of anti-Americanism and further accelerated the negative opinions about the US. They continued to question the main motive of the invasion by critically asking if it was a war to bring freedom and democracy to their region or it was a fight to grasp the oil and hegemony in the region.<sup>81</sup>

## **2.4. The US Foreign Policy Actors**

### **2.4.1. The State Department**

After USIA was abolished by the Foreign Affairs Agencies Consolidation Act of 1998, the functions of USIA were transferred to the Secretary of State and Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy in the State Department was created. In addition to that, the Broadcasting Board of Governors was restructured as an independent entity. Therefore, the current structure of public diplomacy is different from the

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<sup>80</sup> Zaharna, R. S. 2010. *Battles to Bridges : US Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy After 9/11*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>81</sup> Ahmed, Nafeez. 2017. “Iraq Invasion Was about Oil | Nafeez Ahmed.” The Guardian. The Guardian. September 20, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/20/iraq-war-oil-resources-energy-peak-scarcity-economy>.

Cold War period and the organization of public diplomacy was reformed by the State Department with the aim of better communicating with the foreign publics.<sup>82</sup>

#### **2.4.2. Public Diplomacy Organization in Washington**

In the State Department, the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs plans, funds and implements public diplomacy projects and programs. There are three bureaus and two offices that report to the Under Secretary, which are the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Bureau of International Information Programs, the Bureau of Public Affairs, the Office of Policy, Planning and Resources and finally the Office of Private Sector Outreach.

#### **2.4.3. Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs**

Like USIA in the Cold War, ECA implements public diplomacy activities by employing cultural and educational programs like Academic Exchange programs, Citizen Exchanges, English Language programs, Exchange Coordination and Designation programs, Global Educational programs and International Visitors programs. By means of these programs, ECA tries to achieve the goal of fostering mutual understanding between Americans and foreign publics of other countries.<sup>83</sup>

Fulbright Scholarship is regarded as the flagship of ECA as FulBright Program has a valuable role in American public diplomacy. The idea behind FulBright Scholarship, by means of well-designed scholarship programs, is how participants of scholarship programs can be turned into cultural ambassadors by bringing them in contact with the American way of life, especially in favor of the host country.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Nakamura, Kennon H., and Matthew C. Weed. 2009. "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues." *Congressional Research Service*, November 18, 2009.

<sup>83</sup> "About the Bureau | Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs." 2018. State.Gov. 2018. <https://eca.state.gov/about-bureau>.

<sup>84</sup> Sevin, H. Efe. 2010. "From Visitors to Cultural Ambassadors: Public Diplomacy and Scholar Exchange Programs," January. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260363085\\_From\\_visitors\\_to\\_cultural\\_ambassadors\\_Public\\_diplomacy\\_and\\_scholar\\_exchange\\_programs](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260363085_From_visitors_to_cultural_ambassadors_Public_diplomacy_and_scholar_exchange_programs).

Thanks to FulBright Program, the U.S. State Department has the chance to make foreign participants observe American culture, lifestyle and values first-hand, which they will not forget when they get back home.<sup>85</sup>

During the Cold War, the U.S. government, to a large extent, implemented public diplomacy via educational programs in order to create positive impressions about the country. In their combat against the Soviet propaganda, FulBright Scholarship became a significant asset for the U.S. government.<sup>86</sup> Likewise, after 9/11, FulBright Scholarship continued to carry great importance to the U.S. Public Diplomacy. While the target audience of the U.S. public diplomacy changed, FulBright Scholarship began to focus on the scholars in Arab and the Muslim world accordingly.<sup>87</sup>

#### **2.4.4. Bureau of International Information Programs**

Like its earlier version USIA, the mission of IIP is to create a positive global perceptiveness about the United States. Therefore, the Bureau works to provide the foreign audiences with the US foreign policy, information about American society and its values and ideals in several languages like Arabic, Chinese, Persian, Spanish so that foreign publics' receptiveness to the US foreign policy, society and American cultures can be fostered. IIP also works with many US embassies and consulates in order to further reach the societies in more than 140 countries.<sup>88</sup>

#### **2.4.5. The Bureau of Public Affairs**

While the former two bureaus, ECA and IIP, work on the missions aimed at foreign audiences, the Bureau of Public Affairs's function is different. PA gives

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<sup>85</sup> Bettie, Molly Lenore. 2014. "The Fulbright Program and American Public Diplomacy."

<sup>86</sup> Bu, Liping. "Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War." *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 3 (1999): 393-415. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27556683>.

<sup>87</sup> Bettie, Molly Lenore. 2014. "The Fulbright Program and American Public Diplomacy."

<sup>88</sup> "Bureau of International Information Programs." State.gov, 2009. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/iip/>.

information about US foreign policy to the American public. And, it also transmits American public's concern and views about US foreign policy to policy makers. In that sense, it has a role of communication American people with the US policy makers.<sup>89</sup>

#### **2.4.6. Office of Policy, Planning, and Resources**

The duty of the Office of Policy, Planning, and Resources is to provide the Under Secretary with long-term strategic planning, performance measurement capability for public diplomacy and public affairs initiatives in order to help the Under Secretary effectively apportion public diplomacy resources to reach the most significant national security objectives.<sup>90</sup>

#### **2.4.7. Office of Private Sector Outreach**

The Office of Private Sector Outreach tries to encourage the private sector to participate in US public diplomacy initiatives. For the State Department, universities, companies and foundation are the integral part of the country. Therefore, they are regarded as the partners in US public diplomacy efforts. Therefore, R/PSO seeks to promote US public diplomacy and foreign policy objectives like countering violent extremism, empowering women business leaders, strengthening international education, providing humanitarian aids etc. all over the world with the participation of the private sector in these efforts.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> "Bureau of Global Public Affairs - United States Department of State." United States Department of State, 2019. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/bureau-of-global-public-affairs/>.

<sup>90</sup> "Office of Policy, Planning, and Resources - United States Department of State." United States Department of State, 2019. <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/office-of-policy-planning-and-resources-r-ppr/>.

<sup>91</sup> "Private Sector Outreach." State.gov, 2009. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/partnerships/>.

#### **2.4.8. Public Diplomacy in the Field**

This section refers to each US embassy abroad. There is a public affairs section in every US embassy and their main duty related to public diplomacy is to explain US foreign policy actions to the host country, its media and public. They conduct cultural programs in order to inform foreign audiences about the US, its foreign policy actions and to change negative perception about the US, its people and values, and life in the United States.

#### **2.4.9. The US Agency for Global Media**

In 1920s, governments in the world started to use the radio as a tool to influence the audiences of other countries. Likewise, with the start of the WWII, the US government under the leadership of the president Roosevelt initiated anti-Nazi propaganda, especially in Latin America where Nazi propaganda was on the move. Starting from that period, means of media has always been among the most important public diplomacy tools of the US government to convey its messages to the rest of the world.<sup>92</sup>

The U.S. Agency for Global Media, formerly the Board of Governors, started to function as an independent entity by a legislation passed by the Congress in 1998. At the same time, it was institutionalized that the broadcasting would be in accordance with the foreign policy objectives of the United States.

As an integral part of public diplomacy, US international broadcasting has three main goals which are reporting the news, conveying a “full and fair picture of American life”, and most importantly advocating for US government policy. The last two better fit to the US foreign policy objectives. The goal of conveying a “full and fair picture of American life” was best expressed by Truman who stated that government had responsibility to give a “full and fair” picture of it to “other peoples”. So, as concluded from the President Truman’s remarks, image of a country matters for foreign policy objectives. As to the goal of advocating for US

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<sup>92</sup> Bayles, Martha. *Through a Screen Darkly: Popular Culture, Public Diplomacy, and America’s Image Abroad*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2014.

government policy, its function is the same as public diplomacy in nature. It defends, support and justifies US foreign policy actions.<sup>93</sup>

As for International Broadcasting Bureau, IBB is under the responsibility of the BBG in terms of supervising, directing and administering the operations. The Voice of America and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (Radio and TV Marti) operate under the supervision of the IBB. As for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia and Middle East Broadcasting Networks (Alhurra TV and Radio Sawa), they broadcast under the oversight of the US Agency for Global Media.<sup>94</sup>

#### **2.4.10. Middle East Broadcasting Networks (Alhurra TV and Radio Sawa)**

Middle East Broadcasting Networks was created as a response to the events of 9/11 by the Broadcasting Board of Governors in 2002. The Middle East Broadcasting Networks (Alhurra TV and Radio Sawa) was the most prominent public diplomacy project of the time as it focused on the Arab and Muslim world in compliance with the US foreign policy in the Middle East. The target audience of the network was especially the youth of the Middle Eastern region. Therefore, it became one of the most controversial US public diplomacy in that period.<sup>95</sup>

#### **2.4.11. Radio Sawa**

Upon the shock of 9/11, VOA's Arabic service was eliminated as it was decided that it had been not efficient at a large youth audience. Therefore, Radio Sawa was launched in 2002 and drew a lot of attention in a very short period of time. Six months after its establishment, Radio Sawa became the station with the more number of audiences than BBC. Therefore, the brainchild of Norman Pattiz, Radio Sawa began to be called the star of the US public diplomacy.

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<sup>93</sup> Bayles, Martha. *Through a Screen Darkly: Popular Culture, Public Diplomacy, and America's Image Abroad*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2014.

<sup>94</sup> "USAGM." 2016. USAGM. 2016. <https://www.usagm.gov/who-we-are/mission/>.

<sup>95</sup> Zaharna, R. S. 2010. *Battles to Bridges: US Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy After 9/11*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

The mission of the station, as Pattiz explained, is to create a dialogue with the Arab youth by mutual listening of the each side. Radio Sawa seeks to turn the resentment of the Arabs against the US to understanding. The channel was playing both American and Arabic pop music with a small breaks of brief news segment which played an important part to disseminate US messages to young Arab people.<sup>96</sup>

#### **2.4.12. Al-Hurra**

Meaning “The Free One” in English, Al-Hurra satellite network was launched in 2004. At the time, Al-Hurra was the biggest and the most expensive public diplomacy since the establishment of VOA. The station included international news, documentaries, political talk show and magazine programs.

There were two main motivations behind the establishment of Al-Hurra. The first one was that the US officials thought that the US perspective could not sufficiently reach to the foreign audiences. As to the second reason, it was that anti-American sentiments were being provoked by Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiye which were transmitting, from the perspective of the US officials, false and distorted image of America. They were even prompting violence against the US troops in Iraq, according to claims of Pentagon officials. For that reason, Al-Hurra was considered as the counter weapon of the US against the hostile media environment as said by the president Bush “Al-Hurra will broadcast the message of tolerance and truth... and cut through hateful propaganda that fills the airwaves in the Muslim world.”

#### **2.5. Conclusion**

To conclude, the practice of public diplomacy of the US is based on ideological grounds against radicalism, extremism and terrorism after 9/11. In other words, for the US, after 9/11, public diplomacy became an issue of national security. However, based on the rhetoric of national security, the US made military

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<sup>96</sup> Bayles, Martha. *Through a Screen Darkly: Popular Culture, Public Diplomacy, and America's Image Abroad*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2014.

operations in Afghanistan and Iraq and developed foreign policy on the issues regarding the Middle Eastern region. While the US was taking foreign policy actions in the region, at the same time, it utilized public diplomacy methods to win public opinion of the region. That means public diplomacy for the US is a policy designed for justification of its foreign policy actions, mainly in the Middle East.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE BRITISH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

#### 3.1. Introduction

Great Britain's public diplomacy is worth studying because it is a country which had to transform its identity from a belligerent country to a peaceful one so that it could maintain its foremost position in the world.<sup>97</sup> The country faced divergences in many areas during its formation; views, values, judgment etc. Each of these divergences could constitute insuperable impediments, but the country managed to rise to become an empire. It's thanks to the fact that the Great Britain was took part in continuous wars in 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the two world wars of 20<sup>th</sup> century, it managed to become a hegemonic empire despite these divergences within.<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, this involvement in the wars amplified the unity of England with Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, to which it was not bound culturally or nationally but only geographically.<sup>99</sup>

However, in the aftermath of the World War II, the hegemony was shifted to the United States. In this new world, the values of modern liberalism were not the same with the values of the Great Britain anymore. Thus, Great Britain chose to, or

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<sup>97</sup> Milica Rašković, "British Public Diplomacy as a Means for Establishing Supremacy- Peaceful Aspect" (2017).

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

had to, transform its identity, world view and image in order to fit better in this new world order.

As in the 21st century the conventional wars substantially decreased in number, the war of public relations started between states. In order to be on the winning side of this new type of war, the Great Britain presented an image of itself as a modern nation, open to differences, advanced in technology.<sup>100</sup> However, still, regardless of its best efforts, British people are still seen as conventional, arrogant, cold, and reserved.<sup>101</sup>

### **3.2. Historical Background**

In Britain, public diplomacy is usually seen as a branch of politics which can be used to transform and modernize certain elements of British identity and project this identity.<sup>102</sup> And, in order to understand it, public diplomacy of Britain has to be analyzed in the historical context.

One of the most important moments for Britain when the importance of propaganda was understood was the Great War of 1914. In this historical event, British propaganda efforts aimed at persuading the United States to join the war. Also, Britain made propaganda against Germany, trying to win the public opinion against the country. The British officials, as one document put it, thought that ‘it is better to influence those who can influence others than attempt a direct appeal to the mass of the population’.<sup>103</sup> In order to run this campaign, British government established a propaganda bureau at Wellington House. This division was the most

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<sup>100</sup> James Pamment, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power* (Cham Springer International Publishing, 2016), 45.

<sup>101</sup> Christopher Hastings, “Arrogant, Unfriendly and No Sense of Humour: What Foreign Tourists Think of the English,” *Telegraph.co.uk*, September 12, 2006, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/736311/Arrogant-unfriendly-and-no-sense-of-humour-what-foreign-tourists-think-of-the-English.html>.

<sup>102</sup> Milica Rašković, op. cit.

<sup>103</sup> Philip M Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 2008), 178.

important branch of the British propaganda during the World War I. And, its existence was confidential.<sup>104</sup>

Britain, by means of its control over the direct cable communications between North America and Europe, was able to monopolize the news. The news was, naturally, the most important element of the British propaganda campaign. Control over the news gave Britain the opportunity to censor the news that they did not want the US citizens to see, and to shape the news in the way that they wanted Americans to see.<sup>105</sup>

Besides, stories of atrocities were also a common technique of propaganda at that time. The British epitomized a German society founded on the principles of military with the purpose of bringing home to soldiers and civilians the terrifying consequences of defeat. At the beginning of the war, it was very common to put the blame on the enemy for starting the conflict and the British officials found a moral basis for themselves to justify intervention in the eyes of the public whom they found necessary to include in the war as they thought Germany already broke the international law by attacking France and Belgium.<sup>106</sup>

When it came to the World War II, participants of the World War II also made use of propaganda, but this time, on a scale that exceeded all other conflicts in history, including the World War I. With the developments in the communication technologies, propaganda already began to be regarded as a significant weapon for the war. The cinema and radio secured a direct connection between government and the people, and between the government of one nation and the people of

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

another nation, which opened up an opportunity for propaganda operations on a huge scale.<sup>107</sup>

Within the context of propaganda, censorship was an issue to which the British officials devoted a great amount of attention. Censorship was designed not only to demoralize the enemy but also to prevent news from other nations that might harm their own morale. In this sense, censorship as negative propaganda had long been acknowledged as an invaluable tool for the manipulation of public opinion. Similar use of censorship by the British, as mentioned above, was also present in the World War I.<sup>108</sup> As one veteran German soldier expressed the effect of the British propaganda on the morale of the German soldiers :

In the year 1915, the enemy started his propaganda among our soldiers. From 1916 it steadily became more intensive and at the beginning of 1918, it had swollen into a storm cloud. One could now see the effects of this gradual seduction. Our soldiers learned to think the way enemy wanted them to think.<sup>109</sup>

In the same way, General Ludendorff commented: "We were hypnotized by the enemy propaganda as a rabbit is by a snake."<sup>110</sup> To even further put emphasize the effect of the British propaganda on the German soldier, there is an argument that Germany lost the war mostly because of the British propaganda.<sup>111</sup>

Having well understood the importance of public opinion of foreign publics, the Ministry of Information was set up on the outbreak of the war. The establishment

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<sup>107</sup> Philip M Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 2008).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Philip M Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 2008), P. 187.

<sup>110</sup> Bruntz, George G. "Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of German Morale in 1918." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1938): 61-76. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2745055>.

<sup>111</sup> Marquis, Alice Goldfarb. "Words as Weapons: Propaganda in Britain and Germany during the First World War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 3 (1978): 467-98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/260205>.

of such ministry had been already planned since 1935; however it was not ready yet when it came to 1939. As the German forces were occupied with the Poles in the East; that gave the British officials the time they needed in order to establish the ministry that would compete against German propaganda machine under the leadership of Joseph Goebbels.<sup>112</sup> Initially, the Ministry of Information had some difficulties; but, by 1940, it began to function effectively. The Ministry of Information's work was based on the principle of censoring all dangerous news at source. The Ministry, thanks to the arrangement of world-wide cable networks before the World War I by the Post Office, had control over all the news before they reached to the journalists and editors. The journalists and editors were free to treat these news as they liked, in other words, their opinions were not censored. This led to the impression that little censorship was employed. This system functioned so efficiently that many observers were ignorant of the fact that a mandatory censorship was in force. The rarieness of clashes with the media about censorship during the war time also proves the efficiency of British censorship system. The Ministry of Information brought only four prosecutions against the media.<sup>113</sup>

Another effective way to deal with public opinion was the posters. Posters were also used by the Ministry of Information in WWII. In addition to their function as conventional propaganda tools, posters were also used to disseminate information. Despite the fact that it initially had problems with the discourse, the Ministry corrected its mistake rapidly.<sup>114</sup> As people did not have television at home in that time, posters as well as leaflets were utilized to influence public opinion.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Welch, David. 2016. *Persuading the People: British Propaganda in World War II*. London: The British Library.

Cinema was another great instrument for shaping public opinion during the war.<sup>116</sup> Considering that after November 1939 there were approximately 4000 cinemas in operation in Britain, the Ministry of Information also decided to produce films for propaganda by 1940. This initiative did not only provide propaganda tool but also it helped the British film industry to grow to a certain extent.<sup>117</sup> As it still is a great public diplomacy tool; British Broadcasting Corporation, or BBC, was the strongest source of the white propaganda, in other words the propaganda that emanates from a clearly identifiable source. The BBC's role during the war was extended. It was monitoring overt and covert broadcasting and even to the air defense of Britain.<sup>118</sup>

The first globalization movement seen in history was led by Britain which was the hegemonic power then in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, its hegemonic power ended after the World War II, at the end of which the US came out as the new hegemon and the leader of the new globalization.<sup>119</sup> However, as it became the new hegemonic power after the World War II, the US launched a campaign against British imperialistic values and started to propagate its own values.<sup>120</sup> This is where the public diplomacy became important for the Great Britain. With the purpose of keeping its position as a powerful player in the international society, Britain now had to transform its identity and its projection of power in this 'peaceful' war of public opinion.

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<sup>116</sup> Coultass, Clive. "British Feature Films and the Second World War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, no. 1 (1984): 7-22. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/260423>.

<sup>117</sup> Philip M Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 2008).

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Milica Rašković, "British Public Diplomacy as a Means for Establishing Supremacy- Peaceful Aspect" (2017).

<sup>120</sup> Henry Kissinger, "Three Approaches to Peace: Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill in World War II," in *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 1995), 395-424.

### 3.3. The British Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Making

As mentioned above, British public diplomacy is worth studying because the present identity of Britain dramatically was formed over time, especially after the World War II. It might be quite useful to analyze this transformation of identity.

The British identity's creation started with the Act of the Union of 1707 which united England and Wales with Scotland. This process of the creation of identity lasted until 1837.<sup>121</sup> The main motive behind this union was constant threats from within and without; financial problems that Scotland were going through and England's fears about the Scots who were making alliance with France.<sup>122123</sup> From 1707 to 1837, the successive wars between Britain and France were what made the invention of Britishness so central.<sup>124</sup> Indeed, the government had to create a sense of belonging and patriotism among people in order to make them join all these battles.<sup>125</sup>

In fact, construction of a collective British identity after the Act of Union was encouraged by the existence of an 'other', an enemy which was France. Religious factors also played a crucial role since Britons "...defined themselves as Protestants struggling for survival against the world's most Catholic power."<sup>126</sup> Linda Colley argues in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* that the British identity was not

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<sup>121</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons : Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 1.

<sup>122</sup> Ben Johnson, "The Act of Union between England and Scotland," Historic UK, accessed July 31, 2019, <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/The-Act-of-Union/>.

<sup>123</sup> Linda Colley, op. cit.

<sup>124</sup> Linda Colley, op. cit.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid..

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

created thanks to "blending" of the differences between the Scottish, the Irish, the English and the Welsh but as a response "to the other beyond their shores".<sup>127</sup>

Britain started to engage in charity in order to boost its trade operations and promote a good image for the country.<sup>128</sup> After the victory in the Seven Years War, the portrait of the country was that of an image self-imposed in accordance with its deeds. Peoples of Britain considered themselves as the most affluent and swiftly expanding power in the world. Indeed, the carefully fabricated British identity turned out to be an exceptionally strong force uniting England as the center with its peripheries, as the main part of the British army consisted of the Scots as well.<sup>129</sup>

However, there were also internal instabilities such as the Scots who were demanding more power, considering their role in the victories of the British. Yet, the efforts and victories in continuous wars such as that in America or that with Napoleon distracted the attention from those internal instabilities. And in the end, The Napoleonic Wars proved the hegemony of Britain.<sup>130</sup> This self-perception of superiority, freedom and hegemony created the hallmark of the British identity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

When it came to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Margaret Thatcher's main emphasis was on the developing economy with a nationalist perspective. Under this nationalist perspective, the question about the nature of British identity emerged once again. The problem was that the national British identity that was acquired in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the successive wars was not sustainable for the Britain in the 21<sup>st</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Milica Rašković, "British Public Diplomacy as a Means for Establishing Supremacy- Peaceful Aspect" (2017).

century.<sup>131</sup> Yet, whenever Britain decided to reform things, it was looking back at its past. It is possible to see the traces of key points of what contributed to the construction of British identity in the first place in Margaret Thatcher's rhetoric of Britain's being special as a country with enemies from within and without and that it had a destiny.<sup>132</sup> While enemies changed over the course of time, the story remained the same. The war is an important prerequisite to unite those who are quite different among themselves and Margaret Thatcher's rhetoric fit perfectly into that worldview. She was even explicitly legitimizing war and violence in the 20th century.<sup>133</sup> This populist approach of Margaret Thatcher was very effective and had a deep influence on the British people and perception of Britishness. The people who replaced her were not enthusiastic as much as Thatcher about creating a different story that would explain Britishness in different terms, maybe as an embracing society formed by different regions, ethnicities, races. This situation caused a crisis of identity at home in the time when there were neither interstate nor conventional wars outside. Thus, people saw the country's diversity not as a virtue but as the enemy from within, and since there were no wars, this enemy was visible now more than ever. As Philip Dodd argues in his work *The Battle over Britain*, the minorities and other nations; blacks, the Welsh, the Irish was now considered as the enemy to the English and the EU was the enemy of the British altogether.<sup>134</sup>

The studies about the British identity, its problems and conclusions are numerous. However, they can often be summed up as incompatibility of Britishness and its image in the modern world. At the turn of the century, Britain found itself relatively isolated with internal disequilibrium. On the other hand, the EU was becoming *ever closer* and the US was still the hegemonic power in the world.

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<sup>131</sup> Philip Dodd, "The Battle over Britain" (Demos Papers, n.d.), accessed August 1, 2019, 6.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-40.

Britain had to solve its problems from within before deciding how to behave towards others.<sup>135</sup>

Thus, it can be safely said that the notion called British identity was formed in the face of its numerous enemies and on the premise of traditionalism. Nevertheless, Britain's public diplomacy, in the liberal values' world, presents an image of a modern nation whose position of superiority is unfeasible to challenge even in the new world order.<sup>136</sup>

In 1998, the British Council commissioned MORI, which later came to be called Through Other Eyes, to see how Britain was regarded by the young professionals, in order to better analyze "the successor generation".<sup>137</sup> The survey's goal was to provide a better understanding of UK's image and how to improve it. The results showed that Britain was seen great in terms of education and business; however its inventive, artistic and modern qualities were questionable.<sup>138</sup>

By the year 2000, the Britain Abroad Task Force (BATF) was commissioned and started to operate in order to "to help improve perceptions of the UK around the world, especially amongst the general public and particularly young people".<sup>139</sup> One of its main aims was the modernization of the image and identity. However, its "core mission was to improve and update foreign perceptions of the UK in order to boost trade, investment, tourism and education."<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Milica Rašković, "British Public Diplomacy as a Means for Establishing Supremacy- Peaceful Aspect" (2017).

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> The British Council Poland, "Previous Issues - Education - The British Council Poland," Britcoun.org.pl (The British Council, 2019), [http://elt.britcoun.org.pl/b\\_thru.html](http://elt.britcoun.org.pl/b_thru.html).

<sup>138</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 48–49.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 53.

In this example, Britain's campaign seems self-serving and this might be the cause of distrust regarding British diplomatic intentions and its image in the future. However, this type of strategy was not uncommon and a quite similar one with similar goals that would appear in the campaign GREAT more than a decade later.<sup>141</sup>

This strategy could be related with the construction of identity mentioned above. It might point to Britain's core identity, and Britain desired to be modern, open and cooperative, yet, it still seeks and cares for its national superiority.<sup>142</sup>

Technology was another crucial aspect of the British modernization. For example, Internet was seen by the British government and key diplomatic institutions as a quick way to spread messages to masses abroad and home. Thus, they devoted a huge part of their energy to developing websites.<sup>143</sup> Of course, thanks to these websites, the government and the institutions now had the chance to tell their story from their own point of view. These websites became important means of communicating with audiences about diplomatic plans and goals. The Foreign Commonwealth Office also started to operate online in 1995. After that, it became mandatory for all British Embassies to create their own websites and to use them efficiently.<sup>144</sup>

The digitalization inevitably affected the diplomacy itself. Internet was being used more and more for different purposes; by the beginning of the 21st century, a tool named E-diplomacy was created. This tool could be used in analyzing the parties

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>142</sup> Milica Rašković, "British Public Diplomacy as a Means for Establishing Supremacy- Peaceful Aspect" (2017).

<sup>143</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 56.

<sup>144</sup> Milica Rašković, op. cit.

that needed to be communicated and not, evaluating best ways of communication, identifying the sources of information; and in the best use of information, knowledge and expertise.<sup>145</sup>

In the aftermath of 9/11, Britain wanted to give support to the US with a diplomatic campaign, namely UKinNY. However, the main intent of the campaign was to show British creativity and innovation through certain products.<sup>146</sup> Hence, it can be said that the main plan was to use this situation as an opportunity to show how modern and innovative nation Britain was. However, soon it was understood that it was not the right time for this type of campaign. Britain also saw that despite its intents, the campaign was inconvenient with the British new acknowledged diplomatic goals because there were still Britain's own interests in its core. Consequently, name of the campaign was changed to UKwithNY with a new plan of showing solidarity.<sup>147</sup>

The BATF was dissolved in the coming years and instead, the Public Diplomacy Strategy Board (PDSB) was initiated. PDSB's agenda was quite different than its predecessor; namely, it sought to present Britain in a positive light in order to boost British economy.<sup>148</sup> Despite the fact that British public diplomacy plan had been summarized as "moving from bilateral issues to global issues that affect everybody"<sup>149</sup> just before 9/11, the main goal of PDSB did not seem in line with this. PDSB wanted to present a modern image of Britain but the main goal remained traditional and national.

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<sup>145</sup> James Pamment, op. cit., 80.

<sup>146</sup> James Pamment, op. cit. 67-8.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 83.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 65.

Therefore, it can be said that modernization and digitalization constitute important aspects of British public diplomacy. At the turn of the new century, Britain knew that it needed to be modernized and acknowledged the significance of internet in this matter. However, this new approach was not enough to overcome traditional British identity which mostly appears self-preserving. Despite its best efforts, Britain faced the pulls towards this core identity. This crisis of identity consequently was one of the main challenges of British public diplomacy in the world of liberal values after the Second World War.

Britain's public diplomacy mostly pictured the country not just as a modern nation but also as one of the leading nations in the world. Despite the fact that their success was arguable, Britain initiated many campaigns in order to promote itself as a modern, embracing, innovative, diverse and technologically advanced country. Nevertheless, Britain also had to promote peace in the world of liberal values. This promotion of peace was to constitute second important aspect of British public diplomacy.

When British government tried to present itself as a catalyzator of peace and positive change in the world, the war in Kosovo erupted. During the events, media and journalism were subjected to grave censorship and control. Historian Alistair Horne stated: "Kosovo... turned out to be the most secret campaign in living memory"; and, General Sir Michael Rose stated: "rhetoric has taken over from reality".<sup>150</sup>

Instead of stabilizing the region, the UK government took part in NATO bombing on the region in 1999. Tony Blair explained the events by these words: " It is to get in and hit Milosevic and his murderous thugs very, very hard. This is what we intend to do," and as the government faced disapproval towards this intervention and the consequences in the form of civilian suffering, the government explained itself: "The refugees are not fleeing from the NATO bombs. It is not the NATO bombs that are destroying their homes, burning their villages and putting pistols to

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<sup>150</sup> Phillip Knightley, "Fighting Dirty," The Guardian (The Guardian, March 20, 2000), <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2000/mar/20/mondaymediasection.pressandpublishing>.

their heads."<sup>151</sup> The core element that created the British identity in the first place with the Act of the Union in 1707, namely the division of "us" and the "other" was visible again in the government's explanation for the events. This time "us" was not the British but NATO with the US' leadership, and the "other", this time, obviously was the Serbs.

The unconditional support to the US in Iraq War of 2003 in the "war on terror" also afflicted the Britain's image as a country that was supporting a peaceful world. This decision of the government would leave the shade on other public diplomacy activities that were initiated. Some summarized the decision to join the war as the worst decision that Tony Blair ever made.<sup>152</sup>

Recently, as the Arab Spring was the foremost event of the 21st century, the British government set the Arab Partnership Department. The main purpose of its activities was "to support peaceful political, economic and social reform in the Middle East through the work of Engaging with the Islamic World programme fund. The UK was supporting the legitimate government and promote democratic values with an approach that was engaging the local representatives and respecting legal frontiers of the given country."<sup>153</sup> The activities were concentrated on Egypt and Tunisia, but it spreaded with the spread of the Arab Spring. Meeting with officials, attempts at establishing sustainable dialogues with the heads of the countries, condemning violence, spreading the message through media channels were part of the campaign.<sup>154</sup> However, Britain's intentions and actions were interpreted as selfish acts. The director of the Council for Arab-British

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<sup>151</sup> BBC News, "BBC News | UK Politics | UK Steps up Kosovo Force," Bbc.co.uk, March 30, 1999, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/307715.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/307715.stm).

<sup>152</sup> Andy McSmith, "Chilcot Report: The inside Story of How Tony Blair Led Britain to War in Iraq," The Independent, July 4, 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/chilcot-report-iraq-war-inquiry-tony-blair-george-bush-us-uk-what-happened-a7119761.html>.

<sup>153</sup> FCO, "British Foreign Policy and the 'Arab Spring': The Transition to Democracy (8th December 2011)," Parliament.uk, December 8, 2011, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaaff/writev/arab/as07.htm>.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

Understanding, Chris Doyle, stated that Britain's image and identity did not change in the modern era and that it was in consistency with its imperial image. "Britain still has its imperial style delusion, pushing regime change, deciding who is legitimate and who is not".<sup>155</sup>

### **3.4. The British Public Diplomacy Actors**

Britain started its public diplomacy activities during the Great War of 1914, like the United States. The first public diplomacy institution, more of a propaganda bureau, namely the Wellington House, was established in 1914 with the same motives. This unit which was established in order to fight German propaganda functioned as a tool through which Britain affected public opinion.<sup>156</sup> However, current important actors in British public diplomacy are the British Council and BBC World Service. It should be noted that the main governmental branch that coordinates and funds public diplomacy institutions is The Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO).

#### **3.4.1. The British Council**

Diplomacy and education have always been closely connected to the interests of states. Each of these concepts has held ambitions for a wider international community. The new practices of education on institutional level and the recent changes in diplomacy to attract global audiences in the search for foreign policy interests have revealed the possible profitable interaction between education and public diplomacy.<sup>157</sup> Thus, the education constitutes an important aspect of British

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<sup>155</sup> Chris Doyle, "Neither Consistent nor Ethical: Britain's Middle East Policy," alaraby, June 6, 2017, <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/comment/2017/6/6/neither-consistent-nor-ethical-britains-middle-east-policy>.

<sup>156</sup> M. L. Sanders, "Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War," *The Historical Journal* 18, no. 1 (March 1975): 119–46, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0018246x00008700>.

<sup>157</sup> Caitlin Byrne and Rebecca Hall, "International Education as Public Diplomacy," *IEAA Research Digest* 3, June 2014, 2, <https://www.ieaa.org.au/documents/item/258>.

public diplomacy. As mentioned above, the education in Britain was highly regarded and Britain apparently took advantage of it.

The British Council was founded in 1934, before the Second World War, in a period of time when the world struggled with instabilities, global financial depression and reduced living standards. This historical background determined the motivation of the British Council to build a positive public opinion towards Britain. The British Council serves mostly through education diplomacy and this makes the education a fundamental concept in British public diplomacy.<sup>158</sup>

When it was first established in 1934, its name was British Committee for Relations with Other Countries, however it took its current name later and it started its public diplomacy activities by opening its first office abroad, in 1938.<sup>159</sup> Currently, the British Council is actively working in more than 100 countries across the globe, in various fields such as arts, culture, English language, education etc. In 2018, the British Council reached more than 80 million people directly and 791 million people overall, including online, through publications and broadcasts.<sup>160</sup> It employs more than 12.000 people and its stated annual turnover in 2017-2018 was £1,169 million. The largest part of this figure was from its exams business, followed by contract management and English language teaching, respectively.<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, the British Council associates itself with 525 partners in 46 countries.<sup>162</sup> Since its establishment, it focuses its attention to language

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<sup>158</sup> Muharrem Ekşi, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, 2. Baskı (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2018), 227.

<sup>159</sup> Muharrem Ekşi, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, 2. Baskı (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2018), 227.

<sup>160</sup> The British Council, “About Us | British Council,” Britishcouncil.org, 2019, <https://www.britishcouncil.org/about-us>.

<sup>161</sup> The Foreign & Commonwealth Office, “British Council Tailored Review” (The Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2019), <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/tailored-review-of-the-british-council>.

education and exchange programs. At this point, the fact that English is a global language is one of the most important advantages of the British Council. For example, more than 250,000 students took part in the British Council's various exchange programs, such as Atlantic Fellowship in 1994 and Greenwich Fellowship in 1999.<sup>163</sup> Thanks to the high level of global demand for English learning, the British Council was always one step forward among its kind like Alliance Française or Goethe Institutes. The British Council is, today, the international organization of the UK for educational opportunities and cultural relations. It operates overseas and within the UK.<sup>164</sup>

The British Council focuses mostly on education diplomacy and conducts projects such as Study UK, Think UK, Future Leaders Connect, Global Xchange, Connecting Classrooms.<sup>165</sup> It is also responsible for the arrangement of inward and outward visits by various experts and scholars.<sup>166</sup>

However, the British Council, too, has some difficulties in their activities. For instance, there is an incongruity between the demand for English learning and the number of limited personnel available. This disproportionality is being met by

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<sup>162</sup> The British Council, "Corporate Plan 2017-20" (The British Council, 2017), <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/corporate-plan-2017-20.pdf>.

<sup>163</sup> The British Council, "Annual Report and Accounts 2016-17," 2017, <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/annual-report-2016-17.pdf>.

<sup>164</sup> The Foreign & Commonwealth Office, "British Council Tailored Review" (The Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2019), <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/tailored-review-of-the-british-council>.

<sup>165</sup> Muharrem Ekşi, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, 2. Baskı (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2018), 228.

<sup>166</sup> Harold Beeley, "The Changing Role of British International Propaganda," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 398 (1971): 124–29, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1038927>.

concentrated efforts on the training of teachers and teacher trainers, in cooperation with the Department for Education.<sup>167</sup>

The strategic objectives of the British Council are to “contribute to the UK’s international influence and attraction”<sup>168</sup>, to “contribute to UK and global prosperity”<sup>169</sup>, and to “make a lasting difference to the security of the UK and to stability worldwide”.<sup>170</sup> These objectives fit into the British public diplomacy’s evolution that was explained above: the objectives seem in line with the values of liberal world after the Second World War; it presents the UK as a country which aspires to contribute to global peace and stability, however, it also seeks Britain’s own interests.

### **3.4.2. The BBC World Service**

Another important actor in British public diplomacy is BBC World Service.<sup>171</sup> The BBC World Service is a public service broadcaster, established by the Royal Charter. It is an independent organization. The BBC World Service uses TV, radio broadcasting and online platforms. Its operations are very extensive; apart from English, it broadcasts in more than 40 different languages. It presents a wide portfolio of television services, radio networks and digital services.<sup>172</sup> Since the

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<sup>167</sup> Harold Beeley, “The Changing Role of British International Propaganda,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 398 (1971): 124–29, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1038927>.

<sup>168</sup> The British Council, “Corporate Plan 2018-20” (The British Council, 2018), <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/2018-20-corporate-plan.pdf>.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 4.

<sup>172</sup> The British Broadcasting Corporation, “Learn More about What We Do,” Bbc.com, n.d., <https://www.bbc.com/aboutthebbc/>.

BBC is one of the most renowned media organizations, it gives a great advantage to the Britain in terms of affecting international public opinion.

The BBC defines its mission as: “to act in the public interest, serving all audiences through the provision of impartial, high-quality and distinctive output and services which inform, educate and entertain.”<sup>173</sup> It also sets out five public purposes which are defined as: “to provide impartial news and information to help people understand and engage with the world around them.”<sup>174</sup>, “to support learning for people of all ages”<sup>175</sup>, “to show the most creative, highest quality and distinctive output and services”<sup>176</sup>, and “to reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of all of the United Kingdom’s nations and regions and, in doing so, support the creative economy across the United Kingdom”<sup>177</sup>, and “to reflect the United Kingdom, its culture and values to the world”<sup>178</sup>.

As discussed, Britain employs several public diplomacy strategies, various campaigns through diverse institutions. However, its essential strength is in the international broadcasting and the benefit that the Britain gains from it exceeds that of the US or the China.<sup>179</sup> While the US and the Chinese broadcasters are seen as propaganda tools most of the time<sup>180</sup>, the BBC World Service has been famous

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<sup>173</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/aboutthebbc/governance/mission>

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/aboutthebbc/governance/mission>

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Rajesh Mirchandani and Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar, “Britain’s International Broadcasting,” *CPD Perspectives*, 2014, 31–49, <http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/3793/>.

for its journalistic independence and credibility.<sup>181182</sup> However, despite its fame for being impartial, being funded by the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, the BBC is obviously regarded as a British public diplomacy instrument.<sup>183</sup> Yet, the BBC's claim of being an independent broadcaster makes things a bit more complicated. Despite there is diverse perspectives on the issue, the audiences were able to tell the difference when the BBC was providing impartial news and when it was promoting Britishness, most of the time. This situation brings a problem: the audiences are inclined to believe what they see as impartial news or reports. However they tend to turn a deaf ear to what they believe is propaganda. Thus, in this respect the goal of public diplomacy may become unreachable<sup>184185</sup>

Nevertheless, according to Lord Carter, public diplomacy is not the primary objective of the World Service. Yet, providing internationally illustrious and highly regarded service would be positive public diplomacy gains for the country associated with that brand.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Alasdair Pinkerton and Klaus Dodds, "Radio Geopolitics: Broadcasting, Listening and the Struggle for Acoustic Spaces," *Progress in Human Geography* 33, no. 1 (February 2009): 10–27, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132508090978>.

<sup>181</sup> Peter Goodwin, "Low Conspiracy? – Government Interference in the BBC1," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 2, no. 1 (May 1, 2005): 96–118, <https://doi.org/10.16997/wpcc.10>.

<sup>182</sup> Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar, "Media Consumption amid Contestation: Northern Nigerians' Engagement with the BBC World Service: WestminsterResearch," *Westminster Research* (2011), <https://westminsterresearch.westminster.ac.uk/item/8zwqz/media-consumption-amid-contestation-northern-nigerians-engagement-with-the-bbc-world-service>.

<sup>183</sup> Gerd Baumann, Marie Gillespie, and Annabelle Sreberny, "Editorial The BBC World Service and the Middle East: Comparisons, Contrasts, Conflicts," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 3, no. 2 (2010): 129–36, <https://doi.org/10.1163/187398610x509977>.

<sup>184</sup> Annabelle Sreberny, Marie Gillespie, and Gerd Baumann, "Epilogue The BBC World Service and the Middle East - Past, Present, and Future Dilemmas," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 3, no. 2 (2010): 279–85, <https://doi.org/10.1163/187398610x510056>.

<sup>185</sup> Rajesh Mirchandani and Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar, op. cit.

<sup>186</sup> Lord Carter Review, "Public Diplomacy Review," December 2005.

Despite the fact that it faced spending cuts, closure of services, reduction of staff during time of economic problems, the BBC World Service is one of Britain's most renowned soft power resources. It plays a significant role in Britain's public diplomacy efforts, but its effectiveness depends on its image of impartiality. Basically, its main strength comes from its worldwide reputation of journalistic independence, neutrality and credibility. However, if the good image of the BBC is to be helpful to British foreign policy interests, Britain's actions must correspond with it; and while Britain may have positive gains from the BBC's good, neutral image, this very image of the BBC could be harmed by Britain's negative actions or inactions. It seems that intervening cultural, ideological, religious, and other external communication variables that would limit media effects sometimes reduce the effect of international broadcasting in the area of public diplomacy.<sup>187</sup>

### **3.4.3. The Foreign & Commonwealth Office**

The Foreign & Commonwealth Office is the umbrella organization for the British diplomacy in general and it has become the main institution for the British public diplomacy operations in 1995.<sup>188</sup> It is the governmental department responsible for the coordination of the British Council and the BBC World Service.<sup>189</sup> Its role defined as “co-ordinate and pursue UK policies abroad, and giving expert advice and supporting the whole of Government in order to strengthen UK influence and bring about international actions that advance UK interests.”<sup>190</sup> It has a global network of embassies and consulates, employing over 14,000 people in nearly 270 diplomatic offices. It is in cooperation with international organizations such as the EU, NATO, the United Nations Security Council, and the United Nations in order

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<sup>187</sup> Rajesh Mirchandani and Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar, “Britain’s International Broadcasting,” *CPD Perspectives*, 2014, 31–49, <http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/3793/>.

<sup>188</sup> Milica Rašković, “British Public Diplomacy as a Means for Establishing Supremacy- Peaceful Aspect” (2017).

<sup>189</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 4.

<sup>190</sup> Lord Carter Review, “Public Diplomacy Review,” December 2005.

to promote the interests of the UK.<sup>191192</sup> The branch that is responsible for the public diplomacy is the Directorate for Strategy and Information where there is a Public Diplomacy Group that used to consist of 60 staff. The FCO also funds the BBC World Service, the British Council, Chevening Programme, and other public diplomacy programs and campaigns.<sup>193</sup>

The FCO and the British public diplomacy went through changes over the course of time and had some difficulties in the beginning. It should be mentioned that contemporary public diplomacy created its framework in 1995. However, there were some events that led to the reforms of 1995. Modern public diplomacy in Britain started in 1995, with the Fundamental Expenditure Review (FER) with the goal of establishing an efficient instrument through which Britain promote itself overseas and within the country. The review stated that the public diplomacy efforts should focus on "Information and Culture".<sup>194</sup> Previously, the Duncan Committee's Report in 1969 also encouraged these two notions but gave priority to the information over cultural promotion. Thus, at that time, the ruling Conservative Party was not very fond of the British Council's work and threatened its existence. Nonetheless, by the end of the 1960s, Britain had its information service abroad with the task of supporting and explaining Britain's public policy overseas and projecting Britain's culture.<sup>195</sup> The Foreign Affairs Committee of 1986 inspected into the British Council's operation and its cultural program and the FCO listed cultural diplomacy's five main goals: "to convey the image of Britain as a creative, well-integrated, and forward looking society based on liberal values-

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Chevening, "About | Chevening," Chevening.org, 2019, <https://www.chevening.org/about/>.

<sup>193</sup> Lord Carter Review, "Public Diplomacy Review," December 2005.

<sup>194</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1.

<sup>195</sup> Sir Duncan, *Report of the Review Committee on Overseas Representation 1969-1969*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1969) in James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 26.

a social and cultural model to be emulated and trusted”, “to inspire respect and understanding for the people of Britain and their achievements”, “to correct wrong and counter unfavorable impressions of Britain”, “to explain British policies and interest to decision-makers and opinion formers overseas” and “to promote British economic interests overseas including the export of British goods and services”.<sup>196</sup> Despite the threats, the British Council managed to preserve its existence. However, the FCO's investments on cultural diplomacy activities were regarded contentious by the Foreign Affairs Committee and its way of supervising was criticized. Then, the FCO developed a method where all subordinate institutions had to present their project and calculate its cost. Then, it could be discussed whether the project and its cost would fit into the overall goals of British public diplomacy.<sup>197</sup>

Thus, although the public diplomacy and the FCO's attempts on cultural diplomacy faced some difficulties in the beginning, public diplomacy's immense significance was acknowledged at last, in 1995, thanks to the Fundamental Expenditure Review of 1995. The FER also secured the FCO's position as an overseer and a key actor in public diplomacy operations. The FCO could approve or deny grant-in-aid for the operations of the BBC World Service and the British Council.<sup>198</sup>

#### **3.4.4. VisitBritain**

VisitBritain was launched as the lead institution for tourism and it was the merger of the British Tourist Authority and the English Tourist Council. It is an operational body. It aims to grow its global database, to increase inward inbound and domestic tourism and to build the Brand of Britain over the long term. It seeks to achieve these goals by working in cooperation with the private sector the

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<sup>196</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 27.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>198</sup> James Pamment and Palgrave Macmillan, *British Public Diplomacy and Soft Power: Diplomatic Influence and the Digital Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 30.

nations and regions of Britain, and public diplomacy partners. It has key strategic co-operations and partnerships with the British Council, UK Inbound, the Tourism Alliance and the FCO.<sup>199</sup> VisitBritain has an extended expertise in brand marketing and is an active participant of public diplomacy. They had shared premises in Dubai, Hong Kong, and Berlin; collective enquiry services in Germany, Spain and United Arab Emirates; joint commissioning of research to inform public diplomacy policy.<sup>200</sup>

### **3.5. Conclusion**

Once a hegemonic power, British constructed its identity over wars and self-preservation. However, in the modern world, it saw the necessity of the transformation if it was to preserve its pioneer position even if not hegemonic. In order to do so, it transformed its identity going through several identity crises and it still is in the process of this transformation. The British public diplomacy evolved in sight in this context. As Britain saw their educational system and quality was highly regarded, it made education an important aspect of its public diplomacy activities, as discussed above. Considering the number of the heads of states the Britain gave education through these programs, one could claim that their educational diplomacy turned out to be quite successful. While the British Council and various scholarship programmes carried out public diplomacy activities, its international broadcasting, whose main and the biggest component is incontestably the BBC World Service, which was considered independent and neutral most of the times, provides a lot of advantages to the Britain in times of crises and wars such as the two world wars and in the time of peace. Being the umbrella organization for the British public diplomacy, the Foreign & Commonwealth Office is another major actor of public diplomacy which was responsible for the coordination and funding of these other big players in the field. All these actors seek to promote the culture, language and, short and long term interests of the UK.

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<sup>199</sup> Lord Carter Review, "Public Diplomacy Review," December 2005.

<sup>200</sup> Lord Carter Review, "Public Diplomacy Review," December 2005.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CHINESE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter examines China's public diplomacy efforts as a non-Western power that tries to blend into a world of Western values. China's public diplomacy is important to study because, as it will be argued below, it played a crucial part in China's integration to the world after the World War II and the Cold War. China used public diplomacy to promote a better image of itself through several crisis situations such as the infamous Cultural Revolution and Tiananmen Square. Due to the crises that the country went through, public diplomacy became an important foreign policy device for China. In the 21st century, China, as an emerging power to some scholars and as a super power to others, makes serious efforts in terms of public diplomacy and that makes it necessary to dig into its goals, its extent and its strategies.

#### **4.2. Historical Background**

It is essential to understand China's history not only because it gives insight into the mentality behind the state's current territorial and worldwide activities but also it gives a sight of what China desires, the range and level of its ambitions, and its methods to accomplish these objectives.<sup>201</sup> In this sense, three periods of China's history should be analyzed. However, it should be noted that China's current foreign policy is feasibly the result of the so-called 'Century of Humiliation'.

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<sup>201</sup> Alexandra Claassen Pina, "The Public Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China", in, 2014, 73, <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/50856>

#### 4.2.1. Imperial China

Like its contemporary counterpart, the Roman Empire, in that time, Imperial China had tremendous influence on its neighboring nations like Korea and Japan. By direct or indirect contact, neighboring countries a lot much to China in terms of culture, system, administration. Contrary to the Rome, Chinese knowledge was not propagated by force but it was voluntarily adopted by its neighbors because Chinese values were seen as the elements of advanced culture and government.<sup>202</sup> The fact that Chinese values were adopted voluntarily justified Chinese superiority, and so the mutual relations between China and other states were conducted and controlled by the institutions created by China and by the standards of Confucianism.<sup>203</sup> Confucianism was a diverse doctrinal scene which included Taoism, Buddhism, Legalism, and Mohism. It also upheld scholarship as the most important human activity.<sup>204</sup> Confucian teachings, combined with Legalism, also served as the foundation for the Imperial Bureaucracy which elaborated operational practices for thousands of years.<sup>205</sup> It is this kind of sophisticated bureaucracy that allowed the Chinese rulers to keep control over huge amounts of land that was deficient of communication and transportation systems.

Imperial China still continues to influence the world view of Modern China. China sees itself as a civilization that survived for millenniums and it is well aware of its historical roots. This glorious history sets a high level of enthusiasm for something more. Its key aspiration is to become a world leader, *again*.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Yongjin Zhang, *China in International Society since 1949: Alienation and Beyond* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave, In Association With St. Antony's College, Oxford, 2003), 8.

<sup>204</sup> Oded Shenkar, *The Chinese Century: The Rising Chinese Economy and Its Impact on the Global Economy, the Balance of Power, and Your Job* (FT Press, 2006), 26.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

#### 4.2.2. The Century of Humiliation

The so-called ‘Century of Humiliation’ began in 1840 with China’s defeat in the two Opium Wars (1840-42) and came to an end with the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949.<sup>207</sup> In this period of failures, internal rebellions fell together with external threats. It led China to believe that interior conflicts made them vulnerable to foreign attacks and threats.

External threats mostly arose from the West. For the China, the West was an alternative to Chinese culture, values and ideas. Besides, with its technological and military abilities, the West was not only an alternative to Chinese ways but also a threat to them. Technological superiority of the West was undeniable and China considered that that threat more dangerous than their rivals in the past, and the West had no intention of voluntarily adopting Chinese values.<sup>208</sup> This situation left China with some alternatives; since the initial rejection of Western values were unsustainable due to the West’s undeniable superiority in many fields; China could imitate the West and might lose its identity or it could become its weak protectorate. However, another alternative was to adopt Western technology without Western values. Thus, it was the third alternative that was accepted among sequential Chinese regimes.<sup>209</sup> However, the adoption of the Western technology and practices was not enough for the ‘humiliation’ to come to an end. It went on with unequal treaties and foreign powers securing extra-territorial rights in

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<sup>206</sup> David Scott, *China Stands up: The PRC in the Modern International System* (London: Routledge, 2007), 11.

<sup>207</sup> Alexandra Claassen Pina, “The Public Diplomacy of the People’s Republic of China,” December 2014, 75., <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/50856>

<sup>208</sup> Oded Shenkar, *The Chinese Century: The Rising Chinese Economy and Its Impact on the Global Economy, the Balance of Power, and Your Job* (FT Press, 2006), 31.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

Chinese land; and China was once again humiliated by the Japanese invasion in 1930s.<sup>210</sup>

It is safe to claim that the Period of Humiliation created mistrust about the foreign powers' purposes. China supposed that foreign powers were after exploitation of China. Furthermore, despite the fact that China wanted to avert the dependence on others, it realized that the technology was crucial for independence. Apprehension of this understanding was translated into a prominence of technology transfer by all means possible. At last, China integrated foreign technology with Chinese values.<sup>211</sup> China's present economic strategy and success also combines Western and Chinese values. Thus, it can be said that the lessons from the 'Century of Humiliation' is quite influential in China's current policy-making and decision-making processes.

#### **4.2.3. The Communist China**

The first period, between 1949 and 1955, was a stage of passage and reconstruction. Specialists from diverse fields from the Republican era were kept in order to create persistency.<sup>212</sup> The following era between 1956 and 1959 was dominated by the importing of Soviet technology and supported by the means of training of many Chinese in the Soviet Union. The third period was the so-called 'Great Leap Forward' between 1958 and 1960 in which the fabrication of iron, steel and other industrial material was relocated to the rural area with terrible outcomes, including mass starvation. This was done due to Mao's goal to swiftly increase China's economic strength.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Alexandra Claassen Pina, "The Public Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China," December 2014, 77., <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/50856>

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Frank Sieren and E Bruce Reynolds, *The China Code: What's Left for Us?* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 111–12.

The beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 was another setback. The Red Army initiated an attack, under Mao's approval, on intellectuals and chief officials which dispersed the education system and much of the organized economy. The operation lasted until 1968, but its effects remained until 1975 and kept China busy in the decades to come. This period of time later was bewailed by the Chinese as 'the lost decade'<sup>214215</sup>.

It can be said that the first 30 years of Communism taught China that the integration of economy and ideology was hazardous. China also learnt that technology could not bring more than regular output and that sustainable development necessitated primary mental transformation and rearrangement of production systems. It also found out that the wealth of the regime was strongly connected with that of the nation.<sup>216</sup>

China officially began to reform in 1978. Over the course of the next 25 years, the country changed its focus of investment from tourism to light manufacturing, from an approach that was forcing foreign investors to take on a Chinese partner to one that allowed entirely owned foreign subsidiaries.<sup>217</sup> Deng Xiaoping presented a set of financial reform policies, marked as the 'Four Moderations' in agriculture, industry, science and technology.<sup>218</sup> With Deng Xiaoping, China decided to "embrace the globalization rather than detach themselves from it"<sup>219</sup>. Thus, they commenced the "Opening-Up". The leadership abandoned its traditional ways of

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<sup>214</sup> Oded Shenkar, *The Chinese Century: The Rising Chinese Economy and Its Impact on the Global Economy, the Balance of Power, and Your Job* (FT Press, 2006), 33.

<sup>215</sup> Donald H. Straszheim, "China Rising," *World Policy Journal* 25, no. 3 (2008): 157–58, <https://doi.org/10.1162/wopj.2008.25.3.157>.

<sup>216</sup> Oded Shenkar, *op. cit.*, 33.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>218</sup> Alexandra Claassen Pina, "The Public Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China," December 2014, 79., <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/50856>

<sup>219</sup> Robert B. Zoellick, "Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?," (September 2005).

containing the knowledge and it was ready to have knowledge propagated to suppliers, consumers, employees etc.<sup>220</sup> It also started to build substructure to support sophisticated production and its potential.<sup>221</sup>

#### **4.2.4. The Opening-Up**

After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the 'Opening Up' era under Deng Xiaoping, Chinese foreign policy had many changes. These changes included increase in numbers of actors and decentralization of the policy-making, as well as institutionalization of foreign policy departments<sup>222</sup>. Foreign policy was no longer a concern of only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but also it concerned other ministries of Commerce, Industry, Trade etc.<sup>223</sup> Media Sources and the internet also began to influence the public opinion. It was thanks to the internet that the Chinese got access to global media. Due to these changes, the social environment started to transform constantly and policies were shaped according to this changing environment. Inclusion of media and the internet forced the Chinese government to act more sensible to the impact of media coverage.<sup>224</sup> In the matter of institutionalization; intern-agencies were found and the skills were transferred from individuals to institutions. The junction between the institutions included in foreign policy-making had improved co-ordination in the procedure.

It should be stated that before Deng Xiaoping's 'Reform and Opening-Up' era, Mao had rejected the international system's principles. Mao's foreign policy was in a pompous nature and opposed to the superpowers of bilateral world. Xiaoping's

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<sup>220</sup> Oded Shenkar, *The Chinese Century: The Rising Chinese Economy and Its Impact on the Global Economy, the Balance of Power, and Your Job* (FT Press, 2006), 35.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Yufan Hao, *China's Foreign Policy Making Societal Force and Chinese American Policy* (Routledge, 2017), 2.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 6

<sup>224</sup> Alexandra Claassen Pina, "The Public Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China," December 2014, 82., <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/50856>

policies encouraged change. It supported participation in international community. China's image developed thanks to its involvement in international governmental organizations such as WTO, World Bank, IMF etc., and various non-governmental organizations. It is thanks to these policies that China started to emanate from isolation.<sup>225226</sup>

These revolutionary reforms directed China's foreign policy. The manifestation of China's independent foreign policy in 1982 and the independent foreign policy of peace in 1986 were regulations for China's foreign policy model in later years. Of course, at these times, to have an independent foreign policy would inevitably mean that the Chinese would take side neither with the US nor with the Soviet Union.<sup>227</sup> As a result, China renormalized diplomatic ties with other countries and started to develop new connections and affiliations in order to promote economic growth.<sup>228</sup>

However, in 1990s, China did not want to 'take the lead' in international affairs. But in the beginning of the millennium, it abandoned its previous methods and started to take a more important role in the world affairs. In 2002, at the 16th Communist Party Congress, China's long-term purpose was introduced as the transformation of China into a wealthy society where people enjoy the life, by 2020.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Donald H. Straszheim, "China Rising," *World Policy Journal* 25, no. 3 (2008): 164, <https://doi.org/10.1162/wopj.2008.25.3.157>.

<sup>226</sup> Chen Jie, "The NGO Community in China," *China Perspectives*, no. 68 (December 2006): 34–36, <https://journals.openedition.org/chinaperspectives/3083>.

<sup>227</sup> Yongjin Zhang, *China in International Society since 1949: Alienation and Beyond* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave, In Association With St. Antony's College, Oxford, 2003), 8.

<sup>228</sup> Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (2003): 24–25, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20033754>.

<sup>229</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, "China's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy," in *The New Public Diplomacy Soft Power in International Relations* (PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2005), 90.

If the features of China's foreign policy are to be stated, it would be fair to say that one of the most important principles is the independence and the integrity of the state. It also opposes hegemonism and puts emphasis on world peace. It stands against aggression. Furthermore, it places importance to friendly relations and regional stability. It stands by oppressed and developing states and opposes relentless imperialism.<sup>230231</sup>

#### **4.3. The Chinese Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Making**

China's reform policies resulted in a big success; very high growth rates, economic integration, successful foreign policy, inclusion in international society show that China is committed to take a part in the global arena. China became a rising power in order to reclaim its past grandeur<sup>232</sup>. However, whether China's inclusion affects global stability in a positive or negative way is a very controversial subject. The controversy mostly focuses on China's hard power; its purposes and its ways of usage. Another part of this controversy is mostly about China's soft power. Chinese officials have come to understand the significance of internal and external public opinion in terms of foreign policy. Hence, public diplomacy became very important for China, in order to represent a better impression of the country.<sup>233</sup>

Deng Xiaoping's 'opening-up' policies positively affected foreign public opinion all over the world. Despite the fact that these policies and reforms were remarkably effective at the beginning, the crisis in Tiananmen in 1989 gravely harmed China's new positive image abroad. Consequently, China became a subject of various economic, trade, political sanctions. These sanctions were

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<sup>230</sup> "China's Independent Foreign Policy of Peace," Fmprc.gov.cn, September 19, 2003, [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjb\\_663304/zzjg\\_663340/zcyjs\\_663346/xgxxw\\_663348/t24942.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/zcyjs_663346/xgxxw_663348/t24942.shtml).

<sup>231</sup> Peng Li, "Main Characteristics of China's Foreign Policy," China-embassy.org, September 16, 1996, <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/zgwjzc/t35077.htm>.

<sup>232</sup> Alexandra Claassen Pina, "The Public Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China," December 2014, 87., <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/50856>

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

considered as a step back<sup>234235</sup>. As China found itself isolated once again, it attempted to improve its relations with its neighbours in Asia. China followed a diplomatic strategy as a 'good neighbor' and, as a result, it improved its relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. It should be noted that behind China's efforts to break out of post-Tiananmen isolation, there is one of the largest public-relations firms in the world with which China preferred to work; Hill & Knowlton.<sup>236237</sup>

Jiang Zemin, Deng's successor, when he came into power, recognized how important it was to improve relations with the US if he was to reform China internally and to prove his legitimacy. In order to do so, he expanded China's efforts to improve its image in the global public opinion, encouraged investment and commerce and China's position in the international society. Despite the pressure from the conservatives in China, Jiang managed to promote China's image and lured foreign investments to the country by facilitating the procedures of foreign business ownership<sup>238</sup>. Thus, Chinese leaders began to make trips to other countries and invited leaders from other countries to China. The most noteworthy of these exchange visits would be that of President Jiang and President Bill Clinton in 1997 and 1998 respectively.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Zhiqun Zhu, *China's New Diplomacy: Rationale, Strategies and Significance* (Farnham Ashgate, 2011), 1.

<sup>235</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, *China since Tiananmen from Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao* (Cambridge [U.A.] Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 119.

<sup>236</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, *China since Tiananmen from Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao* (Cambridge [U.A.] Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 209.

<sup>237</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, "China's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy," in *The New Public Diplomacy Soft Power in International Relations* (PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2005), 92.

<sup>238</sup> Fewsmith, *op. cit.*, 209.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

The successor of Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, also attached great importance to public diplomacy. He was proponent in terms of public diplomacy's further integration to Chinese foreign policy and he sought new means to improve the Chinese image in the international society<sup>240</sup>. The importance given to public diplomacy in Jintao's term could be seen in Zhao Qizheng's, the Deputy of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese People Political Consultative Conference, article on People's Daily where he put stress on the significance of public diplomacy with these words: "Public diplomacy spreads Chinese culture and increases political influence more efficiently, improving the world's opinion of China and safeguarding national interests". Qizheng also stated "China must present an accurate picture of itself to the world." The expansion of reform and opening up is necessary for the nation's peaceful development. In this regard, China should not only listen, but talk back." In other words, China's public diplomacy is shaped by a certain political agenda and by the resolution to represent an image of power, wealth and liability and not that of a state that violates human rights on a regular basis.<sup>241</sup>

However, Chinese public diplomacy is contrarian to the usual approach. It focalizes in its growing economy and cultural inheritance while soft power for the most part is based on values<sup>242</sup>. The opening of Confucius Institutes across the world also is an indicator of Chinese public diplomacy's emphasis on culture<sup>243</sup>. Nevertheless, in spite of its huge economic success and improvement on its image globally, China is still criticized because of its authoritarian rule, human right

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<sup>240</sup> Gary D. Rawnsley, "China Talks Back: Public Diplomacy and Soft Power for the Chinese Century," in Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy (Routledge, 2009), 282.

<sup>241</sup> Zhao Qizheng, "Better Public Diplomacy to Present a Truer Picture of China," People.cn (People's Daily, March 2007), [http://en.people.cn/200703/30/eng20070330\\_362496.html](http://en.people.cn/200703/30/eng20070330_362496.html).

<sup>242</sup> Gary D. Rawnsley, "China Talks Back: Public Diplomacy and Soft Power for the Chinese Century," in Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy (Routledge, 2009), 283.

<sup>243</sup> Shogo Suzuki, "Chinese Soft Power, Insecurity Studies, Myopia and Fantasy," Third World Quarterly 30, no. 4 (June 2009): 781, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590902867300>.

violations and lacking democratic institutions, its alliances with defamed regimes such as those in North Korea, Sudan, Zimbabwe etc.<sup>244</sup>

It can be said that Chinese public diplomacy is driven by the socialist idea, Deng's opening-up, 'Three Represents'<sup>245</sup> of Jiang Zemin which is a concept that the Chinese Communist Party represents the advanced productive forces, advanced culture, fundamental interests of the vast majority of the people; the Scientific Outlook on Development<sup>246</sup> and China's aim of building a harmonious world of peace and wealth through joint efforts.<sup>247</sup>

China's public diplomacy aims to assist China's reform, growth and stability. It is after China's national interests and it focuses on the key tasks of CCP and the state. China seeks to achieve its ambitions without utilizing its influence on other states' policies. It wants to enhance improve co-operation, to build mutual trust and contribute to world peace.<sup>248</sup> Chinese public diplomacy takes both internal and external dynamics into consideration. It attempts to represent a true image of China to the world.<sup>249</sup> It is characterized by the fact that it also takes China's cultural heritage to its center and speaks for the 5000 year-old Chinese

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<sup>244</sup> Rawnsley, op. cit., P. 283.

<sup>245</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, "Studying the Three Represents," China Leadership Monitor, no. 8 (October 30, 2003): 1–11, [http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/clm8\\_jf.pdf](http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/clm8_jf.pdf).

<sup>246</sup> "Hu Proposes Scientific Outlook on Development for Tackling Woes," Chinadaily.com.cn, October 15, 2007, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-10/15/content\\_6174718.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-10/15/content_6174718.htm).

<sup>247</sup> Hu Jintao, "Build Towards a Harmonious World of Lasting Peace and Common Prosperity," (September 15, 2005).

<sup>248</sup> Alexandra Claassen Pina, "The Public Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China," December 2014, 82., <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/50856>

<sup>249</sup> "Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing Gives Year-End Interview to People's Daily," Fmprc.gov.cn, December 2005, <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/cedk/eng/zdgy/t227889.htm>.

civilization.<sup>250</sup> Facilitating learning and exchange of knowledge between China and other countries is also an essential element of China's public diplomacy.<sup>251</sup>

Considering these characteristics, one may assume that China's public diplomacy is a multi-dimensional concept that melts the politics, economic strength and cultural heritage in the same pot.

#### **4.4. The Chinese Public Diplomacy Actors**

It is a very common opinion that China's public diplomacy is directly or indirectly operated by the central government and many of its public diplomacy agencies or programmes are under state control.<sup>252</sup> However, despite that fact that Chinese public diplomacy is mainly state-centric enterprise, non-state actors, such as remarkable Confucius Institutes and other various entities, are also involved. Nevertheless, these non-state actors are not completely autonomous because of Chinese party state's organization. These non-state actors, non-governmental organizations are overseen or co-opted by the government. They need to keep close relations with governmental organizations and they are not allowed to operate against official state policies.<sup>253</sup> One can realize that lots of agencies and ministries are involved in China's public diplomacy and this kind of diversity sometimes leads to a defective system in public diplomacy where sometimes there's an absent of a central agency to organize the work of different organs or different agencies intersect in function.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> "China: A Country with 5,000-Year-Long Civilization," China-consulate.org, 2019, <http://karachi.china-consulate.org/eng/zggk/t263930.htm>.

<sup>251</sup> "Office of International Exchange & Cooperation," Bnu.edu.cn, 2011, <http://international.english.bnu.edu.cn/chineselearning/popularization/index.htm>.

<sup>252</sup> Falk Hartig, *Chinese Public Diplomacy: The Rise of Confucius Institutes* (London: Routledge, 2017), 84.

<sup>253</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, "China's Public Diplomacy System," in *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication* (PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2011), 22.

This abundance of various groups of actors involved in China's public diplomacy is a result of the expansion of China's entire diplomatic system.<sup>255</sup>

It is possible to make a basic distinction between state actors, non-state actors and institutions. The most notable state actors in China's public diplomacy: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its missions and embassies abroad; the State Council Information Office and State Information Internet Office; the People's Liberation Army and the Ministry of Defense; Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Ministry of Culture, the State Administration for Radio, Film and Television, the Ministry of Education; China's leaders and the Communist Party of China.<sup>256</sup> Among these it is the State Council Information Office and the Communist Party's Office of External Publicity play the decisive part on China's public diplomacy activities.<sup>257</sup>

#### **4.4.1. The State Council Information Office**

Since its creation in 1991, China's SCIO has served as an important asset in China's public diplomacy. It develops public diplomacy tools, guidelines and instructions. It monitors foreign and domestic media; and censors domestic media if necessary. SCIO is an instrument of the State Council which is the chief administrative authority in China.<sup>258</sup>

The initiation of SCIO in 1991 in the purpose of “introducing China to the international community, including China's domestic and foreign policies, the development of the Chinese economy and society, as well as China's history,

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<sup>254</sup> Falk Hartig, op. cit., 84.

<sup>255</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 132.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>257</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, “The Expansion of China's Public Diplomacy System,” in *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication* (PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2011), 21.

<sup>258</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, op. cit., 134.

technology, education and culture.”<sup>259</sup>, concurred with the end of the isolation period after Tiananmen. It represented China's purpose of becoming more open in its publicity work. SCIO started issuing White Papers illuminating China's position and policies on diverse critical issues such as human rights and the issue of Taiwan in 1993. White Papers are still being issued today and are widely studied by journalists and academics. Their interpretation finds place in academic studies and international newspapers.<sup>260</sup>

Since one of SCIO's main responsibilities is to speak to both foreign and domestic media, especially in the course of crises. Thus, its top priority has been releasing information through news conferences. Assignment of a spokesperson on news conferences is also a crucial part of a central government communication system.<sup>261</sup>

The Chinese government is quite suspicious about foreign view on China and its policies.<sup>262</sup><sup>263</sup> Domestic press also foreign media's estimation on China. Hence, monitoring and evaluating foreign media is another task of SCIO.<sup>264</sup>

The rising popularity of the internet and social media in China pushed the Chinese government to establish the State Information Internet Office in 2011. It functions under SCIO and checks the coordination between public diplomacy policies and

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<sup>259</sup> “About SCIO | English.Scio.Gov.Cn,” Scio.gov.cn, 2015, <http://english.scio.gov.cn/aboutscio/index.htm>.

<sup>260</sup> Ingrid d’Hooghe, *China’s Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 135.

<sup>261</sup> Ni Chen, “The Evolving Chinese Government Spokesperson System,” in *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication* (PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2011), 73–93.

<sup>262</sup> China Daily, “‘Biased Reports’ Not Acceptable,” [Chinadaily.com.cn](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2012-02/14/content_14597884.htm), February 14, 2012, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2012-02/14/content\\_14597884.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2012-02/14/content_14597884.htm).

<sup>263</sup> “Where Does Western Media Bias Come From?,” [China-consulate.org](http://manchester.china-consulate.org/eng/xwdt/t573483.htm), July 16, 2009, <http://manchester.china-consulate.org/eng/xwdt/t573483.htm>.

<sup>264</sup> Ingrid d’Hooghe, *op. cit.*, 135

internet publishing. It takes part in promotion of the construction of major news web sites, but also investigates and punishes the websites that violate regulations and laws.<sup>265</sup>

The SCIO coincides with the Office of External Publicity of Communist Party's Central Publicity Department. However, concrete description of the two bodies can be confusing. There are different implications about whether these two institutions are separate bodies or they are "one institution with two signboards."<sup>266</sup>

#### **4.4.2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is important actor in the public diplomacy of China. Its officials also frequently make reference to the concept of public diplomacy in their discourses.<sup>267</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes the planning of public diplomacy during high level leaders' visits and around major diplomatic events; planning of media work and interaction with the public; inter-agency coordination and overall planning; it also provides counseling to Chinese embassies and missions.<sup>268</sup>

Furthermore, a division for Public Diplomacy within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs's Department of Information was established in 2004. As it gained importance, it became the Office of Public Diplomacy in October 2009. In early 2013, it had three divisions: Media Relations; Internet and Websites and Public Diplomacy Coordination. The Office of Public Diplomacy is responsible for

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<sup>265</sup> "China Sets up State Internet Information Office," Chinadaily.com.cn, May 4, 2011, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2011-05/04/content\\_12440782.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2011-05/04/content_12440782.htm).

<sup>266</sup> Falk Hartig, *Chinese Public Diplomacy: The Rise of Confucius Institutes* (London: Routledge, 2017), 85.

<sup>267</sup> Xinhua, "China Always Welcomes Foreign Journalists: FM Spokesman - People's Daily Online," People.cn, January 2010, 2010, <http://en.people.cn/90001/90776/90883/6874795.html>.

<sup>268</sup> Ingrid D' Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 138.

coordination, overall planning and counseling for all the Ministry of Foreign Affairs's public diplomacy activities.<sup>269</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also involved in the founding of the China Public Diplomacy Association, in January 2013, "a non-profit organization dedicated to providing professional consultation and coordination services to advance the development of China's public diplomacy."<sup>270</sup> Vice-Chairman of the China Public Diplomacy Association, Ma Zhengang stressed that "China lacks a national systemic program to coordinate its public diplomacy" and added that "an important job for us to mobilize more people to join public diplomacy and better coordinate their efforts".

#### **4.4.3. The Ministry of National Defense and PLA**

The Ministry of National Defense and the PLA, despite their late arrival in public diplomacy area, now actively work for the Chinese public diplomacy. PLA realized that it needed to counter allegations about its deficiency in transparency, and that the best way to do so would be communication and release of information. Thus, one may assume that their main purpose is to represent a capable and responsible picture of the PLA.<sup>271</sup>

In order to do so, the Ministry of National Defense started to organize occasional press conferences in 2008, which later in 2011 became a regular activity. It also started to share news about military with Chinese military specialists, academics, foreign militaries and people. It also provides information via its website.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>270</sup> Zhang Yunbi, "China to Boost Public Diplomacy, Exchanges - Chinadaily.Com.Cn," Chinadaily.com.cn, January 2013, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-01/01/content\\_16073723.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-01/01/content_16073723.htm).

<sup>271</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, op. cit., 143.

<sup>272</sup> Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, "China's National Defense in 2010," March 2011, [http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/node\\_7114675.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/node_7114675.htm).

#### 4.4.4. China's Leaders

China's leaders are required to promote a good picture and comprehension of China during their visits to other countries and in international meetings. They travel often and take time off to appeal to foreign audiences.<sup>273</sup> One of the most important public diplomacy action during a Chinese leader's trip to a foreign country would be the launch of 1-minute long video clip named "Experience China" on massive video billboards at New York City's Times Square. This video was launched during China's former President Hu Jintao's visit to the United States in early 2011. The advertisement featured famous Chinese people and ordinary people from all over China. The video clip was shown at Times square fifteen times per four from 6 am to 2 am the next day, for one month.<sup>274</sup>

China's current leader, President Xi Jinping, also seems to attach importance to public diplomacy. For example, in his trip to the United States in 2012, Xi met with ordinary Americans in small-town Iowa, where he had stayed on a study trip in 1985. He also made a visit to Los Angeles, where he met with high-school students and watched a basketball game.<sup>275</sup>

Xi Jinping's wife, Peng Liyuan is another asset in the Chinese leadership's public diplomacy. She made her "debut in the international diplomatic arena" in late March 2013, when she accompanied the President on his first foreign trip to Moscow and various African countries.<sup>276</sup> Peng Liyuan wears fashionable clothes

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<sup>273</sup> Ingrid D' Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 147.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>275</sup> William Wan, "Xi Visits Iowa, Where the Diplomatic Equivalent of Love Is in the Air," *The Washington Post*, February 16, 2012, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/xi-visits-iowa-where-the-diplomatic-equivalent-of-love-is-in-the-air/2012/02/15/gIQAdSebGR\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.fb144ea1667c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/xi-visits-iowa-where-the-diplomatic-equivalent-of-love-is-in-the-air/2012/02/15/gIQAdSebGR_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.fb144ea1667c).

<sup>276</sup> He Wenping, "Major Step in Image Building - Chinadaily.Com.Cn," *Chinadaily.com.cn*, April 10, 2013, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-04/10/content\\_16388288.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-04/10/content_16388288.htm).

made by Chinese designers and she is not afraid to stand in the limelight<sup>277</sup>, and she is compared to Michelle Obama and Kate Middleton by the international press.<sup>278279</sup> She has also held a role as a Goodwill Ambassador for Tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS for the World Health Organization since 2011. Peng made a visit to the children who were infected with HIV in an orphanage in Brazzaville, during her visit to the Republic of the Congo.<sup>280</sup> Peng Liuyan draws many positive comments both from Chinese press and foreign press.<sup>281282283</sup>

Cheng Hong, the wife of Chinese Premier Li Keqiang, also took an active role in public diplomacy on the international stage.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Jane Perlez and Bree Feng, "China's First Lady Strikes Glamorous Note," The New York Times, March 24, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/25/world/asia/peng-liyuan-chinas-new-first-lady-adds-glamour.html>.

<sup>278</sup> Peter Ford, "China's Michelle Obama? First Lady Peng Liyuan Inspires Fashion Frenzy," The Christian Science Monitor (The Christian Science Monitor, March 27, 2013), <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2013/0327/China-s-Michelle-Obama-First-Lady-Peng-Liyuan-inspires-fashion-frenzy>.

<sup>279</sup> Malcolm Moore, "Peng Liyuan: The 'Kate Middleton' Effect of China's New First Lady," Telegraph.co.uk, March 24, 2013, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/9951016/Peng-Liyuan-the-Kate-Middleton-effect-of-Chinas-new-first-lady.html>.

<sup>280</sup> Xinhua, "Xi Encourages Chinese Doctors to Help Africa - China - Chinadaily.Com.Cn," Chinadaily.com.cn, 2013, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-03/31/content\\_16361433.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-03/31/content_16361433.htm).

<sup>281</sup> He Wenping, "Major Step in Image Building - Chinadaily.Com.Cn," Chinadaily.com.cn, April 10, 2013, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-04/10/content\\_16388288.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2013-04/10/content_16388288.htm).

<sup>282</sup> Hannah Beech, "Peng Liyuan: The World's 100 Most Influential People | TIME.Com," TIME.com (TIME 100, April 18, 2013), <http://time100.time.com/2013/04/18/time-100/slide/peng-liyuan/>.

<sup>283</sup> Jane Perlez and Bree Feng, "China's First Lady Strikes Glamorous Note," The New York Times, March 24, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/25/world/asia/peng-liyuan-chinas-new-first-lady-adds-glamour.html>.

<sup>284</sup> Zhao Kejin, "A Shot in the Arm for 'lady Diplomacy'.Com.Cn," Chinadaily.com.cn, May 8, 2014, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/kindle/2014-05/08/content\\_17493871.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/kindle/2014-05/08/content_17493871.htm).

It is safe to claim that thanks to these leadership couples, Chinese leaders now look more like Western leaders. This makes it easier for them to appeal to foreign audiences and press.

#### **4.4.5. The Chinese Communist Party**

The CCP has been held responsible for most of China's shortcomings; human rights violations, corruption and lack of reform. Hence, the CCP's efforts to improve China's image started by promoting its own image. The CCP has done that by extending its contacts and relationships with more than 400 political parties of all kinds all over the world.<sup>285</sup> The International Department of the CCP invites leaders and delegations from foreign political parties to visit China. Furthermore, the CCP delegations make studies abroad.<sup>286</sup> Annual China-UK Leadership of the Future Forum, the China-EU High-Level Political Parties forum and the High-Level Dialog with US Political Parties became regular exchanges over time.<sup>287</sup> The Party has also improved its profile by approving a spokesperson system for CCP organs at national and local levels, in 2009. In June 2010, spokespersons of eleven national CCP departments made their debut. The spokespersons systems are seen essential in many aspects.<sup>288</sup>

#### **4.4.6. People's Diplomacy Organizations**

People's diplomacy or people-to-people diplomacy has always been regarded as an important conduct in foreign relations. This was true especially in China's isolation periods. China's ping-pong diplomacy of 1971, indicating a big progress in relations with the US; a symposium in Italy in 1991, organized by a Chinese

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<sup>285</sup> Ingrid D' Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 150.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Xinhua, "CPC Reaches out to Political Parties in the Developed World - China.Org.Cn," China.org.cn, 2012, [http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2012-08/28/content\\_26352213\\_3.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2012-08/28/content_26352213_3.htm).

<sup>288</sup> "China's Party Spokespersons Urged to Promote Social Harmony," Trend.Az, February 22, 2011, <https://en.trend.az/world/other/1833532.html>.

Friendship Association in order to break out of post-Tiananmen isolation of 1989 are some examples for that.<sup>289</sup>

Chinese People's Institutes of Foreign Affairs, established in 1949, is one of the oldest people's diplomacy organizations in China<sup>290</sup>. It consists of many former high-level diplomats and officials. Its main duty is to maintain connection with former ministers, political leaders, diplomats, and public figures who are regarded consequential to China but who are not entitled to be officially hosted by the government.<sup>291</sup>

Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries is another people's diplomacy organization whose activities are focused on common people. It was established in 1954 and promotes international friendship via 46 friendship organizations that it has established on regional or national scale. It cooperates with nearly 500 institutions from 157 countries and it supervises China's sister-city relationships.<sup>292</sup>

The Chinese government considers these people's diplomacy organizations as crucial tools for public diplomacy. They introduce and execute a wide range of international interactions that support official diplomatic relations.

#### **4.4.7. Academic Institutions and Intellectuals**

China's top universities' academics and experts play an active and important role in China's public diplomacy. They are engaged in international academic networks to great extent; they are invited to international conferences and debates, they exchange information and often speak before foreign audiences. They also play a

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<sup>289</sup> Ingrid D' Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 155.

<sup>290</sup> Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, "Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs," Cpifa.org, accessed July 22, 2019, <http://www.cpifa.org/en/>.

<sup>291</sup> Ingrid D' Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 155.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

role as adviser to the government in terms of foreign policy-making.<sup>293294</sup> They present a picture of China where the academic freedom is growing and academy is an intellectual and scientific force.<sup>295</sup> Experts at think tanks that are connected with the government are occasionally posted to a Chinese embassies or mission abroad to gain diplomatic experience and then advise the ambassadors.<sup>296</sup>

#### **4.4.8. Celebrities and Volunteers**

The demand for international volunteering is increasing in China and it contributes to a positive image.

Chinese volunteers were mostly sent out via the Youth Volunteer Work Department of the Communist Youth League.<sup>297</sup> However, recently, Chinese volunteers have started taking part in the programs of international organizations such as UNICEF and UNDP.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Thomas Bondiguel and Thierry Kellner, "The Impact of China's Foreign Policy Think Tanks," *BICCS Asia Paper* 5, no. 5 (2009): 19–21, <https://difusion.ulb.ac.be/vufind/Record/ULB-DIPOT:oai:dipot.ulb.ac.be:2013/94972/TOC>.

<sup>295</sup> Quansheng Zhao, "Epistemic Community, Intellectuals, and Chinese Foreign Policy," *Policy and Society* 25, no. 1 (January 2006): 39–59, [https://doi.org/10.1016/s1449-4035\(06\)70126-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/s1449-4035(06)70126-6).

<sup>296</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, op. cit.

<sup>297</sup> He Na and Peng Yining, "Volunteers Are on the Frontline of a New World|Focus|chinadaily.Com.Cn," *Chinadaily.com.cn*, 2012, [http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/epaper/2012-12/05/content\\_15987785.htm](http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/epaper/2012-12/05/content_15987785.htm).

<sup>298</sup> UNDP, "30 Years of UN Volunteers in China: A Milestone for Global Development," UNDP in China, December 1, 2011, <http://www.cn.undp.org/content/china/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2011/12/30-years-of-un-volunteers-in-china--a-milestone-for-global-devel.html>.

According to a country director of the international development charity Voluntary Services Overseas, Chinese volunteers have one of a kind perspective because they have experienced poverty.<sup>299</sup>

A new trend in China's public diplomacy is the appointment of internationally famous Chinese figures as ambassadors. These figures from various circles have acted as goodwill ambassadors.<sup>300</sup> For example, famous Chinese basketball player Yao Ming has acted as an informal 'Chinese ambassador' during his NBA career in the US. According to former US Ambassador to China, Yao Ming "gave the Chinese people and China a human face in the United States."<sup>301</sup> Another Chinese celebrity, internationally renowned concert pianist Lang Lang was an official worldwide ambassador to the 2010 Shanghai Expo and Goodwill Ambassador for Unicef.<sup>302</sup> As mentioned above, Peng Liyuan, the wife of the President Xi Jinping is also a Goodwill Ambassador for Tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS for the World Health Organization.

#### **4.4.9. The Confucius Institutes**

The Confucius Institutes are one of the most outstanding instruments of China's public diplomacy.

Despite there's an enthusiasm about the Confucius Institutes among the Chinese scholars; this enthusiasm is not shared by some foreign observers. However, the

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<sup>299</sup> Bill Ide, "Chinese Pursue Volunteer Opportunities in Africa," Voice of America, March 2013, <https://www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/chinese-pursue-volunteer-opportunities-africa>.

<sup>300</sup> Ingrid d'Hooghe, op. cit., 158.

<sup>301</sup> Gene Wang, "Yao Ming's Influence Was Far-Reaching during Distinguished NBA Career," The Washington Post, July 20, 2011, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/wizards/yao-mings-influence-was-far-reaching-during-distinguished-nba-career/2011/07/19/gIQAnOyfOI\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.a47e173a5c77](https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/wizards/yao-mings-influence-was-far-reaching-during-distinguished-nba-career/2011/07/19/gIQAnOyfOI_story.html?utm_term=.a47e173a5c77).

<sup>302</sup> Ingrid D' Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 158.

Confucius Institutes is becoming a popular subject to study outside China. This inevitably leads to a wide array of opinions about the Confucius Institutes.<sup>303</sup>

The Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms constituted the major component of Chinese public diplomacy's educational and cultural strategy. In early 2013, there were more than 400 Confucius Institutes in more than 100 countries.<sup>304</sup> The first Confucius Institute was founded in Tashkent, Uzbekistan in June 2004. This one was a pilot institute and the first real Confucius Institute was established in Seoul on November 2004.<sup>305</sup> The Confucius Institutes are funded and directed by the Hanban/Confucius Institute Headquarters that are associated to the Chinese Ministry of Education, but overseen by the State Council.<sup>306</sup> In 2012, Chinese spending on the Confucius Institutes was US\$ 196.33 million.<sup>307</sup>

Its main goal could be described as “promoting Chinese language and culture in foreign countries” in order to meet the “sharp increase in the world’s demands for Chinese learning”<sup>308</sup>. Indeed, the Confucius Institutes are considered as "an efficient way to promote 'soft power' and appeal" to students abroad, the Chinese government invests much money and effort into increasing its efficiency.<sup>309</sup> It

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<sup>303</sup> Falk Hartig, *Chinese Public Diplomacy : The Rise of Confucius Institutes* (London: Routledge, 2017), 98.

<sup>304</sup> Xinhua, “Confucius Institutes to Reach 500 Cities by 2020 - China - Chinadaily.Com.Cn,” *Chinadaily.com.cn*, March 11, 2013, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-03/11/content\\_16299054.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-03/11/content_16299054.htm).

<sup>305</sup> Falk Hartig, *op. cit.*, 100.

<sup>306</sup> Ingrid d’Hooghe, *op. cit.*, 178.

<sup>307</sup> “Annual Report of the Confucius Institutes Headquarters 2012” (Confucius Institute Headquarters(Hanban), 2012), <http://www.hanban.org/report/2012.pdf>.

<sup>308</sup> Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban), “Hanban-FAQ,” *Hanban.org*, 2009, [http://english.hanban.org/node\\_7577.htm](http://english.hanban.org/node_7577.htm).

<sup>309</sup> Chen Jia, “Class Act Promotes Global ‘Soft Power,’” *Chinadaily.com.cn*, 2010, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2010-11/11/content\\_11531741.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2010-11/11/content_11531741.htm).

could be said that the Confucius Institutes are the Chinese equivalent of Alliance Française of France or the Goethe Institute of Germany.

Thus, it can be said that the Confucius Institutes are reactive instruments by means of which China offers the world to learn more about China. The Confucius Institutes also follow idealistic purposes in relation to international understanding and cultural exchange.<sup>310</sup>

According to General Principles of the 'Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes':

Confucius Institutes devote themselves to satisfying the demands of people from different countries and regions in the world who learn the Chinese language, to enhancing understanding of the Chinese language and culture by these peoples, to strengthening educational and cultural exchange and cooperation between China and other countries, to deepening friendly relationships with other nations, to promoting the development of multi-culturalism, and to construct a harmonious world.<sup>311</sup>

The Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes further define how these goals are going to be achieved. Specifically, the Confucius Institutes will provide the following services: Chinese language teaching, training Chinese language instructors and providing Chinese language teaching resources, holding the HSK examination (Chinese Proficiency Test) and tests for the Certification of the Chinese Language Teachers, providing information and consultative services concerning China's education, culture, and so forth, conducting language and cultural exchange activities between China and other countries.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Falk Hartig, *Chinese Public Diplomacy: The Rise of Confucius Institutes* (London: Routledge, 2017), 101.

<sup>311</sup> Confucius Institutes Headquarters (Hanban), "Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes," Hanban.org, n.d., [http://english.hanban.org/node\\_7880.htm](http://english.hanban.org/node_7880.htm).

<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

Nevertheless, the Confucius Institutes are subjects of a lot of debate. They are seen as propaganda tools or even 'Trojan horses' that disseminate China's worldview.<sup>313</sup> In summer 2012, the US government, concerned about the large number of Confucius Institutes in the US which is approximately 80, proposed regulations and measures in order to strengthen the rules for Confucius Institutes and the visas for the Chinese staff member who work there. However, as this attempt was encountered by Chinese government with strong protests, the plan was abandoned.<sup>314</sup> There have been other protests and discussions about the Confucius Institutes and even the foreign joint venture partner decided to close its institute in some cases.<sup>315</sup>

However, there are some problems about Confucius Institutes. For example, the swiftly growing numbers of Confucius Institutes encountered with a shortage of qualified teachers of Chinese language. They also lack attractive cultural materials and programs in some cases. Indeed, the Confucius Institutes mainly focus on language courses and does not yet possess the sufficient captivating cultural materials, and programs to share with their audiences. Ingrid d'Hooghe argues that given the fact that Chinese language is far more complex and difficult than the English, the cultural dimension may be more important than language training in the end.<sup>316</sup> Hanban, hence, is currently investing heavily in expanding teacher training and increasing the service quality.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> Steven Mosher, "Confucius Institutes: Trojan Horses with Chinese Characteristics," March 28, 2012, <http://archives-republicans-foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/HHRG-112-FA17-WState-MosherS-20120328.pdf>.

<sup>314</sup> Helle Dale, "The State Department's Confusion over Confucius Institutes," *The Daily Signal* (The Daily Signal, June 13, 2012), <https://www.dailysignal.com/2012/06/13/the-state-departments-confusion-over-confucius-institutes/>.

<sup>315</sup> James Bradshaw and Colin Freeze, "McMaster Closing Confucius Institute over Hiring Issues," *The Globe and Mail* (The Globe and Mail, February 8, 2013), <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/education/mcmaster-closing-confucius-institute-over-hiring-issues/article8372894/>.

<sup>316</sup> Ingrid D' Hooghe, *China's Public Diplomacy, 1991-2013* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2015), 178.

Nonetheless, the promotion of the Chinese language is not limited only to the Confucius Institutes. Chinese language is getting more and more offered by the primary and middle schools from all over the world. More than 60,000 students in the US are learning Chinese; while the same increasing trend is visible in Europe and Africa; in Asia this number reaches up to millions.<sup>318319</sup>

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

Regarding its aspiration to be a global competitive power in the new world, China has come to understand that it needed to improve its image in the international society. After having passed its first years in an isolated environment under Mao Zedong's rule, China finally 'opened-up and reformed' with Deng Xiaoping and so public diplomacy came into prominence. Abandoning its rejection of international systems' rules, China started to play its role in the global arena as a coherent country. Thus it started to run various public diplomacy activities through a wide array of actors, some of which are studied above. Despite the fact that its image started to change, it should be said that China's public diplomacy still have some issues regarding China's position on world issues, inner structure of the country and state, the difficulty of the language etc. However, one may claim that there is still room for improvement for China's public diplomacy, considering the importance that is attached to the concept by the Chinese government and officials.

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<sup>317</sup>Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Alex Dobuzinkis, "More U.S. Students Learning Chinese As School Language Programs Expand," HuffPost (HuffPost, April 21, 2011), [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/more-us-students-learning\\_n\\_852093](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/more-us-students-learning_n_852093).

<sup>319</sup>Stanley Pignal, "Subscribe to Read | Financial Times," Financial Times (Financial Times, 2017), <https://www.ft.com/content/73c7e4c8-e527-11e0-bdb8-00144feabdc0>.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE TURKISH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, Turkey's public diplomacy is analysed in relation to its aims, scope, strategies and actors. The starting point of the analyses is the transformation of Turkish foreign policy under the AK Party government. With new foreign policy understanding of the AKP government, Turkey both seeks to re-connect with its past Ottoman territories like Balkans, Middle East, Caucasus and Asia Minor, and also to reach to the previously ignored parts of the world like Latin America and the Caribbean, in order to have an influence over these regions. In this framework, public diplomacy became an important asset for Turkey to gain public support of these regions to get involved in foreign policy activities in these regions. By this way, Turkey, as an emerging power, tries to be on the global arena as a center and model country as well as a regional superpower.

#### **5.2. Historical Background**

##### **5.2.1. Pre-AKP Period**

After the end of the World War I, the newly established Turkish Republic was weak and quite inactive in terms of foreign policy because of the domestic and global disordenance caused by the consequences of the First World War which was very harsh and weary for all the countries in it. In that time, Turkey was too deeply occupied with its internal concerns and external threats to give priority to foreign policy activiness. While the war-weary country was struggling with such challenges, it had no choice but to stay isolated from rest of the world in terms of

external politics. For that reason, Turkey did not have a public diplomacy policy as such in that period and in the following years.<sup>320</sup>

During the Great War, Turkey conducted another war within the war. It was the Liberation War lasting from 1919 to 1923. Fighting for independence, Turkey had been in economically weak condition for many years. There were also continuous riots in Anatolia, which made the situation even worse for the country. The nation was weakened and worn-out because of the war. Most importantly, there was a fight between Istanbul and Ankara, between the Sultan and Mustafa Kemal. The country was not united. It was fighting within itself.<sup>321</sup> Turkish Republic was founded in 1923. When the journey from empire to nation ended, a new process started for the making of new nation-state. The country entered into a process of extensive modernization. As a country that fought for its independence and as an independent country in process of modernization, the young Turkish Republic evoked admiration among Arab nationalists in the region and inspired other regional countries like Iran, Tunisia and Afghanistan. Although that constituted a modest soft power asset for Turkey in the region, there would happen post-WWII order constraints for such a role for Turkey in the next decades.<sup>322</sup> In the early years of the Republic, taking the security concerns into consideration, Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, followed a pacifist and peace loving foreign policy, as the motto “peace at home, peace in the world” clearly implies. Their main aim was to raise the country “to the level of contemporary civilizations”. As the new elite were on the side of nationalism and secularism, the ties between Turks and especially Arabs were intentionally weakened.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Yagubzade, Elmin. “Türkiyenin Dış Politikasında Yumuşak Güç.” *Azerbaijan State University of Economics*, 3 May 2015, unec.edu.az/application/uploads/2015/05/Elmin-Yagubzade.pdf. Accessed 9 Mar. 2019.

<sup>321</sup> Oran, Baskın. 2018. “1919-1923: Kurtuluş Yılları.” In *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, 101. İstanbul: İletişim.

<sup>322</sup> Altunışık, Meliha. 2008. “The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey’s Soft Power in the Middle East.” *Insight Turkey* 10 (2): 42. <https://www.insightturkey.com/articles/the-possibilities-and-limits-of-turkeys-soft-power-in-the-middle-east>.

Therefore, in order to keep up with the European states in terms of development level, Turkey followed a policy of moving away from its Ottoman heritage, especially from the Islam-dominated Arab world, and saw its future in the Western world. At the same time, Turkey acted cautiously in order not to confront with any European major power, which made Turkey stay away from following an active foreign policy. For that reason, Turkey stayed as a non-aligned country pursuing a security-oriented, defensive and pacifist foreign policy up until the end of WWII.<sup>324</sup> Therefore, at that time public diplomacy was not an issue of interest among the policy-makers. However, it is still important to note the fact that while on one hand one can argue that there was no public diplomacy in the early stage of the Republic, on the other hand it can be claimed that Turkey had some extent of soft power in that time. While the world was preparing for the upcoming WWII, Turkey was determined to take diplomatic and peaceful steps in international issues like Montreux Convention and the issues of Hatay and Moussul.<sup>325</sup> In the meantime, while Turkey was dealing with new challenges inside, the world for the second time was becoming volatile again. “The war to end all wars” proved to be not so. The world was dragged into the World War II in 1939.<sup>326</sup> During the WWII, Turkey decided to stay neutral in accordance with its pacifist policy.

When it came to the Cold War period, the world found itself in a totally different international structure. It was a bipolar world order, between two superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union. Having had to side with either of them, Turkey regarded the US as the strategic choice as it did not look possible to stand out against the

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<sup>323</sup> Beach, Morgan. 2009. ““Peace at Home, Peace in the World”\*: The Rise and Role of Nationalism in Turkish Political Life | Pepperdine School of Public Policy.” Pepperdine.Edu. 2009. <https://publicpolicy.pepperdine.edu/academics/research/policy-review/2009v2/peace-at-home-peace-in-the-world.htm>.

<sup>324</sup> Dinç, Cengiz, and Mustafa Yetim. 2012. “Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East: From Non-Involvement to a Leading Role.” *Alternatives : Turkish Journal Of International Relations* 11 (1): 68–69. <https://dergipark.org.tr/alternatives>.

<sup>325</sup> Kamel, Ayhan. 2014. *1923'ten Günümüze Türk Dış Politikası ve Diplomasisi*. İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi.

<sup>326</sup> Catherwood, Christopher. 2014. *World War II*. London: Oneworld Publications.

Soviet threats but for the US support.<sup>327</sup> In this period, Turkey acted more actively in international area compared to previous decades. That Turkey joined NATO in 1951 and took part in Baghdad Pact in 1955 was signaling Turkey's development in foreign policy.<sup>328</sup> While Turkey saw itself as a part of the Western bloc, it also turned away from the Middle East in order not to "get drawn into the Middle East swamp". In the same way, Turkey was othered by the Arab world with Turkey's recognition of Israel in 1949 and later with the rise of Arab nationalism.<sup>329</sup> Although there were a developing trade between Turkey and Middle Eastern countries when it came to 1970s, Turkish Foreign policy was still predominantly shaped by security concerns until 1980s. In 1980s, Turkey started to adopt its Islamic identity again with the aim of developing political and economic relations with the regional countries. However, in the following years, Turkey's policy towards the Middle Eastern region was mostly related to security threats against Turkey's territorial integrity created by the terror organization PKK. This situation made it necessary for Turkey to continue its security-oriented foreign policy between years of 1990 and 2000.<sup>330</sup> So, as it is obvious, the post-Cold War period brought about important changes in terms of Turkish foreign policy orientation. From then on, Turkey began to shift towards other regions like the Middle East. That change was significantly different from traditional Turkish Foreign Policy which was built on Turkey's geopolitical considerations and concerns in the international arena, Atatürk nationalism and its pragmatism.

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<sup>327</sup> Yagubzade, *op. cit.*

<sup>328</sup> Oran, Baskın. 2018. "1945-1960: Batı Bloku Ekseninde Türkiye." In *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, 53–54. İstanbul: İletişim.

<sup>329</sup> Altunışık, Meliha. 2008. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East." *Insight Turkey* 10 (2): 42. <https://www.insightturkey.com/articles/the-possibilities-and-limits-of-turkeys-soft-power-in-the-middle-east>.

<sup>330</sup> Dinç, Cengiz, and Mustafa Yetim. 2012. "Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East: From Non-Involvement to a Leading Role." *Alternatives : Turkish Journal Of International Relations* 11 (1): 71–72. <https://dergipark.org.tr/alternatives>.

### 5.2.2. AK Party Period

That shift in foreign policy meant a break from the Cold War mentality of keeping Turkey self-enclosed in the global arena.<sup>331</sup> However, the times when the international dynamics used to be shaped by the narratives of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution were over. In the 21st century, relationship between history and geography, time and place, individual and society, reason and faith, self and other and self and periphery has been transformed into a new kind of interaction by the conditions of globalization. A new “geographic imagination” was emerging and making itself more palpable by the day. In such a context, Turkey is also transforming its mentality and building a new “geographic imagination” from a new perspective. Now in its new perspective, there is no room for dim-sightedness which reduces foreign policy to ideological considerations and realpolitik anxieties.<sup>332</sup> A new geographic imagination, which is built on historical experiences and interactions rather than territorial boundaries, led to a change in the framework of Turkish foreign policy. Turkey started to widen its foreign policy perspective and pursue a more influential role for itself in the global arena. It moved away from the old perception of geography and distance and began to see the regions like the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus and the center of Euroasia through the lenses of this new geographic imagination.<sup>333</sup> So, Turkey, with its new mentality, decided to focus on unconventional diplomatic tools as well as traditional ones and started to utilize public diplomacy directed not only to state actors but also to non-state actors, especially public opinion. This was a step that Turkey should have taken earlier than it really did.<sup>334</sup> Still, in the end, Turkey

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<sup>331</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. “Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey.” *Perceptions* 16 (3): 5. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn\\_2011.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn_2011.pdf).

<sup>332</sup> Ibid, 6-7.

<sup>333</sup> Aras, Bülent, and Hakan Fidan. 2009. “Turkey and Eurasia: Frontiers of a New Geographic Imagination.” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 40: 196–98. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0896634600005276>.

<sup>334</sup> Özkan, Abdullah. 2015. “Strategic Practices of Public Diplomacy Policies in Educational Field and Turkey’s Potential for Cultural Diplomacy.” *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 176 (February): 40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.01.441>.

came to realize that it could also deal with the problems, which for long have caused Turkey to have false and negative image beyond its borders, with the help of public diplomacy. Because of the lack of an effective public diplomacy, Turkey have always had difficulty in explaining itself and telling its own story to the world and correcting the prejudices about itself abroad like in the case of Armenian Issue, Kurdish Issue and Cyprus Issue. Another important example is how Turkey's EU Accession process has been blocked. As a necessity of democracy, other EU member states have to persuade their people that Turkey is eligible for EU membership. To make it happen, Turkey has to build a positive image among these countries, break prejudices about itself and make those societies and its own people get closer to each other in a friendly manner.<sup>335</sup> Therefore, Turkey has set to take the control of what constitutes its image because of the rightful reason that if a country fails to manage the perceptions about itself, in the end that country turns out to be a country that is controlled by others, as pointed out by Simon Anholt. So, after 2000s, Turkey finally realized the significance of public diplomacy because times changed, the understanding of diplomacy also changed. It became an internationally accepted fact that traditional diplomacy alone is not enough anymore and soft power has been gaining more and more importance. Turkey also came to the realization that in this new international arena public diplomacy activities already became a must for a country.<sup>336</sup> So, it would not be incorrect to argue the fact that in Turkey public diplomacy activities as a primary foreign policy tool started to be used both on institutional level and practical level in the AKP era starting from the year 2002. In the AK Party period, Turkish foreign policy underwent important changes in terms of mentality, ideology, foreign policy-making and rhetoric. Especially the time period between 2002 and 2011 is the period when soft policy instruments and public diplomacy

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<sup>335</sup> Akçadağ, Emine. 2009. "Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Kamu Diplomasisi." *Institute of Public Diplomacy*. <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/emineakcadag.pdf>. 18

<sup>336</sup> Akçadağ, Emine. 2009. "Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Kamu Diplomasisi." *Institute of Public Diplomacy*. <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/emineakcadag.pdf>.

activities dominated the foreign policy.<sup>337</sup> The AK Party government introduced significant changes to Turkish foreign policy and started to orient foreign policy activities towards the regions which were the long ignored regions of Balkans, Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia rather than its traditional allies, EU and the USA. This new foreign policy orientation constituted a rupture in traditional Turkish foreign policy. With a goal of taking the opportunity of turning into a regional power in the post-Cold War environment, Turkey shifted its foreign policy perception, or its “axis” maybe. In this new foreign policy perspective, Turkey’s Western orientation and pro-status quo approach were abandoned and an active and multi-dimensional foreign policy approach was adopted.<sup>338</sup> This new foreign policy understanding emphasized the historical and cultural bonds between Turkey and the Ottoman Empire’s past territories. Turkey’s geopolitical location and the Ottoman heritage were considered as the key assets for developing relations with these regions to have a leading role in the regional issues.

### **5.3. The Turkish Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Making**

The aim of Turkey’s emerging Public Diplomacy could be listed as enabling Turkey to get its voice heard to wider regions across the globe, to tell the “new” Turkey’s story and vision to the world, to repair deeply-established negative image and misperceptions about Turkey and build its own self-image, to reconnect with its past Arab and Muslim societies on a wide geography and act as a model country especially for the Middle East, and most importantly to become a regional and global actor. For Turkey to break prejudices and correct misperceptions and negative image about itself is vital because it is an “age in which image shapes reality.” Fashion industry where “image is everything” is a meaningful metaphor for countries and their public diplomacy. Therefore, it is important for Turkey to

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<sup>337</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. 2nd ed. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>338</sup> Baser, Ekrem, Shift of Axis in Turkish Foreign Policy: Turkish National Role Conceptions Before and After the AKP (2013). APSA 2013 Annual Meeting Paper; American Political Science Association 2013 Annual Meeting. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2301923>

shift its negative image and the misperceptions about itself to the better.<sup>339</sup> The image issue takes the argument to where Turkey needs to tell its story to the rest of the world with clarity and without obstacle. Public diplomacy is utilised by many countries as an unconventional diplomatic tool in order to tell their story to the world. Public diplomacy provides the AK Party government with a channel to tell the story of new Turkey to the world. From the AK Party government's point of view, Turkey is regarded as a country which is able to achieve the balance in combining its Ottoman past and modernization. It is reconnecting with its past while it still preserves modernization. Indeed, the major motivation which drove the the AK Party government to attach importance to public diplomacy was the aim of explaining its new ideology to the world.<sup>340</sup>

The soft power discourse in Turkey first started to be used by the AK Party government in the early 2000s. During that time, prominent AK Party leaders emphasized that Turkey was abandoning its security-oriented foreign policy and progressing to soft power-oriented foreign policy. Such an foreign policy understanding, as it was claimed, would disprove the perspective that Turkey is surrounded by a hostile environment which made Turkey isolated from Muslim Middle East and its Ottoman heritage. Therefore, in order to make up with the region and reconnect with its past audience, Turkey tried to restore its image in the Middle East while also continuing to preserve its pro-Western policies. Especially after the Turkish Parliament rejected to pass US' proposal for the US troops to operate from Turkish bases and ports during the Iraqi invasion of the US, image of the country in the region started to develop for better. Refusal of the resolution in 2003 created an image of an independent actor for Turkey and was appreciated by the Middle East and Russia. In addition to that, as a reflection of domestic policy, AK Party's harsh criticism of Israel made it even better. So, these developments paved the way for Turkey to follow more regional policies and attempt mediation initiatives as a soft power policy in the region. From the perspective of the ruling

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<sup>339</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey." *Perceptions* 16 (3): 17. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn\\_2011.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn_2011.pdf).

<sup>340</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey." *Perceptions* 16 (3): 5. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn\\_2011.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn_2011.pdf). 18-19

AK Party government, the AK Party government started a new era for Turkey with a less focus on secularism, military and security, which differs the AK Party government from previous governments. The AK Party government had an ideology managing both moderate Islam and softened secularism together adding neoliberal capitalist economy in the pot.<sup>341</sup> For the AK Party government, the goal, at least the goal which Turkey aspires to achieve in the Islamic Middle Eastern region, was to be a model country.<sup>342</sup> One of the most significant factors that helped Turkey have a better image in the Muslim Middle East was the opinion that Turkey has a Muslim and secular identity, the controversial view that it may be possible for Islam and democracy to go hand in hand in Turkey. With the AK Party coming to power, the possible reconciliation of democracy and Islam started the discussion about Turkey as a model country. Such a role as a model country for the Islamic world comprised an important soft power asset for Turkey.<sup>343</sup> That is also the reason why Turkish serials are popular in the Middle East. In the Turkish serials, the Muslim Middle Eastern audience see that a secular life style as a Muslim is possible in Turkey, which steps up Turkey's soft power in the region. The reason why Turkey attached that much importance to the Middle Eastern region can be interpreted in the context of the "model country" policy, which was supported by the West and the US.<sup>344</sup> To set an example for the Middle Eastern region, Turkey utilized its secular and democratic identity as a Muslim nation and showed the region that it is part of important Western institutions like NATO. Turkey both developed economic relations with the region and also utilized historical, social and cultural elements which Turkey has in common with the

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<sup>341</sup> Ekşi, Muharrem, and Mehmet Seyfettin Erol. 2018. "The Rise and Fall Of Turkish Soft Power and Public Diplomacy." *Akademik Bakış* 11 (23): 29.

<sup>342</sup> Torun, Zerrin. 2016. "The Debate on 'Turkey as a Role Model' (1990-2011)." *Avrasya Etüdleri* 49 (22): 7-32.

<sup>343</sup> Altunışık, Meliha. 2008. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East." *Insight Turkey* 10 (2): 44. <https://www.insightturkey.com/articles/the-possibilities-and-limits-of-turkeys-soft-power-in-the-middle-east>.

<sup>344</sup> Altunışık, Meliha Benli. "THE TURKISH MODEL AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 1/2 (2005): 45-63. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41859009>.

regional countries.<sup>345</sup> Therefore, Turkey's rhetoric of "model country" was considered as a soft power policy. Besides that, Turkey's frequent reference to the Ottoman Empire and its historical responsibility in the Balkans, Middle East, North Africa and West Asia can be regarded as the manifestation of Turkey's self-description as a center country. On the other hand, asserting itself as a center country was the part of Turkish public diplomacy with the aim of making Turkey center of attraction. Therefore, "center country" rhetoric almost became the motto of Turkish public diplomacy.<sup>346</sup>

Different from other countries like Canada, Holland and Scandinavian countries, Turkey's soft power potential takes its powerful source from the cultural and historical bonds that it shares with the Balkans, the Middle East and the inner parts of the Central Asia. The Ottoman past which Turks, Kurds, Bosnians, Albanians, Circassians, Arabs, Azeris, Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, Uzbeks, Turkmen and other ethnic groups as well as Armenian, Greek, Jewish and Assyrian communities built together is the common ground for all.<sup>347</sup> Today "Turkey is the pivotal point of this heritage. While some may call it "Neo-Ottomanism" <sup>348</sup> which implies a new imperial adventure, one could also consider it as a "new geopolitical imagination" enabling the societies of the region to reconnect with their common past. And, re-affiliation with its past experiences is one of the most important factors that gives shape to Turkey's soft power.<sup>349</sup> Additionally, it is important to note that Turkey's

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<sup>345</sup> Tol, Gönül, and Birol Baskan. 2019. "From 'Hard Power' to 'Soft Power' and Back Again: Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East." Middle East Institute. 2019. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/hard-power-soft-power-and-back-again-turkish-foreign-policy-middle-east>.

<sup>346</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>347</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey." *Perceptions* 16 (3): 17. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn\\_2011.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn_2011.pdf).

<sup>348</sup> Yavuz, M. Hakan. 1998. "Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: The Rise of Neo-Ottomanism." *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 7 (12): 19-41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10669929808720119>.

<sup>349</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey." *Perceptions* 16 (3): 17. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn\\_2011.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn_2011.pdf).

spheres of soft power influence are not limited only to these regions. Africa, Asia and Latin America are the other regions where Turkey as a global actor engages in.<sup>350</sup>

Turkey has a considerable amount of soft power potential thanks to the fact that it is located in a geopolitically important region where its long and deeply-rooted history lies in. The Middle East, Caucasus, Balkans and Central Asia are the main regions which are of great importance in terms of Turkey's soft power. The reason is that Turkey shares a common culture, history and geography with these regions and thus societies in these regions have sympathy for Turkey. And, this situation creates an atmosphere of mutual relations, cooperation and solidarity. It is right to claim that Turkey's soft power success depends on how much and to what extent Turkey achieves to make the most of these materials full of potential. With all these reasons, Turkey "was naturally a central country due to its historical, cultural and geographic position".<sup>351</sup> Therefore, this must be the aim of Turkey in relation to its public diplomacy policy. For Turkey reaching this goal may also mean to be a regional power and even a global actor. According to Kalın, Turkey has been going through both good and bad times in terms of its democracy experience since its establishment and it can be claimed that Turkish democracy is gaining more and more strength and legitimacy among the public, which takes Turkey to a position of an important regional and global actor. Turkey aspires to develop its relations with the countries and their societies by the use of culture and values which are the important sources of soft power and this trend in Turkey indicated that it intends to be a soft power.<sup>352</sup>

Turkey's "regional power" rhetoric is another factor which must be analyzed in terms of public diplomacy. While it was not a new rhetoric which was first used in

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<sup>350</sup> Yılmaz, Ayhan Nuri, and Gökmen Kılıçoğlu Kılıçoğlu. 2017. "Türkiye'nin Afrika'daki Yumuşak Gücü ve Kıtadaki Artan Etkisinin Analizi." In *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika*. Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık.

<sup>351</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey." *Perceptions* 16 (3): 17. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn\\_2011.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn_2011.pdf).

<sup>352</sup> Kalın, İbrahim. 2011. "Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey." *Perceptions* 16 (3): 17. [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn\\_2011.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Autumn_2011.pdf).

the AKP period, it was highly used by the AKP government in foreign policy issues. Turkey left its past role as a periphery country in the international arena and now is on its way to reaching its 21th-century vision of becoming a central country. It is the self-appointed image of Turkey. It is also seen that AKP pursue soft power policies in accordance with their rhetoric.<sup>353</sup>

In the framework of “center country”, “model country” and “regional power” descriptions, Turkey started mediation initiatives in its neighboring regions. For instance, Turkey started the mediation process between Syria and Israel and also between Israel and Hamas. Thereafter, AK Party’s mediations initiatives were presented as success story to the world public opinion. Turkey did not limit its engagement policy to the Middle Eastern region. It started a trilateral summit process between Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan in 2009, a dialogue process between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and trilateral mechanism between Turkey-Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2010. Besides, in 2011 Turkey also established trilateral mechanisms between Turkey-Iran-Azerbaijan and also between Turkey-Georgia-Azerbaijan. Turkey has also been hosting “Istanbul Conferances on Mediation” in Istanbul in order to lead the knowledge generation on mediation. So, AK Party government’s mediation initiatives were intended to give a more active role to Turkey in global politics.<sup>354</sup> In that way, Turkey’s image was affected positively and the political visibility of the country increased. The Alliance of Civilizations Initiative is another public diplomacy initiative which was started by Turkey and Spain in 2005. It’s ideational background is based on the “Clash of Civilizations”, the famous thesis of Samuel Huntington. The main aim of the The Alliance of Civilizations is to remove the environment of prejudice, suspicion, fear and disengtegration and create an environment for communication

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<sup>353</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>354</sup> “From Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs.” 2010. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2010. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/resolution-of-conflicts-and-mediation.en.mfa#>.

based on mutual trust and tolerance between civilizations.<sup>355</sup> Why the AoC as a project has importance for the AK Party government lies in the fact that it is in accord with the AK Party government's aspire to become a model country which comprises religious, secular and democratic values at the same time. It was regarded as an opportunity to show the world public opinion that Turkey as the cradle of various civilizations developed a new identity which carried the Ottoman heritage. In that way, Turkey was represented to both the West and the Muslim world with its Muslim democracy identity and as a model country. And, it intended to tell the world that Turkey, with its historical background and experience, is an actor which was able to solve conflict between different cultures as a mediator. So, for the AK Party government, the Alliance was a means through which it could promote itself for the world public opinion and gain trust both of the Western and Muslim societies.<sup>356</sup>

Another diplomacy conducted by the AK Party government is called "rhythmic diplomacy"<sup>357</sup> in the framework of proactive diplomacy. In that regard, the AK Party government made many diplomatic attempts, followed active diplomacy in international organizations and institutions and hosted the meetings of those organizations and meetings. With regards to public diplomacy, these attempts can be regarded as a method to become a prestigious country with a more visibility in world public opinion. In this context, Turkey applied for a non-permanent membership in the United Nation Security Council and won a seat in 2008, which is regarded as the reflection of Turkey's dynamic foreign policy. The AK Party government's claim that Turkey became a regional super power was the big part of its foreign policy. That success gave chance to Turkey to express itself and gain

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<sup>355</sup> "From Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs." 2013. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-alliance-of-civilizations-initiative.en.mfa>.

<sup>356</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>357</sup> "From Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs." 2012. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2012. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-united-nations-organization-and-turkey.en.mfa>.

visibility in such a globally important organization.<sup>358</sup> On the other hand, in the framework of rhythmic diplomacy, the number of representations in foreign countries increased to 241.<sup>359</sup> This can be interpreted as Turkey's aspire to become a global actor as well as a regional super power.

According some scholars and politicians, the concept of regional power was used a cover up for Neo-Ottomanism as the concept is based on the Ottoman heritage and Turkey's geostrategic position.<sup>360</sup> The discourse was mostly used in paralel with multi-dimensional foreign policy rhetoric. Turkey's opening to Africa is one of the most prominent foreign policy strategies. As to the strategy which could be regarded as the most successful among them in terms of nation branding as a soft power asset is branding of Turkey as a donor country, which was conducted by the AK Party government.

The motivation behind AK Party's both political and economic efforts which were put into foreign aids can be argued to be the fact that foreign assistance is a part of public diplomacy which would help Turkey rise as a global actor. In terms of foreign aid, the regions that Turkey focused on are South and Central Asia, the South Caucaus, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. When one look at the region receive assistance from Turkey, they can conclude that Turkey is aspiring to influence public opinion in favour of itself in the Muslim-majority regions which were especially under rule of the Ottoman Empire and it is conducted as a strategy to develop good political and economic relations with the recipient countries as a

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<sup>358</sup> Kirecci, Akif. 2009. "Turkey in the United Nations Security Council." *SETA Policy Brief*, January, 3–4. [http://setadc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/SETA\\_Policy\\_Brief\\_No\\_28\\_Turkey\\_UNSC\\_Akif\\_Kirecci.pdf](http://setadc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/SETA_Policy_Brief_No_28_Turkey_UNSC_Akif_Kirecci.pdf).

<sup>359</sup> Çavuşoğlu, Mevlüt. n.d. "2019 YILINA GİRERKEN CUMHURBAŞKANLIĞI HÜKÜMET SİSTEMİNDE GİRİŞİMCİ VE İNSANİ DİŞ POLİTİKAMIZ Dışışleri Bakanlığı'nın 2019 Mali Yılı Bütçe Tasarısının TBMM Genel Kurulu'nda Sunulması Vesilesiyle Hazırlanan Kitapçık." Accessed May 24, 2019. [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/site\\_media/html/2019-yilina-girerken-girisimci-ve-insani-dis-politikamiz.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/site_media/html/2019-yilina-girerken-girisimci-ve-insani-dis-politikamiz.pdf).

<sup>360</sup> Yavuz, M. Hakan. 1998. "Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: The Rise of Neo-Ottomanism." *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 7 (12): 19–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10669929808720119>.

foreign policy goal.<sup>361</sup> In addition to this, Turkey's foreign assistance policy, mediating role, proactive and rhythmic diplomacy, visa policy, normalization processes and global peace initiatives like the Alliance of Civilizations were regarded as contributors to Turkey's soft power.

#### **5.4. The Turkish Public Diplomacy Actors**

##### **5.4.1. TİKA**

With the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), many countries in Central Asia and Caucasia like Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan became independent states. Following their independence from the USSR, Turkey saw the situation as an opportunity to fill the gap by using their commonality with Turkey in terms of culture, language and social memory. For Turkey, with the relatively withdrawal of Russia from the region, it was the right time to develop bilateral and regional relations with these countries. For that end, the “one nation, different countries” rhetoric was a quite appropriate consideration. From then on, Turkey's relations with the Turkish speaking countries in Central Asia and Caucasia became one of the priorities of Turkish foreign policy.<sup>362</sup>

So, TİKA was established in 1992 with the aim of assisting these countries. Although public diplomacy is not explicitly addressed in the workings of TİKA, it, with its support for development of these countries and the humanitarian aids has been providing, has contributed a lot to the development of Turkish public diplomacy, even in 1990s when public diplomacy was not regarded a priority for Turkish foreign policy.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Tol, Gönül. 2015. “The Rise of Turkish Foreign Aid.” Middle East Institute. September 30, 2015. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/rise-turkish-foreign-aid>.

<sup>362</sup> “About Us - TİKA.” 2011. Tika.Gov.Tr. 2011. [https://www.tika.gov.tr/en/page/about\\_us-14650](https://www.tika.gov.tr/en/page/about_us-14650).

With that mentioned, the fact remains that TİKA initiated the first soft power policy at institutional level with the aim of filling the gap/power vacuum created by the removal of the Soviet influence in the Balkans, Caucasia and Central Asia. TİKA intended to awaken these countries to consciousness that the Soviet rule made them forget socio-cultural and historic ties that Turkey and these mentioned Turkish speaking societies/countries have. Via the projects, TİKA is carrying out the mission of transmitting Turkish history, civilization, culture and values to these regions and societies in order to win over them. In the first decade of its establishment, what TİKA did in those places were the construction and restoration of schools and hospitals which were damaged by war.<sup>364</sup>

When it came to 2001, TİKA was restructured and it started to implement projects which were deliberately meant to follow a soft power policy. From then on, TİKA became a foreign policy actor rather than just being technical institution conducting Turkey's development aids abroad. It started to hold broader mission and vision. In this regard, TİKA has taken an active role for the social and psychological groundwork.<sup>365</sup>

One of the main drivers that paved the way for the transformation of TİKA is the new foreign policy understanding of the AK Party government. With the AK Party ascending to power, vision of Turkish Foreign Policy was transformed which made Turkey a pro-active actor conducting foreign policy in various parts of the world. Turkey decided to get rid of the situation where it had been mentally stuck between the Muslim world and the West.<sup>366</sup> It explains why Turkey took initiatives like opening to previously-ignored parts of the world like Africa, Latin America

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<sup>363</sup> Akçadağ, Emine. 2009. "Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Kamu Diplomasisi." *Institute of Public Diplomacy*. <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/emineakcadag.pdf>. 20

<sup>364</sup> Çoban, Utku. 2016. "Türk Dış Politikasında Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı'nın (TİKA) Konumu: Moğolistan İncelemesi." TİKA.

<sup>365</sup> Tabak, Hüsrev. 2018. "Political Intermediaries and Turkey's State-to-Society Diplomacy in the Balkans." *Marmara University Journal of Political Science* 6 (1): 81.

<sup>366</sup> Yeşiltaş, Murat, and Ali Balcı. 2013. "A Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Party Era: A Conceptual Map." *SAM Papers* 7 (May). [http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SAM\\_Papers7.pdf](http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SAM_Papers7.pdf).

and Asia. In the AK Party period, the main mental transformation in Turkish foreign policy was how Turkey geographically envisioned the world. Turkey's approach towards Africa, Latin America and Asia changed. From Turkey's new perspective, these regions are not considered as remote and troubled areas; rather they should be regarded as new opportunities.<sup>367</sup> The AK Party elites' ideological focus on the Ottoman past and Islamic references explains TİKA's activities in those places like restoration of the Ottoman and Islamic buildings or construction of new mosques. The interior restoration of the Perruce Moswue in Albania, restoration of the Nazire mosque like other four mosques in the country, restoration of the Mustafa Pasha Mosque and Ishak Çelebi Mosque in Macedonia are some examples for TİKA's ideologically-oriented activities.<sup>368</sup>

As for development aids, it is one of the most discussed topics. Development aids is used as a foreign policy means by many countries. Development aids has been on the agenda of Turkish foreign policy for more than five years and has constituted almost the most important factor of Turkey's opening policy. At the same time, it one of most significant element of Turkey's soft power strategy. It is utilised as a part of Turkey's opening to different parts of the world policy in order to increase the visibility of Turkey overseas and promote Turkey abroad. For TİKA, development aids are not mere assistance, they are, at the same time, a process with political, social and even psychological dimensions.<sup>369</sup>

#### 5.4.2. TRT

Public diplomacy is not only state-to-state diplomacy but also state-to-society or society-to-society diplomacy, which adds a new understanding to diplomacy. For effective public diplomacy activities, use of media is of utmost importance. For

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<sup>367</sup> Özkan, Mehmet, and Birol Akgün. "Turkey's Opening to Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 48, no. 4 (2010): 525-46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40961827>.

<sup>368</sup> "Annual Report." 2017. *TİKA*. TİKA. [https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2018/2017%20Faaliyet%20Raporu/AR\\_2017%20web.pdf](https://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2018/2017%20Faaliyet%20Raporu/AR_2017%20web.pdf).

<sup>369</sup> Özkan, Mehmet. 2017. "DIŞ POLİTİKANIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜNDE TÜRK İŞBİRLİĞİ VE KOORDİNASYON AJANSI'NIN (TİKA) ROLÜ." *Dış Politika* 1: 217-27.

public diplomacy making, means of communication is used to forge public opinion at the international level, have their support and make promotion of country. Besides, media as a mean for communication started to be used as a weapon in interstate politics in the 21st century.<sup>370</sup>

Therefore, media plays a big role for Turkey aiming to become a global actor and a regional power. In order to reach the goal, Turkey has to explain itself to world public opinion in a clear way. For that reason TRT is of vital importance for Turkey.

Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) was established by the state in 1964 and in 2000s TRT was restructured to broadcast in various foreign languages in the framework of public diplomacy since therefore it can transmit Turkey's agenda from Turkey's perspective to audiences of different nations.<sup>371</sup>

For example, concerning Turkish foreign policy towards the Turkish world, TRT Avaz, which began broadcasting in 2009, aims to build a cultural bridge between Turkey and the Turkish world. Thus, TRT Avaz serves as a contributor to Turkey's foreign policy priorities.<sup>372</sup> Another example is TRT El-Arabiya which is broadcasting to Middle Eastern audiences in order to strengthen the cultural and historical ties between Turkey and the countries in the region in accordance with the Turkey's public diplomacy policies for the region.<sup>373</sup>

As for TRT World, the channel was established in 2015 to play as Turkey's one of the soft power actors. Before TRT World, Turkey had not had such a media

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<sup>370</sup> Iosifidis, Petros, and Mark Wheeler. 2016. "Public Diplomacy 2.0 and the Social Media." *Public Spheres and Mediated Social Networks in the Western Context and Beyond*, 149–73. [https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-41030-6\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-41030-6_7).

<sup>371</sup> "About Us - TRT World." 2019. Trtworld.Com. 2019. <https://www.trtworld.com/about>.

<sup>372</sup> TRT Yeni Medya Kanal Koordinatörlüğü. 2009. "Hakkımızda - TRT Avaz." TRT Avaz. 2009. <https://www.trtavaz.com.tr/hakkimizda>.

<sup>373</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

organization to tell Turkey's story from its own perspective to the world. Therefore TRT World's broadcasting language is English as it aims to reach to whole world and inform larger audiences. In time, TRT World became the most important weapon of Turkey in global media wars. It is a principle for TRT World to broadcast in accordance with Turkish Foreign Policy to support Turkish public diplomacy policy as it is a state television. It tends to abstain from going against the government's policies because it depends on the government economically and administratively.<sup>374</sup>

As result, the mission of TRT World is to make Turkey's voice heard on a global scale, implement public diplomacy activities and continue to broadcast in paralel with that purpose. Therefore, the role of TRT World is to contribute to Turkey's public diplomacy activities and thus increase effectiveness and influence of Turkey's soft power both regionally and globally.<sup>375</sup>

#### **5.4.3. Anadolu Agency**

Anadolu Agency was first established in 1920 to publicise the National Struggle/War of Independence and in 2000s it underwent structural changes in compliance with Turkish public diplomacy. With its new mission, AA functions as a channel to put the new Turkey on the map. Therefore, in terms of public diplomacy, AA constitutes an important and a strategic media actor. The channel itself directly implements public diplomacy by conveying Turkey's national arguments and messages to the world public opinion. Since of 2017, AA has been broadcasting in 9 languages such as English, French, Russian, Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Croatian and Bosnian, which makes AA an international news agency.

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<sup>374</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>375</sup> Kınay, İhsan. 2018. "Kamu Diplomasisi ve Medya: Trt World Yayınlarının Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrenciler Üzerindeki Etkisine Yönelik bir Çalışma."

Besides, AA continues to make agreements with other international new agencies and thus becomes to raise a world brand of Turkey.<sup>376</sup>

#### 5.4.4. YTB

Societies influence each other just like individuals. Positive influences that a society has on another have been analyzed within the framework of soft power for last two decades. The major factors that create positive influence are undoubtedly listed as geography, history, culture, language and values which are based on faith and common past. In this context, Turkey has a huge diaspora potential. Through the instrument of such a significant diaspora, it is easy and rational for Turkey to conduct lobby activities.<sup>377</sup> Outside Turkey, in addition to Turkish citizens with the number of more than five million in 192 countries, there are also other related communities and Turks reaching to 200 million by approximation. Naturally it created a necessity and responsibility for Turkey to meet their rightful demands, solve their problems and develop good communication and relation with them on an institutional level.<sup>378</sup>

Due to these reasons, legal steps were taken to establish an institution for Turks abroad and related communities and then Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities was established under Prime Ministry in 2010. YTB's founding aim is to serve as an institution for Turkey's public diplomacy activities. Balkans and Asia Minor were the most essential regions for the Ottoman Empire. Some historians even claim that the Balkans was more Ottoman than Asia Minor and in Balkans there is more Ottoman artefacts/heritage more than anywhere. So, the importance of the Balkans for Turkey is undeniable. Although because of the

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<sup>376</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>377</sup> Özkan, Abdullah. 2018. "Yurtdışındaki Türk Diasporasına Yönelik Yürütülen Faaliyetlerin Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Güç Kapasitesine Yaptığı Stratejik Katkıların Değerlendirilmesi." In *International Distance Education Conference*.

<sup>378</sup> Yılmaz, Ayhan Nuri, and Gökmen Kılıçoğlu. 2017. "Balkanlar'da Ytb ve Tika'nın Türk Kamu Diplomasisi Kurumları Olarak Faaliyetleri ve Türkiye'nin Bölgedeki Yumuşak Gücüne Etkileri." *Finans Ekonomi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2 (2).

Cold War conditions in the international arena and the Russian threats against Turkey's territorial integrity, Turkey had no choice but to loose its interest in the region, with the changing international order after the Cold War Turkey started to engage in the region again. As a matter of fact, for Turkey, it is not a simple choice, it is a necessity.<sup>379</sup> Therefore, Balkans is the region where Turkey's influence is most visible in the 21st century.

The target audience of the Agency can be categorized into three main groups, which are Citizens Abroad, Related Communities and International Students. To start with the Citizens Abroad, YTB is working mainly on Turkey's diaspora policy whose aim can be shortly listed as keeping the bond between Turkish citizens living abroad and their homeland Turkey strong, helping them preserve their identity, cultural values and native language, and with regard to their social status in the host countries, providing them with assistance. For that end, YTB is targeting especially the young diaspora population developing Projects like Youth Bridges, Human Rights Education Program, Turkey Internship and Young Leaders Program. The aim of the mentioned programs can be briefly and respectively summarized as protecting the ties of university students of Turkish diaspora with Turkey, encouraging the youth of Turkish diaspora to participate in higher education, human rights and advocacy and civil society activities taking the xenophobia, Islamophobia and human rights abuses set against Turkish citizens living abroad into consideration, informing them about the inner-workings of Turkey's institutions, and finally through the instrument of historical and cultural education programs, seminars, trips etc. endowing them with the opportunity of learning more and more about their homeland, native language, history and culture.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> Yılmaz, Ayhan Nuri, and Gökmen Kılıçoğlu. 2017. "Balkanlar'da Ytb ve Tika'nın Türk Kamu Diplomasisi Kurumları Olarak Faaliyetleri ve Türkiye'nin Bölgedeki Yumuşak Gücüne Etkileri." *Finans Ekonomi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2 (2).

<sup>380</sup> "From Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs." 2018. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2018. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-expatriate-turkish-citizens.en.mfa>.

To continue with Related Communities, the second target audience of YTB, this group mainly refers to the communities of the regions from Central Asia to the Balkans, from the Middle East to Africa, from Europe to America and Australia. Turkey's interest in these regions, especially the Balkans and the Central Asia, was revived after Soviet withdrawal from the regions with the end of the Cold War period. Therefore, YTB is in the great effort to lead them to "maintain their own identities, tongues and transmitting them to future generations."<sup>381</sup>

At the same time, YTB is developing economic, social and cultural projects in order to raise the welfare level of sister countries. The motivation of YTB behind these activities is to make contribution to Turkey's public diplomacy policies with the motivation of fulfilling Turkey's close, medium and long-term foreign policy goals and making the most of the potential of Turkish diaspora of 6 million.<sup>382</sup>

So, with all these mentioned, the Presidency is in the charge of working of Turkey's diaspora policy on the target fields. Various activities, projects, programmes are being conducted to protect Turkey's and sister communities' common intellectual, literary, philosophical, scientific and cultural heritage, create an awareness of common identity with cultural values coming from a past shared by all and passing down these values to coming generation who will make them last, not to let Turkish language and culture be ignored and finally support any kind of researches on these lands and communities. These activities, projects and programmes are intended to be complementary to Turkey's foreign policy

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<sup>381</sup> Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, Programs - Related Communities. 2019. "Programs - Related Communities | Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı." Ytb.Gov.Tr. 2019. <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/sister-communities/programs>.

<sup>382</sup> Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, Programs - Related Communities. 2019. "Programs - Related Communities | Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı." Ytb.Gov.Tr. 2019. <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/sister-communities/programs>.

activities “in order to establish the human, cultural and academic infrastructure and thus to maintain the position of our country as an academic and cultural center.”<sup>383</sup>

Turkey has a great extent of potential to develop relations with the countries and societies in the regions surrounding it. There is Muslim and Turk population with whom Turkey establish cloness with the utilization of historical, ethnic and religious factors. Besides, there are also other countries regarding Turkey as a historical threat and making use of that threat discourse in the making of their national identity. Naturally these countries tend to perceive Turkey’s activism as a big threat to their own policies. In this point, what Turkey should do is that Turkey must try to have good relations with them and make them sure Turkey is not a threat. Turkey has such opportunities now as the Cold War conditions were gone long ago. Public diplomacy and soft power are the concepts which come as a huge opportunity in this sense. Diplomacy, propaganda, public opinion, aids, arts and education have long been on the agenda of international relations and foreign policy literature however soft power and public diplomacy have gotten on the stage with fresh meanings and new fields with a hope for the countries with negative image.<sup>384</sup>

Whether dispora can be a foreing policy tool is another issue of debate; however, it is true that diaspora diplomacy has become a sub-branch of public diplomacy. Turkey is a country with a huge potential of diaspora. Diaspora concept has been evolved into a concept in which cognate and related communities are included too, which as result increases Turkey’s diaspora potential more.<sup>385</sup> Taking the AK Party’s discourses and practices into consideration, one can be safe in claiming

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<sup>383</sup> Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, Programs - Related Communities. 2019. “Programs - Related Communities | Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı.” Ytb.Gov.Tr. 2019. <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/sister-communities/programs>.

<sup>384</sup> Yılmaz, Ayhan Nuri, and Gökmen Kılıçoğlu. 2017. “Balkanlar’da Ytb ve Tika’nın Türk Kamu Diplomasisi Kurumları Olarak Faaliyetleri ve Türkiye’nin Bölgedeki Yumuşak Gücüne Etkileri.” *Finans Ekonomi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2 (2).

<sup>385</sup> Akçapar, Şebnem, and Damla Bayraktar Aksel. 2017. “Public Diplomacy through Diaspora Engagement: The Case of Turkey.” *Perceptions* 22 (4): 135–60.

that, regardless of citizenship or ethnic bond, every Muslim society has started to be perceived as part of the diaspora because of the emphasis on Islam. Extended diaspora concept can be interpreted in relation to the AK Party's political discourse "geography bonded by love"<sup>386</sup>. For the AK Party government, the thing which is important for them is not the borders and the nations created by drawing the borders. Rather, what matters is where Turkey feels and with which societies Turkey feels together. This feeling of togetherness is coming from the common values like religion, language, history, culture and civilization. At that point, it is easy to realize that universalism and inclusiveness which are employed in AKP's discourses and they are in tune with the modern age's concepts, thus legitimize Turkey's public diplomacy policies.<sup>387</sup>

As result, Turkish citizens living abroad and other cognate and related communities reaching to millions in number bestow Turkey a great potentiality on public diplomacy. It is quite appropriate for a country like Turkey with a emperial past on the region. However it always carries the risk of backlash and creating antipathy against Turkey. Still it is rational and appropriate for Turkey to give priority to societies and communities with Muslim and Turk majority, which well accords with the modern age's conditions.

#### **5.4.5. The Yunus Emre Institute**

Yunus Emre Foundation was established in 2007 with an emphasis on teaching Turkish language throughout the world to promote Turkey abroad by employing cultural, art, literature and historical elements.<sup>388</sup> With an emphasis on Turkish language teaching throughout the world, The Yunus Emre Foundation can also be considered as equivalent to other culture institutes in other countries like Alliance

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<sup>386</sup> "Gönül coğrafyası", Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

<sup>387</sup> Yılmaz, Ayhan Nuri, and Gökmen Kılıçoğlu. 2017. "Balkanlar'da Ytb ve Tika'nın Türk Kamu Diplomasisi Kurumları Olarak Faaliyetleri ve Türkiye'nin Bölgedeki Yumuşak Gücüne Etkileri." *Finans Ekonomi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2 (2).

<sup>388</sup> "Başkanın Mesajı." 2019. Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. March 14, 2019. <https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/kurumsal/baskanin-mesaji>.

Francaise established in 1883 or British Council opened in 1934 or Goethe Institution founded in 1951. However, relatively quite late establishment of the Foundation has some important disadvantages like lack of experience and human resources in the field.<sup>389</sup> Therefore it was only after 2009 that the Yunus Emre Institution started to operate to fill the gap. In other words, YEI was established as a supplementary institute to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to operate as the social and cultural instrument and actor of the Turkish Foreign Policy regarding the civil society scope.<sup>390</sup>

The Yunus Emre Institution which is affiliated with Yunus Emre Foundation conducts projects for the promotion and teaching of the Turkish culture, history, language and literature, and also performs various activities that involve cooperation with other institutions to support scientific studies and their publications.<sup>391</sup>

Yunus Emre Cultural Centers are the cultural institutes which constitutes a big part of YEI. It is aimed in the Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers to deepen the relations between Turkey and other countries via scientific projects, cultural activities and courses.<sup>392</sup>

Yunus Emre Turkish Education and Teaching Centers which is organizationally a part of the Yunus Emre Institute conducts activities in foreign countries to teach

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<sup>389</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>390</sup> Akıllı, Erman. 2018. "Yunus Emre Institute as a Tool for Cultural Diplomacy and Nation Branding." *Turkish Studies* 13 (22).

<sup>391</sup> "Yunus Emre Enstitüsü." 2019. Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. March 14, 2019. <https://www.yee.org.tr/tr/kurumsal/yunus-emre-enstitusu>.

<sup>392</sup> Akıllı, Erman. 2018. "Yunus Emre Institute as a Tool for Cultural Diplomacy and Nation Branding." *Turkish Studies* 13 (22).

Turkish as a world language and gives support for promotion of Turkey and Turkish language.<sup>393</sup>

The foundation of Yunus Emre Institute is a big step to use cultural values and language as a strategic communication tool. It is significantly important to increase and popularize the projects along with planning for producing the permanent values. It is anticipated that the societies who gets to know about Turkish cultural values and who learns the Turkish language will naturally adopt and support Turkish policies. It will be always easier, more convincing and credible to promote Turkey, its values and policies. The projects such as educational activities, exchange programs and practical trainings create significant opportunities for establishing permanent and long-term relations. These relations encourage countries to come closer and naturally over time they begin to better understand each other.<sup>394</sup>

In various countries, YEI Turkish Cultural Centers was opened to operate in accordance with Turkey's foreign policy priorities. It was in Sarajevo, Bosnia Herzegovina where the first Turkish Cultural Center was opened with the name of Sarajevo Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center in 2009, after that, more Turkish Cultural Centers started to be opened in different parts of Balkans. It is not a coincidence that YEI prioritized the Balkans when the importance of Balkans for Turkey in terms of Turkey's soft power potential in the region is taken into consideration. Then second center was opened in Tirane, the capital of Albania in 2009; and, it followed in Skopje in 2010, Foynitsa in 2011, Pristina in 2011, Bucharest in 2011, Constanta in 2011, Mostar in 2012, Shkoder in 2012 and Ipek in 2012. Now there are 11 YEI Centers in total in Balkans. After Balkans, YEI continued its services in other priority regions. In the Middle East and Africa, seven centers, first in Cairo in 2010, Alexandria in 2013, Beirut in 2012, Amman in 2012, Tehran in 2012, Johannesburg in 2017, South Africa in 2017 and Rabat in

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<sup>393</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>394</sup> Özkan, Abdullah. 2015. "Strategic Practices of Public Diplomacy Policies in Educational Field and Turkey's Potential for Cultural Diplomacy." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 176

2013 started to operate. Other six centers were opened in Euroasia and Far East: in Tblisi in 2012, Baku in 2013, Astana in 2010, Kazan in 2012 and Tokyo in 2011. YEI also expanded its services to Europe and currently there are eight centers in different Europeans cities including Brussels, London , Budapest , Warsaw , Berlin , Paris , Amsterdam and Rome.<sup>395</sup>

Today, there are 38 YEI Cultural Centers in 30 countries. The Yunus Emre Institute and Cultural Centers conduct activities mainly in two areas, education and culture-art. Educational activities are mostly based on Turkish language teaching with aim of making Turkish language a world language. As for culture-art activities, culture-art festivals, clubs, academic meetings, various courses, concerts, exhibitions and so on are organized by the Institute with aim of establish cultural proximity with different societies. In addition to education and culture-art activities, there are also six big projects conducted by YEI such as Turcology Turkish Elective Foreign Language, Rebuilding the Cultural Heritage in the Balkans, Revival of Traditional Turkish Hand Crafts in the Balkans, 100 Turkey Library Project, 100 Turkey Book Translation Project and Joint Painting Exhibitions. Among them Turcology Project is the most noteworthy. The Turcology Project aims to have a huge number of speakers of Turkish from the Balkans to Caucasia and from Africa to the Middle East.<sup>396</sup>

Turcology Project conducted by the Yunus Emre Institute is a very significant project in terms of public diplomacy. Turcology project, aiming to develop the Turkish language teaching, works to strengthen the relations with other countries and produce a Turkish speaking communities, provides lecturers and materials for nearly 40 departments of Turkish Language and Literature and Turkish language courses. The Turcology Project is carried out under cooperation with the universities abroad by sending lecturers from Turkey. Within this framework, the project also includes various supports, like scholarships to the successful students

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<sup>395</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>396</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

learning Turkish language abroad and allocating scholarships for training young Turcologists. Again within the scope of the Turcology Project, support is provided to the different projects on Turkish language, history, art and culture and to activities that promote Turkish language and culture.<sup>397</sup> Beyond this, the Institute follows a strategy to have Turkish language be taught as an elective foreign language in the schools of host countries where cultural centers are located. The Yunus Emre Institute is a significant asset for Turkey to employ Turkish language and culture in Turkey's public diplomacy policy of promoting country abroad. Making use of Turkish language and culture in promotion of the country will contribute to the public diplomacy policy in the way that a well-planned introduction of these elements to foreign societies will bring along popularization of Turkish elements abroad and thus support of these societies in question for Turkey. As a natural outcome of that, "convincing" these societies, which one may safely argue constitutes the major aim of public diplomacy, about Turkey's policies will be less effortless for Turkey.<sup>398</sup>

#### **5.4.6. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

In the AK Party period, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was restructured in order to adapt the Ministry to the new foreign policy understanding and changing global system. During the restructuring process, 10 new directorates-generals and presidencies, among which Directorate of Communications, Deputy Directorate General for Overseas Promotion and Cultural Affairs and the Diplomacy Academy are the most related ones to public diplomacy, were opened or restructured.

To start with Directorate of Communications, it is the public diplomacy unit of the Ministry. It reaches to the world public opinion via media and collaborates with related institutions and organizations to plan and carry out public diplomacy activities. To continue with the Deputy Directorate General for Overseas

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<sup>397</sup> "Yunus Emre Enstitüsü 2016 Faaliyet Raporu." 2016. Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. [https://www.yee.org.tr/sites/default/files/yayin/2016\\_faaliyet\\_raporu\\_05.02.2018-db.pdf](https://www.yee.org.tr/sites/default/files/yayin/2016_faaliyet_raporu_05.02.2018-db.pdf).

<sup>398</sup> Ekşi, Muharrem, and Mehmet Seyfettin Erol. 2018. "The Rise and Fall Of Turkish Soft Power and Public Diplomacy." *Akademik Bakış* 11 (23): 29.

Promotion and Cultural Affairs, they manage relations and collaboration with other countries and related institutions and organization in the fields of culture, education and science. The Directorate also holds various activities like “Turkish Culture Days/Years”, “Turkish Film Days”, “Turkish Festivals”, “Turkish Food Week” in addition to cultural exhibitions, dance performances, concerts, conference and seminars. As for Diplomacy Academy, every year it holds a training program, for the career diplomats of the foreign countries as well as the Ministry members. The programme, which is called “Junior Diplomats Training Program”, can be regarded as a public diplomacy contributor as the Program creates an attraction and makes Turkey and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a center of attention.

#### **5.4.7. Turkish TV Series**

The movies and series are very useful in contributing to the promotion of a country in the way that they are utilized as instruments to build images and perceptions that a country wishes to have. This is so because national image that is constructed in TV series can change the view of audiences about a country.<sup>399</sup>

In 2000s, Turkish soap operas gained popularity outside Turkey, especially in the Middle East, the Balkans, Central Asia and South America, which as a result created a big sympathy for Turkish culture and values, and it became a subject matter in different disciplines. Even the audiences of Turkish TV series started to think on how tradition and modernity, Islam and secularism manage coexist in Turkish way of life, unlike many other Arab states.<sup>400</sup> Therefore, it can be said that Turkish soap operas, where the foreign audiences, without coming to Turkey, can see how a Muslim society can live with modernity, supported the AKP government’s rhetoric of Turkey as a model country. In addition to that, the sympathy and positive perceptions about Turkey increased not only Turkey’s soft

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<sup>399</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>400</sup> Anaz, Necati. “The Geography of Reception: Why Do Egyptians Watch Turkish Soap Operas?” *The Arab World Geographer* 17, no. 3 (2014): 255–75.

power but also the number of foreign tourists and investment especially from the Middle East.<sup>401</sup>

To conclude, Turkish TV series can be safely considered as a type of actor which proved to be quite useful in terms of public diplomacy objectives of Turkey, be it directly or indirectly.

## **5.5. Conclusion**

Turkey, as a relatively latecomer country to the field of public diplomacy as part of foreign policy making, started to build its public diplomacy capacity in accordance with the transformation in its foreign policy understanding with the AKP government coming to power in early 2000s.

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<sup>401</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

In modern times, image building of a country, like a show case put on display for foreign audiences, started to be seen with the First World War in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in modern times. Cultivation of such an image and its role would be studied under the concept of soft power in the emerging area of international relations in the future.<sup>402</sup> During the Second World War, building a national image began to constitute another field of war and when it came to the Cold War, propaganda war as a new type of combat was mastered in the multifaceted war between the USA and the Soviet Russia in their efforts to communicate with the world.<sup>403</sup>

Public diplomacy, on the other hand, started to be utilized as an instrument of soft power which was coined by Joseph Nye. Its importance in world politics became undeniable as conventional diplomacy was not the only type of diplomacy in the international arena any more.<sup>404</sup> In other words, while the addressee of a country is always another country in conventional diplomacy, foreign publics or other non-official groups are the subjects in public diplomacy. And, in the changing

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<sup>402</sup> Melissen, Jan. 2008. "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice." In *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>403</sup> Taylor, Philip M. *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jd69>. P173

<sup>404</sup> Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

international environment, public diplomacy is gaining even more importance for states and their foreign policy objectives.<sup>405</sup>

The changing scene of the international environment, development of information technologies, and the new world order created by the end of the Cold War set new conditions for global politics. In this environment surrounded by new dynamics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, public diplomacy already became an important part of world politics and a new kind of diplomatic representation. Therefore, with its rise in the global arena, public diplomacy is practiced mostly for foreign policy interest of states, but not as just a mere technique of soft power.<sup>406</sup>

Considering all of these mentioned above, this thesis argued that states pursue public diplomacy policies at the national and global levels since they seek to achieve their own diverse self-interests regarding their foreign policy activities. In order to discuss this argument, the thesis has explored various cases in which public diplomacy is practiced differently. In this respect, the cases of the United States of America, Britain, China and Turkey have been analyzed. The thesis demonstrates that states increasingly tend to use public diplomacy as a diplomatic way to conduct foreign policy actions in order to promote the interests of the nation especially when they have to justify their foreign policy activities.

As discussed by the Realist Theory of the discipline of International Relations, “power over public opinion” constitutes one of the three components of power, accompanied by military and economy. Today, “power over public opinion”, which was discussed by E. H. Carr in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is directly linked to public diplomacy as it is aimed in the public diplomacy efforts to have power to influence foreign publics in desired way.<sup>407</sup> In other words, in a world where states have

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<sup>405</sup> Nye, Joseph S. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 94-109. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097996>.

<sup>406</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

<sup>407</sup> Edward Hallett Carr, and Michael Cox. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

always been in the pursuit of their national interest in order to survive in an anarchical international system and to survive in the best way, states not only resort to hard power capacities like military, or to conventional diplomacy types but also they draw advantage from soft power methods. However, that does not mean that states conduct public diplomacy policies for the sake of friendly relations between states. Rather, states conduct public diplomacy policies in order to easily justify their foreign policy actions by gaining the support of foreign publics. So, from this point of view, public diplomacy activities not only contribute to build bridges and to develop sympathy and cultural dialogue between different publics, but also, and most importantly according to this thesis, seek to secure interests of the sovereign which is the biggest actor that matters most in the relations between nations.

In accordance with this argument mounted above, in the first chapter, the case USA in relation to public diplomacy was examined. The USA has an important place for public diplomacy as a field of study as it is the first country that practiced public diplomacy policy on an institutional structure, which made it crucial to examine the country in terms of public diplomacy policy. For that reason, the USA Public Diplomacy has served as a model for many countries like Turkey to develop their own public diplomacy policies. In this context, while the USA Public Diplomacy can be divided into three periods, which are respectively the periods including WWI and WWII, the Cold War period and the period after 9/11 terror attacks<sup>408</sup>, this thesis focuses on the period after 9/11. After the 9/11 attacks against the USA, in an environment, especially from the perspective of the USA officials, surrounded by radicalism, extremism and terrorism, the country had to re-employ public diplomacy policies in order to secure the security of the nation. The US military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the US foreign policy designed for the Middle East indicates that the Middle East is the target audience of the US Public Diplomacy after 9/11 as “the threat” was coming from this region. Therefore, “winning the hearts and minds” of the Arab Muslim world became the primart objective of the US public diplomacy. Therefore, for the US

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<sup>408</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

officials, to “win the hearts and minds of Arab Muslim world meant to persuade this target audience into believing that the USA actions in the Middle East were based on rightful grounds while indeed it was a national security issue for the USA.

In the second chapter, Britain’s public diplomacy was examined because Britain, as a country that once ruled the world, made a great effort to stay in the global scene as a foremost actor, if not a hegemon anymore. When it came to the Cold War, Britain realized that it was not the same country it used to be back in the days when the sun never set on it. Britain was not the hegemonic power of the world anymore; however, at the same time, the country still sought an influential role for itself in global politics. With the pursuit of this, Britain, its officials thought, had to make identity transformation and, based on this new identity and liberal image, the country promoted itself through public diplomacy. In other words, in its efforts, public diplomacy was utilized as a policy to promote a positive British image to the world. Hence, for Britain, public diplomacy policy based on education played a crucial part to sustain Britain’s strong position in the international arena.

China, in relation to its public diplomacy policy, is regarded worthy of a great amount of study as it proposes an alternative model to Western powers as an Asian country. Therefore, in the third chapter, China, as an emerging power to some scholars, or as a superpower according to other scholars, was examined. China’s public diplomacy policy is based on soft power strategies. The reason for this is that while China is emerging as an economic and military power, at the same time, it tries not to appear like a threat against other countries.

As for the fourth chapter, the Turkish public diplomacy was analysed within the context of transformation in foreign policy, method and means. Accordingly, it was observed that, in foreign policy making in the AKP period, discourse and rhetoric play a big part because the AKP government focuses on its national image and foreign public opinion in order to take its foreign policy actions with minimum resistance from the related foreign publics and with maximum sympathy towards Turkey and its foreign policy in these aforementioned areas. In addition to this, in

the AKP period, a great importance was attached to public diplomacy as a separate field of foreign policy making, especially as part of Turkey's multidimensional foreign policy understanding.<sup>409</sup>

To conclude, states implement public diplomacy policies in accordance with their foreign policy agendas and although public diplomacy within the context of soft power is also often analyzed from the Liberalist-neoliberalist and constructivist point of view, this thesis concludes that in spite of the “softness” in its name, public diplomacy serves to states' national interests in Realist perspective. Within this context, states employ public diplomacy actors and attach them the responsibility to promote the country in accordance with their foreign policy objectives. In this framework, the public diplomacy policy of the US was analyzed based on its ideological combat; Britain based on educational side of public diplomacy; China based on soft power and finally Turkey based on transformation in its foreign policy understanding.

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<sup>409</sup> Muharrem Ekşi. 2014. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

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## APPENDICES

### A. TÜRKÇE ÖZET/ TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tez küresel kamu diplomasisinin dış politika bağlamında ABD, Britanya, Çin ve Türkiye örnekleri tarafından karşılaştırmalı olarak nasıl uygulandığını araştırmaktır. Bir çok bilim insanı kamu diplomasinin farklı milletler arasında karşılıklı anlayış ve hoşgörüyü yaratmak ve geliştirmek için faydalanılan bir diplomasi türü olduğunu savunurken, bu tez, devletlerin kamu diplomasisine yönelik ulusal çıkarlarının olduğunu ve kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerini dış politika faaliyetlerini küresel kamuoyunda veya dış politika yürüttükleri ülkelerin kamuoyunda haklı ve doğru göstermek için kullandıkları bir yöntem olarak kullandıklarını savunmaktadır.

Bu tez altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm giriş kısmıdır. İkinci bölüm Amerikan Kamu Diplomasisi, üçüncü bölüm Britanya Kamu Diplomasisi, dördüncü bölüm Çin Kamu Diplomasisi ve beşinci bölüm ise Türk Kamu Diplomasisidir. Son olarak da altıncı bölüm sonuç bölümüdür.

Kamu diplomasisi, iletişim çağında önemi vurgulanan, yumuşak güce dayalı yeni bir diplomasi türüdür. Küreselleşmenin getirdiği yeni sınamalar ve şartlar ile yeniden şekillenen uluslararası sistemde, değişen koşullara daha iyi uyum sağlayabilmek için, devletler “yeni bir diplomasi sanatı” olarak kamu diplomasisini geliştirmişlerdir. Bu sebeple, kamu diplomasisi, geleneksel diplomasi türlerinden farklı olarak, sert güce değil de yumuşak güce dayanan yirmi birinci yüzyıl diplomasisi olarak tanımlanabilir.

Enformasyon toplumunun gelişimi beraberinde dünya politikalarını etkileyecek birçok değişiklik getirmiş ve bilgi toplumu teknolojileri devletlerin güç

edinebilmesi için yeni yollar ortaya çıkarmıştır. Buna paralel olarak da yumuşak gücün öneminin arttığı bir uluslararası toplumda güç ve diplomasi kavramlarına yeni bakış açıları üremiş, uluslararası ilişkilerde kamuoyu gittikçe daha da önem kazanır hale gelmiş ve bunun sonucunda Kamu Diplomasisi adında yeni bir diplomasi türü ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bir bilim dalı olarak Uluslararası İlişkilerde, güç kavramı her zaman Realist bakış açısı ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Zaten, Realizm bir güç kuramıdır demek de yanlış değildir. Realist bakış açısına göre, devletler her zaman güç ve ulusal çıkarlarının peşinde olan ve güç mücadelesine dayalı anarşik bir uluslararası sistemde hayatta kalmaya çalışan başlıca aktörlerdir. Kısacası, Realist kurama göre, güç kavramı devletlerarası ilişkilerin merkezinde yer almaktadır. Burada, bu tezin ana savı için, uluslararası ilişkiler bağlamında, gücü oluşturan unsurların ne olduğunu araştırmak önem kazanmaktadır. E.H. Carr'a göre güç kavramını tanımlayan üç temel unsur vardır. Bunlar askeri güç, ekonomik güç ve kamuoyu/fikirler üzerindeki güçtür. Carr aynı zamanda ikna sanatını liderlerin kullandığı modern bir silah olarak nitelendirir ve kamuoyu/fikirler üzerindeki gücü ise modern zaman dış politika aracı olarak tanımlar. Carr'ın bu tanımlası kamu diplomasisi açısından çok önemlidir çünkü kendisinden sonra 2004 yılında J. Nye, Carr'ın söylediğini yumuşak güç kavramı adı altında kavramsallaştıracaktır.

Hans Morgenthau'ya gelince, onun farklı devletler arasında güç politikası ve rekabet olarak tanımladığı dünya siyasetinin kökenlerini anlamaya yönelik ontolojik başlangıç noktası insan doğasıdır. Bu yüzden, onun için, devletler her zaman kaçınılmaz olarak güç arayışında olmuştur. Bu çerçevede, coğrafya, doğal kaynaklar, endüstriyel kapasite, askeri hazırlık, nüfus, ulusal karakter, ulusal ahlaki ve son olarak diplomasi olmak üzere sekiz önemli güç faktörü mevcuttur. Bu açıdan, kamuoyunun görüşünü bir güç faktörü olarak nitelendiren Carr ve Morgenthau, kamu diplomasisinin kavramsal çerçevesini oluşturmuş olarak görülebilecek kuramcılardır. Diğer bir deyişle, yumuşak güç ve kamu diplomasisinin Klasik Realizmde bir yeri olduğunu söylemek doğru olur. Daha sonra, yıl 2004'e geldiği zaman, Joseph Nye Carr'ın gücün bölünmezliği hakkında söylediklerini kavrayacaktır. Yani, Morgenthau ve Carr, maddi olmayan

faktörlerin kadar maddi faktörler de dahil ederek kavramsal bir güç kuramı ortaya çıkarmıştır. Buna göre, siyasi gerçekçilik çerçevesindeki diplomasi, "ulusal iktidarın farklı unsurlarını, ulusal çıkarları en doğrudan doğruya ilgilendiren uluslararası durumda bu noktalara en fazla şekilde etki edecek şekilde getirme sanatı" olarak görülüyor.

Yapısal Realistler ise, devletlerin uluslararası sistem anarşik olduğu için güç aradığını iddia ediyor. İlk Yapısal Gerçekçi olarak görülen Thomas Hobbes, yerel toplumun aksine egemen devletler üzerinde merkezi bir otorite bulunmadığını iddia etti. Hobbes'e göre, uluslararası sistemi belirleyen temel ilke anarşidir, yani bu demektir ki uluslararası ilişkilerin temel aktörleri olan devletlerin üzerinde, domestik düzenden farklı olarak, merkezi bir otorite ya da daha da egemen bir güç yoktur. Hobbes'un fikirlerinden esinlenen Kenneth Waltz, uluslararası sistemin anarşik doğasının devletler arasında güç çatışmalarına yol açtığını iddia etmektedir. Waltz, güç kavramını, coğrafi konum, kaynaklar, ekonomik kapasite, ordu ve dayanıklılık, siyasi istikrar ve yetkinlik gibi yedi faktöre dayalı olarak da tanımlıyor. Sonuç olarak, Gerçekçi bakış açısına göre dünya politikası güç politikası anlamına gelir.

Yumuşak Güç kavramı ise, ilk olarak Joseph S. Nye tarafından 1990'da, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin gücünü kaybetmeye başladığı yönündeki iddialara karşılık olarak ortaya atılmıştır. 2004'ün ilerleyen günlerinde Nye, küresel bilgi çağında "güç" kavramını ele alan çalışmasında 21. yüzyılda ve iletişim ve bilgi çağında, yumuşak gücün öneminin giderek arttığını öne sürmüştür. Kamu diplomasisi hususunda önem teşkil eden diğer önemli çalışmalarında ise, Nye yumuşak güç kavramı üzerinde daha çok durdu ve bu kavramı geliştirmeye devam etti. Nye, yumuşak güç kavramını fikirlere ve değerlere dayandırmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, Nye, insanlar ve devletler arasındaki ilişkiler arasında hayranlık, sempati ve model alma açısından benzerlik kurmaktadır. Nye'a göre yumuşak gücü etkili kılan şey normlar ve değerlerdir ve yumuşak gücün yapısal, ilişkisel, tarihi ve kültürel unsurları vardır. Bu sebeple, yumuşak gücü , "bir ülkenin başkalarını zorlama yapmadan onların yapmasını istediğini yaptırmaya ikna etme" gücü olarak tanımlamıştır ve bu aynı zamanda başkalarına cazip/çekici gelen bir güçtür. Diğer

bir deyişle, yumuşak güce dayanan kamu diplomasisi yumuşak güç kaynakları olan kültürel ve tarihsel değerleri dış politika araçlarına dönüştürebilen bir diplomasi türüdür.

İsminden de anlaşılacağı üzere, kamu diplomasisinin hedef kitlesi küresel veya bir ülkenin dış politika yürüttüğü ülkenin kamuoyudur. Jan Melissen bunu kamu ile angajman olarak tanımlar. Melissen'e benzer olarak Nancy Snow kamu diplomasisini kamular arası ilişkiler olarak tanımlayarak kamuoyunu kamu diplomasinin, önem açısından, merkezine koyar. Kamuoyu, kamu diplomasisi ile ilgili olarak, dış politika yapımı ve diplomasi açısından önemli bir unsur teşkil etmektedir.

Tezin ikinci bölümü Amerikan Kamu Diplomasisinin tarihini, Amerikan Kamu Diplomasisinin ülkenin dış politikası ile ilişkisini ve Amerikan Kamu Diplomasisi aktörlerini incelemektedir. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Soğuk Savaşın bitimi ile dünyanın hegemon gücü haline gelmiştir ve bu yüzden de uluslararası sistemdeki hegemon bir gücün kamu diplomasisini nasıl bir dış politika aracı olarak kullandığı, kamu diplomasisinin amacı, kapsamı ve stratejisi kamu diplomasinin dış politika ile olan ilişkisini anlamak açısından önem kazanmıştır. Modern tarihte kamu diplomasinin izlerini, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri kapsamında, Soğuk Savaş propaganda faaliyetlerinde aramak mümkündür. Bu dönemde kamuoyunun önemini anlayan Amerika Birleşik Devletleri kamu diplomasisine büyük vermiş, Sovyet propagandasına karşı savaşmak için kamu diplomasisi aktörleri oluşturmuş ve bunlara büyük miktarda enerji ve para harcamıştır. Fakat bunla birlikte, Soğuk Savaş bitimi ile Amerika Birleşik Devletleri kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerini Soğuk Savaş döneminde olduğu kadar önemli ve gerekli görmemiş, arka plana atmıştır. Kamu diplomasisinin arka plana atılması Amerika Birleşik Devletleri için bir hata olmuş ve bu hatanın sonucu en trajik şekilde 11 Eylül terör saldırısında görmüştür. Amerikan kamu diplomasisi açısından 11 Eylül bir dönüm noktası olmuş ve bu trajik olay bir anlamda Amerika'yı uyandırmış ve kamu diplomasisinin önemini kavramasına neden olmuştur. Amerikalılar, Orta Doğu'da bulunan Müslüman Arapların neden onlardan nefret ettikleri sorusunun cevabını Amerika'nın Orta Doğudaki gittikçe kötüleşen imajında bulmuşlardır. Bu sebeple Orta Doğu bölgesi

ve bölgede yaşayan Müslüman Araplar Amerikan kamu diplomasisi için hedef bölge ve kitle olmaya başlamış, bu bölgenin kamuoyunda kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri ile Amerikan imajını olumlu yönde değiştirmek Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin ulusal güvenlik meselesi haline gelmiş ve böylelikle Amerikan kamu diplomasisi, ülkenin dış politikasının vazgeçilemez bir parçası olmuştur. Bu hedef doğrultusunda, Amerikan kamu diplomasisi aktörleri faaliyetlerine başlamış ve Orta Doğu bölgesine yönelik çalışmalar Amerikan dış politikasının en önemli meselelerinden biri haline gelmiştir; bu alana kanalize edilmiş çeşitli aktörler ve özellikle Orta Doğu'ya yönelik Amerikan dış politika hedeflerine kısa, orta ve uzun vadede hizmet edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu aktörlerin en önemlisi Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Dışişleri Bakanlığı'dır. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Enformasyon Dairesi'nin 1998 tarihli Dışişleri Daireleri Birleştirme Yasası tarafından lağvedilmesinden sonra, Daire'nin işlevleri Dışişleri Bakanlığı'na devredildi ve Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nda Kamu Diplomasisi Müsteşarlığı altına alındı. Buna ek olarak, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Küresel Medya Ajansı da bağımsız bir taraf olarak yeniden yapılandırıldı. Bu yüzden, kamu diplomasisinin mevcut yapısı Soğuk Savaş döneminden farklı ve kamu diplomasisinin düzenlenmesi, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin hedef kitlesi olan yabancı toplumlar ile daha iyi iletişim kurma amacı güdülerek Dışişleri Bakanlığı tarafından reforme edildi. FulBright Programı, Amerikan kamu diplomasisinde çok önemli ve değerli bir role sahiptir ve en önemli kamu diplomasisi aktivitelerinden biri olarak görülmektedir. FulBright Bursu'nun arkasındaki fikir, iyi tasarlanmış burs programlarıyla, katılımcıların Amerikan yaşam tarzını birebir deneyimleyip, bu deneyimleri kendi ülkelerine taşıyan birer kültür elçisine dönüştürmektir. FulBright Programı sayesinde, ABD Dışişleri Bakanlığı yabancı katılımcıların kendi ülkelerine döndükten sonra bile unutamayacakları, Amerikan kültürünü, yaşam tarzını ve değerlerini birinci elden izlemelerini sağlama şansına sahip olmaktadır. Orta Doğu Radyo Ağları da Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin önemli bir parçasıdır. Bu radyo kanallarının en önemlileri Radio Sawa ve Al-Hurra radyo istasyonlarıdır. Radio Sawa'nın misyonu, Arap toplumlarının Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne karşı olan olumsuz tutumunu olumlu yönde değiştirmektir. Çoğunlukla Arap ve Amerikan pop müziği yayınları yapan bu radyo kanalı yayın arasında verdiği kısa süreli Amerikan dış

politikasına ilişkin haberler ile genç Arap dinleyici kitlesinin Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne karşı olan algısını değiştirmeyi amaçlıyordu. Orta Doğu'da Müslüman Arap kitlesine yönelik yayın yapmış olan bir diğer kanal ise yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere Al-Hurra isimli radyo kanalıdır. Yayına başladığı 2004 yılında, Al-Hurra radyo istasyonu, Voice of America'nın kurulmasından bu yana üzerine en çok bütçe ayrılan ve kurulmuş olan en büyük radyo kanalı olma özelliği ile Amerikan kamu diplomasisinde önemli bir yere sahipti. İstasyonda uluslararası haberler, belgeseller, siyasi talk-show'lar ve dergi programları yer alıyordu. Bunların yanı sıra önemli diğer Amerika Birleşik Devletleri kamu diplomasisi aktörleri de tezin bu bölümünde incelenmiştir. Tüm bunları inceleyerek, bu tez, Amerikanın kamu diplomasi faaliyetlerini dış politika hedefleri doğrultusunda ulusal çıkarları için bir araç olarak kullandığı sonucuna ulaşmıştır.

Tezin üçüncü bölümünde Britanya Kamu Diplomasisinin tarihi, dış politika ile olan ilişkisi ve Britanya'nın kamu diplomasisi aktörleri incelenmiştir. Bu tezde Britanya örneğinin ele alınması kamu diplomasisi açısından önemli görülmüştür çünkü "üzerinde güneş batmayan imparatorluk" tanımlaması atfedilen bir imparatorluktan 21.yüzyıl'da hala aynı hegemonya sahip olmasa da uluslararası sistemde gücünü ve pozisyonunu sürdürmeye çalışan bir ülke durumuna gelen Britanya'nın bu amacına ulaşırken dış politikasında kamu diplomasisinden nasıl faydalandığı önemli bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. İkinci Dünya Savaşından sonra İmparatorluk dönemindeki hegemonyasını kaybeden ve kendini bu hegemonyaya artık Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinin sahip olduğu, liberalizmin ilkelerinin geçerli olmaya başladığı yeni bir düzen içinde bulan Britanya yeni düzendeki gücüne sahip çıkabilmek için ulusal kimliği ile ilgili dönüşüm meselelerine önem vermek durumunda kalmıştır çünkü artık 21. yüzyılda konvansiyonel savaşların yerini yumuşak güce dayalı yeni mücadeleler almaya başlamıştır ve başarılı olmak için bir devletin çağın gereklerine bağlı olarak dünya kamuoyuna kendisini modern, farklılıklara açık ve teknolojik olarak da gelişmiş bir ülke olarak tanıtmaya gerekmektedir. Britanya örneğinde kamu diplomasisi ve eğitim arasındaki ilişki dikkat çekmektedir ve eğitim Britanya kamu diplomasisinin neredeyse en önemli unsuru haline gelmiştir. Britanya kamu diplomasisinin en önemli aktörlerinden biri olan *The British Council* 1934 yılında, İkinci Dünya Savaşından önce, dünyanın

istikrarsızlıklar, küresel mali krizlerle boğuştuğu; yaşam standartlarının düştüğü bir dönemde kuruldu. Bu tarihi arka plan, The British Council kurumunun İngiltere'ye karşı olumlu bir görüş inşa etme motivasyonunu belirledi. The British Council daha çok eğitim diplomasisi aracılığıyla hizmet veriyordu ve bu da eğitimi İngiliz kamu diplomasisinde temel bir kavram haline getiriyordu. The British Council daha çok eğitim diplomasisi üzerinde durarak, Study UK, Think UK, Future Leaders Connect, Global Xchange, Classroom Connecting gibi projeler yürütüyordu. Ayrıca, çeşitli uzmanlar ve bilim adamlarının iç ve dış ziyaretlerinin düzenlenmesinden de sorumlu bir kurumdu. İngiliz kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin bir diğer önemli aktörü de BBC World Service yayıncılığı olagelmıştır. BBC World Service, Kraliyet Tüzüğü tarafından kurulan bir kamu yayın kuruluşudur ve bağımsız bir organizasyon olma özelliğini taşımaktadır. BBC World Service, televizyon, radyo yayını ve çevrimiçi platformlar kullanır ve çok geniş kapsamlı; İngilizce dışında 40 farklı dilde yayın yapmaktadır. BBC, en tanınmış medya kuruluşlarından biri olması sebebiyle, uluslararası kamuoyunu etkileme açısından Britanya'ya büyük avantajlar sağlayan bir kurum olmuştur.

Tezin dördüncü bölümünde Çin örneği, Çin Kamu Diplomasisinin tarihi, dış politikası ile olan ilişkisi ve kamu diplomasisi aktörleri incelenmektedir. Çin'in kamu diplomasisini incelemek, imparatorluk tarihinde “Batı medeniyeti” tarafından yenilgiye uğradığını düşünen, fakat aynı zamanda kendini kültür ve değerlerinden vazgeçmek istemeyen bir devletin dünyaya uyum sağlama çabalarında kamu diplomasisinin ne kadar büyük bir rol oynadığını anlamak açısından önem arz etmektedir. Çin, bir Asya ülkesi olarak, kamu diplomasisini, Batı değerlerinin hakim olduğu düşünülen bir dünyaya uyum sağladığını dünya kamuoyuna bildirmek için bir yöntem olarak kullanmaktadır. Bunu anlamak için Çin'in tarihine bakmak çok önemlidir. Tarihinde Kore, Japonya gibi komşu ülkelerin üstünde kültür, sistem ve yönetim açısından büyük bir etkisi olan Çin İmparatorluğu gelişmiş bir medeniyet ve kültür olarak komşuları tarafından gönüllü bir şekilde örnek alınmaktaydı. Konfüçyüsçülük bunun en önemli örneklerinden biridir. Fakat bu büyük medeniyet Aşağılanma Yüzyılı olarak adlandırılan dönemde belli sınamalardan geçmiş ve Çin kültürüne gelen Batı alternatifi Çin İmparatorluğunu giderek, özellikle teknoloji anlamında, geri

bırakmaya başlamıştır ve imparatorluk kendini Batı medeniyeti tarafından aşağılanmış hissetmiştir. Bu sebeptendir ki Aşağılanma Yüzyılı olarak adlandırılan bu dönem günümüzde halen Çin'in dış politika yapım sürecini etkilemektedir. 21. Yüzyıl dünyasına adapte olduğunu ve dünya kamuoyunu çizmeye çalıştığı ulusal imajı ile etkilemeye çalışan Çin, bu dış politika hedefi doğrultusunda kamu diplomasisinden fazlaca faydalanmakta ve onu bir dış politika yöntemi olarak kullanmaktadır. Yine de politik yapısından ötürü Çin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin Komünist Parti'nin sıkı denetimi altında olduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Çin kamu diplomasisi alanında faaliyet gösteren birçok aktör olsa da bu aktörlerin, öyle görünseler bile, tamamen bağımsız olduğunu söylemek zordur. Bu aktörlerin en önemlilerinden birisi Dışişleri Bakanlığı'dır. Yıllar geçtikçe Bakanlık yetkililerinin konuşmalarında kamu diplomasisine sıkça atıf yaptıkları görülmüştür. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, üst düzey liderlerin ziyaretleri ve önemli diplomatik olayların gerçekleştiği sırada kamu diplomasisi planlamasını yapmakta; medya çalışmalarını ve kamu ile etkileşimi planlamakta, ajanslar arasındaki koordinasyonu ve genel planlamayı sağlamaktadır. Ayrıca Çin'in diğer ülkelerdeki elçiliklerine de danışmanlık hizmeti vermektedir. Bakanlık, "Çin kamu diplomasisinin gelişmesi için profesyonel danışmanlık ve koordinasyon hizmetleri sağlayan, kar amacı gütmeyen bir kuruluş" olan "Çin Kamu Diplomasisi Derneği'nin Ocak 2013 tarihindeki kuruluşunda da yer almıştır. Çin'in devlet başkanları da kamu diplomasisinin önemli bir parçasıdır ve bu hususta, diğer ülkelere olan ziyaretlerinde ve uluslararası buluşmalarda iyi bir imaj çizmeleri gerekmektedir. Liderler sık yaptıkları seyahatlerde, yabancı hedef kitlelerine seslenmek ve dikkatlerini çekmek için de ayrıca vakit ayırmaktadır. Örnek vermek gerekirse, Çin liderinin yabancı bir ülkeye yaptığı seyahatteki en önemli halk diplomasi faaliyetlerinden biri New York Times Meydanı'ndaki devasa video reklam panolarında "Çin'i Deneyimleyin" adlı 1 dakikalık bir video klibin yayınlanmasıydı. Bu video, Çin'in eski devlet başkanı Hu Jintao'nun 2011 yılı başlarında ABD'ye yaptığı ziyaret sırasında yayınlandı. Reklamda Çin'in dört bir yanından ünlü Çinliler ve sıradan insanlar yer aldı. Video klip, bir ay süreyle, Times meydanında sabah altıdan ertesi gün sabah 2'ye kadar her gün 15 kere yayınlandı. Çin'li liderlerin eşleri de iyi niyet elçileri olarak kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinde yer almaktadır ve bu eşler sayesinde Çin'li liderler daha fazla Batılı

imajı çizerek yabancı hedef kitlelere daha kolay ulaşmaktadırlar. Bunun yanında entelektüeller ve akademisyenler, ünlü kişiler, Çin Komünist Partisi'nin kendisi gibi diğer aktörler de bu bölümde incelenmiştir.

Tezin beşinci bölümünde ise Türkiye örneği, Türk Kamu Diplomasinin tarihi, Türk Kamu Diplomasinin Türk dış politikası ile ilişkisini ve kamu diplomasisi aktörlerini ele almaktadır. Türk Kamu Diplomasisini ele almak, Bu bölümde, Türkiye'nin kamu diplomasisini incelemede başlangıç noktası Türk dış politikasının AK Parti hükümetinin başa gelmesi ile uğradığı değişimdir. AK Parti hükümetinin dış politikaya getirdiği yeni anlayış ile, Türkiye Balkanlar, Orta Doğu, Kafkaslar ve Orta Asya gibi tarihte Osmanlı Devleti etki alanında bulunan ülkeler ile, bu bölgelerde dış politika anlamında etkili olabilmek için, bağlarını yeniden canlandırmayı hedeflemeye başlamıştır. Bunun yanı sıra Latin Amerika ve Karayipler gibi AK Parti hükümeti öncesi ihmal edilen bölgeler ile de ilişkiler geliştirmeye başlanmıştır. Dış politikadaki bu yeni anlayış geleneksel Türk dış politikasından farklı bir yol teşkil etmektedir. Bu bölgelerde ortak Osmanlı mirasını yumuşak güç kaynağı olarak ele alıp yapılan kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri ile ilişkiler yeniden canlandırılarak, Türkiye'nin imajını bu bölgelerde olumlu yönde geliştirmek ve böylelikle Türkiye'nin söz konusu ülkelerde daha rahat bir şekilde dış politika hedeflerine ulaşması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu şekilde, Türkiye, farklı coğrafyalarda etkili bir aktör ve yükselen bir güç olarak model ülke ve merkez ülke retoriğini güçlendirip uluslararası arenada etkili bir aktör olmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu anlamda, bahsi geçen coğrafyalarda bulunan milletlerin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri kamuoyunu kazanıp, dış politika hedeflerine ulaşmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçları doğrultusunda, Türkiye gerek eski kamu diplomasisi aktörlerini canlandırmakta gerekse yeni kamu diplomasisi kurumları açmaktadır. Türk Kamu Diplomasisi'nin önemli aktörlerinden biri olan TİKA, Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasından sonra bölgede oluşan güç boşluğundan yararlanmak amacı güderek kurulan, Türki Cumhuriyetler ile ilişkileri geliştirmek amacı ile, bu ülkelere teknik yardım sağlamak için kurulan bir ajanstır. Ak Parti hükümetinin iktidara gelmesi ile birlikte Türk dış politikasında gerçekleşen değişim ve Türk dış politikasına getirilen yeni anlayış TİKA'nın yeniden yapılandırılmasına sebep olmuştur. Buna paralel olarak, TİKA Afrika,

Latin Amerika ve Karayipler gibi daha önce Türkiye tarafından ihmal edilmiş bölgelerde faaliyet göstermeye başlamıştır. TİKA'nın bu bölgelerdeki faaliyetleri Türkiye'nin pro-aktif bir ülke olma çabaları çerçevesinde dünyanın farklı bölgelerine yaptığı açılımların en iyi örneklerinden biridir. Türkiye'nin kamu diplomasisine gittikçe daha da önem vermeye başladığını gösteren örneklerden bir tanesi de Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı'nın 2010 yılında kuruluşudur. YTB'nin kamu diplomasisine ve aynı zamanda Türk dış politikasına olan katkılarını Türkiye'nin diaspora politikasıyla açıklamak mümkündür. Burada vurgulanmak istenen yurtdışında yaşayan Türk vatandaşları ile, onların yaşadıkları ülkelerdeki sosyal durumlarını da göz önünde bulundurarak, anavatanları Türkiye arasındaki bağı güçlü kılmak, kimliklerini, kültürel değerlerini ve ana dillerini korumalarına yardımcı olmaktır. Buna ek olarak YTB aracılığı ile Türkiye, Osmanlı Devleti'nin etki alanında bulunmuş olan bölgelerdeki ülke halkları ile ortak kültür, tarih ve miras aracılığı ile ilişkileri geliştirmek ve böylelikle bu ülkelerin ve ülke halklarının Türkiye'ye ve Türk dış politikasına yönelik tutumlarını olumlu yöne çekmektir. Türk kamu diplomasisinin diğer aktörleri de aynı şekilde bu bölümde incelenmiştir. Bunlar Türkiye'nin hikayesini, Türkiye'nin kendi bakış açısından dünya kamuoyuna farklı dillerde anlatmayı hedefleyen TRT World, Türk dilini ve Türk kültürünü bir kamu diplomasisi kaynağı haline dönüştüren ve bu şekilde Türkiye'nin dünya kamuoyundaki imajına katkı sağlamaya çalışan Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, Dışişleri Bakanlığı faaliyetleri; özellikle Orta Doğu, Balkanlar ve Latin Amerika'da popülerlik kazanmış olan Türk Dizileri olarak sıralamak mümkündür.

Son bölümde ise sonuç olarak, dört farklı kıtadan dört farklı ülke üzerine yapılan incelemeler ve araştırmalar sonucunda ortaya çıkan gözlemler ve sonuçlar tartışılmıştır. Değişen uluslararası ortam, iletişim toplumu teknolojilerindeki gelişme, Soğuk Savaş sonrası ortaya çıkan yeni dünya düzeni ve küreselleşmenin getirdiği yeni koşullar küresel politikaları derinden etkilemiştir. 21. yüzyılın getirdiği yeni dinamiklerle çevrili bir uluslararası ortamda, kamu diplomasisi küresel politikaların vazgeçilemez bir parçası olmuş ve yeni bir diplomasi türü ve devletlerin dış politikalarına hizmet etmeye elverişli bir dış politika yöntemi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlar göz önünde bulundurularak, yukarıda incelendiği gibi,

kendi ulusal çıkarları ve dış politika hedefleri doğrultusunda, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin fikirsel mücadeleye dayalı; Britanya'nın eğitim odaklı; Çin'in yumuşak güç ağırlıklı ve son olarak Türkiye'nin dış politikada yaşadığı değişim üzerine geliştirilen söylem ve retoriğe dayalı bir kamu diplomasisi yürüttüğü çıkarımı yapılmış ve her bir ülkenin yürüttüğü kamu diplomasisinin kendi dış politikalarına hizmet eden bir yöntem olduğu sonucu çıkarılmıştır.



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