

Beijing Agenda

Day 1: June 16, 2016 at the Columbia Global Center in Beijing

10:00-10:15: Welcome and opening remarks by Victoria de Grazia

10:15-10:30: Jack Snyder, Is There a Coherent Ideology of Illiberal Modernity, and Is It a Source of Soft Power?

10:30-11:30: Comments and discussion on Jack Snyder's paper

Chair: Victoria de Grazia

Comments by Yiwei Wang, Richard Balme, Dilek Barlas, and Jean Tible

11:30-11:45: Coffee break

11:45-12:30: Victoria de Grazia Soft Power/Normative Power: First Steps to Sketching a Global History, 1990-2010.

12:30-13:30: Lunch

How is China Special?

13:30-14:00: Ying Zhu, "Film as Soft Power and Hard Currency: The Sino-Hollywood Courtship"

14:00-14:30: Jiang Fei, "Conceptualizing Soft Power in the context of International Cultural Campaign"

14:30-15:00: Martina Bassan, "China's soft power in Africa"

15:00-15:15: Coffee break

15:15-16:30: Comments on the Chinese cultural power by Richard Balme and Yiwei Wang

19:00-22:00: Dinner

Day 2: June 17, 2016 at Renmin University

Culture and Communications in International Relations

10:00-11:00: Jean Tible and Fernando Santamauro, “The Cultural Challenge of Brazil”

11:00-11:15: Coffee break

11:15-11:45: Hongmei Li, “Building the BRICS: Media, nation branding and global citizenship”

11:45-12:00: Logan de La Barre-Hays, “International Broadcasting and Public Diplomacy in the Global War on Terror: 1991-2010”

12:00-12:30: Comments by Ying Zhu

12:30-13:30: Lunch

How does an Economic model become a cultural/ideological model?

13:30-14:00: Pang Zhongying, “Can the Chinese experiences in economic development have the general significance for other developing countries?”

14:00-14:30: Mustafa Kutlay, “Trade as a soft power instrument in Turkish foreign policy: Achievements and limitations”

14:30-14:45: Comments by Jack Snyder

14:45-15:00: Coffee break

Returning to Turkey

15:00-15:30: Dilek Barlas and Lerna Yanik, “Debating Turkey’s Soft Power”

15:30-15:45: Comments by Victoria de Grazia

How to write a history?

15:45-16:30 De-Provincializing Soft Power: How to move forward?

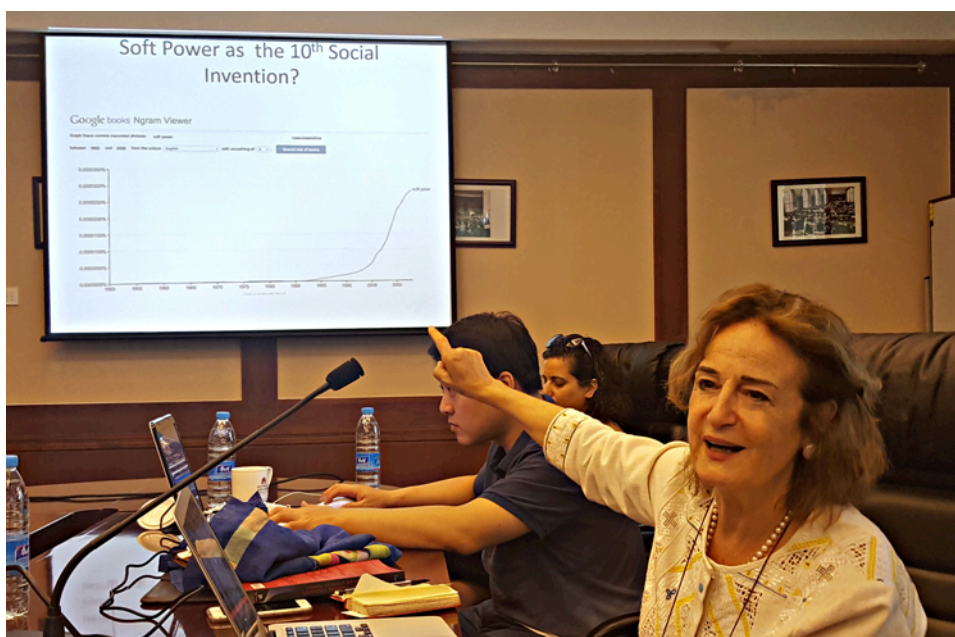


2016.06.21

Lecture by Professor Victoria de Grazia, *European Center - Columbia University*

On the 21st of June 2016, Professor Shi Zhiqin, the Director of the Center for the Study of the New Silk Road at Tsinghua University chaired a discussion with Professor Victoria de Grazia on The Liberal Global Order: American Soft Power Vs. Normative Power Europe and the New Silk Road. Discussants included Professor Cho Dong Sung (*President elect, Incheon National University; Professor at Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business & Seoul National University*), Dr. Cher Lai (*Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University*), Mr. Vasilis Trigkas (*Onassis Scholar, Tsinghua University; Visiting Scholar, European Institute - Columbia University*), Mrs Cui Li (*President, SAGA*).

Organizers: Tsinghua, Department of International Relations & Tsinghua Student Association for Global Affairs (SAGA).



Professor Victoria de Grazia elaborating on "Soft Power as the 10th Social Invention".

Professor Shi Zhiqin: The rise or better the recovery of China from a century of instability and inwardness has led to new global economic, cultural and political trends. And today we could not have found a better expert and strategic thinker to discuss this topic than Victoria de Grazia a professor at Columbia University and former director of the prestigious European Institute which was set up under the Marshal Plan in the late 40's to advice US government about European reconstruction and political reconciliation. And of course we are equally honored to host professor Cho who has excelled in both academia and policy advisory role and has indeed made Korean soft power and magnetism stronger in the world.

Professor de Grazia is currently running the **“De-Provincializing Soft Power** project which is a three-year research project “designed to study the power of cultural persuasion in foreign relations in ways that look beyond the Transatlantic and Western framework. The

project introduces the cases of three emerging powers, China, Brazil, and Turkey that have developed soft-power agendas in rivalry with the U.S. and Europe. The project has brought into conversation scholars in history, communications, cultural studies, and international relations to develop key indicators to understanding national practices of soft power and historical legacies, as they were transformed in light of cyber-technology, multiculturalism, and big shifts in relative economic, military, and political power. The principal activities are conferences held in successive years at Columbia's centers in Beijing, Istanbul and Rio de Janeiro”.

Impressively, Students' role is an integral component of the project and today here at Tsinghua we have the full engagement of the Student Association of Global Affairs that attracts our best young researchers. I hope that the discussion today will be both critical and generative, producing new ideas about the politics of persuasion and global soft power attraction.

Tsinghua University has led numerous research projects on China-EU relations including a global public perception project with Asia Europe Foundation run by our resident scholar Dr. Cher Lai and currently our new Center about the New Silk Road is expanding its partnerships with global experts and research centers around the world.

It is essential to notice that the recovery of China must not be seen as a zero sum game. In particular the New Silk Road does not exclude any country but is open to joint projects in infrastructure, connectivity, culture and education and China's early AIIB projects have attested to that unconditional inclusiveness. So I hope that professor de Grazia's research could also look into the complementarities between European, American and Chinese Normative narratives and not simply on their differences. This is a necessary endeavor to promote a stronger partnership among our countries and constructively resolve global problems that no state alone can address.



Lecture, Victoria de Grazia

Building on her award-winning book “Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance Through 20th Century Europe” (Harvard University Press) **Professor de Grazia** presented the five distinctive features that mark the uniqueness of US's liberal ideals exported to the world. While it is tempting to use the term Soft Power as an all-encompassing neologism to describe global norms of attraction, it was only after the academic work of Joseph Nye - a modern US patrician – that the term became “the 10th Social Invention”, the *sine qua non* of Academic research projects on US “Normative Influence” Worldwide and this attests to the

extraordinary capacity of US elite intellectuals to influence social science research and debate globally.

However a more descriptive and perhaps meaningful term to US “Normative Hegemony” de Grazia supported, would be “the Market Empire” and it is the 5 features of this novel empire that de Grazia presented, stressing out the fact that not all US’ “Market Empire” attributes are antithetical to European and Chinese Norms but the question about their “irreversible irresistibility” particularly in relation to China’s global normative narrative demands a cautious and reasoned response.

America's all powerful Market Empire, Grazia iterated, "Reinforced its overweening confidence in its own parvenu identity as a new material civilization, cast disrepute on the Old World's claim to rule by virtue of its imperial civilizing mission, heritage of art, and bourgeois revolutionary values, and unceasingly retooled the machinery of its own consumer-oriented capitalism to engineer similar consumer revolutions elsewhere".

Perhaps two Americans stand supreme in exporting the new Norms of the Market Empire: H. Ford and P. Harris. "Ford provided the machinery for the new era, it was said, Harris the morality. Ford put America on wheels; Harris gave America the Golden Wheel". And these two movements Fordism and the Rotary attracted not only the new middle class but even then elites of Dresden thus proving that Kultur could not easily compete with the brand new Civilization of the US Market Empire.

The first distinctive feature of America’s world, de Grazia argued, has been **Limited Sovereignty over Public Space**. “From the outset the United States regarded other nations as having limited sovereignty over their public space. Once the classical liberal principle of free trade had been accepted, it was to naught that nations abroad protested that American foreign trade violated local cultural traditions. What is more, the Market Empire recognized that its trade could be a cultural infringement, yet found numerous ways to justify it. So peoples elsewhere would be benefiting not just from the traffic of goods, but also from the principles embedded in them. Say the commodity was Hollywood cinema: its promotion would stimulate not only more trade, but also a lively local market in new identities and pleasures. Consequently, the foreign power that tried to close off trade with tariffs, quotas, and the other barriers showed itself to be not just protectionist in the conventional economic sense, but culturally intolerant and backward.

This is perhaps a feature which Europeans and Chinese despise, the latter with increasing intensity. China in particular has viewed sovereignty as absolute and has long declared the “Principle of Non Intervention”. Not only has this been a long held Chinese belief but also recently Chinese leadership has expanded absolute sovereignty to include the Internet and Cyberspace and Chinese President Xi Jinping himself has called repeatedly for its implementation and sponsored appropriate legislation.

The second unique American attribute has been the **Export of civil society**—meaning its “voluntary associations, social scientific knowledge, and civic spirit—in tandem with, if not ahead of, the country’s economic exports. While the EU has fully endorsed Civil Society and supported its development as a complement to Democratic pluralism, China on the other hand, sees the US inspired Civil Society as a significant threat to the long term stability of the CPC, as memories from velvet revolutions around the world and the role of civil society organizations remain vivid. At the same time CPC has attempted to sponsor its own civil society organizations and pays close attention to their development and public engagement.

The third feature of US Normative Hegemony, de Grazia argues, has been **the power of norms-making. (Best practice and Robert’s Rules of Order)**. “This was the Market Empire’s winning arm. No royal patents, formal codes, or binding legislation governed it so much as the rules of “best practice” as spelled out by enterprising businessmen, civic leaders, and conscientious bureaucrats, each according to their specific expertise. Best practice could come out of the Hollywood studio system, chain-store operation, scientific advertising, or club life.

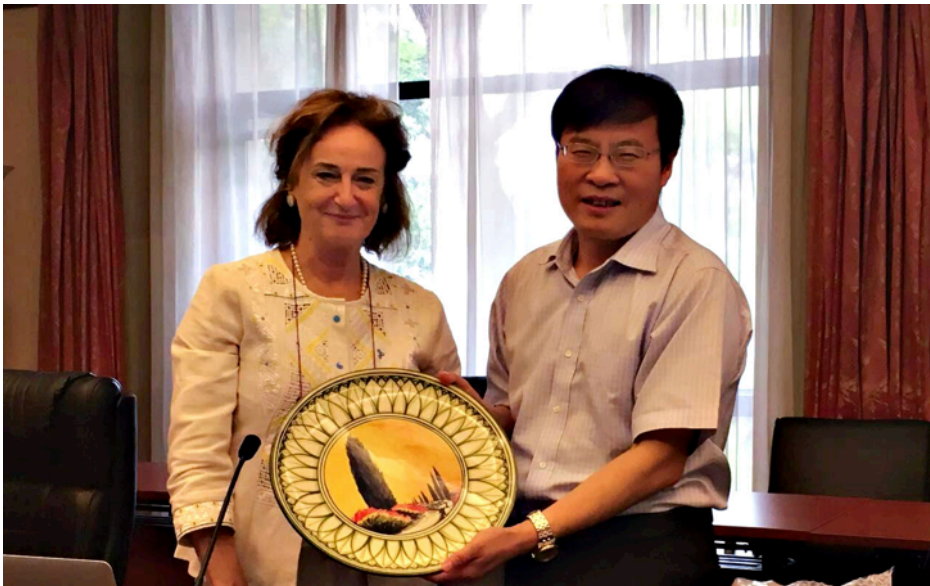
EU and China, both, have attempted to emulate that feature with different degrees of success among European countries and within Chinese provinces. The reason behind China’s

Careful endorsement of Best Practices is mainly economic efficiency as this would empower the creativity and entrepreneurial ability of the Chinese and contribute to exports and GDP growth, thus empowering the legitimacy of CPC.

The fourth feature and perhaps the most antithetical to Chinese political norms has been **Americas' vaunted democratic ethos**. "Democracy in the realm of consumption coming down to espousing equality in the face of commonly known standards". In addition the Democratic Ethos most confounding influence was its apparent peaceableness and the teleological prophecy of Democratic Wilsonian Peace. It has been a long held belief of the Market Empire that Liberal Democracies will rarely fight a war with each other and if they would fight one then it would be limited and ephemeral, as progressive forces would reestablish lasting peace and prosperity.

Yet the Market Empire – as most empires in known history will not be the last standing and it has since its apogee in the late 80's lost its indispensable normative appeal. Within the United State and the world that America made, there has been growing internal contradictions: Wealth cleavages, outsourcing of manufacturing, crisis of standard of living model, crisis of GDPism; and a loss of synchronicity between state, corporate structures and civil society.

Thus, the debate about the distinctive features of American, European and Chinese normative ideals and the degree of future attraction of the Market Empire will be a long one and it is only through an interdisciplinary research with historians, political scientists, journalists and diplomats that the debate can be enriched and perhaps lead us to a more lucid understanding of how states operate and promote the magnetism of their ideals to the world; how states build global orders and attract diverse people and civilizations not simply with guns or butter but with their conjuring ideas. It is exactly this approach that Columbia has endorsed, professor de Grazia concluded.



Professor Victoria de Grazia and Professor Shi Zhiqin



Professor de Grazia in front of Tsinghua's historic Rotunda built on distinctive Greco-Roman rhythm by American engineers in 1911.



Dilek Barlas is a Professor in the History Dept. at Koc University. Her book, *Etatism and Diplomacy in Turkey, 1929-1939: Economic and Foreign Policy Strategies in an Uncertain World*, was published by Brill in 1998. Her second book (with Serhat Güvenç) *Turkey in the Mediterranean, 1923-1939: The Nature and Limits of Middle Power Diplomacy* is published in 2010 by Indiana University Turkish Studies Series. In addition, she has several articles published in English, French and Turkish. Among the articles she has published: “Montreux Konferansı ve Sonrasında Çanakkale Boğazi ve Türkiye” in Mustafa Demir ed. *Çanakkale Tarihi I* (İstanbul: Değişim Yayınları, 2008), “Turkish Diplomacy in the Balkans and the Mediterranean: Opportunities and Limits for Middle Power Activism in the 1930s” (*Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 40, No. 3, July 2005) and “Friend or Foes: Diplomatic Relations between Italy and Turkey, 1923-1936” (*International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, May 2004). She is Turkish Representative of Standing Committee for the Humanities in European Science Foundation.



Fernando Santamauro is the International Relations Coordinator at the city of Guarulhos. He has a Ph.D. in international relations at the San Tiago Dantas Program (Unesp, Unicamp and PUC-SP), and holds a master’s degree in history from Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo. He was a Capes Fulbright Fellow and a visiting researcher at Montclair State University in 2013-2014. Previously he was an international relations adviser at the São Paulo City Hall (2002-2005), Belo Horizonte (2007), and Professor of International Relations History at Faculdade Santa Marcelina, São Paulo (2012-14).



Hongmei Li is associate professor in the Department of Media, Journalism and Film at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. She received her doctorate degree from the University of Southern California and was also a recipient of a George Gerbner Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania in 2008-2010. Her research focuses on advertising and consumer culture, Chinese culture and society, gender and sexuality, national branding and public diplomacy, global communication, and culture of new communication technologies. She has published two books: a monograph on Chinese advertising (Polity Press, 2016) and an edited book titled *The Middle Class in Emerging Societies: Consumers, Lifestyles and Markets* (Routledge, 2015, co-edited with Leslie Marsh). She has also co-edited a special issue on nation branding among the BRICS economies titled "Building the BRICS: Media, National Branding and Global Citizenship" (*International Journal of Communication*, 2016, with Leslie Marsh).



Jack Snyder is the Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science and the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia. His books include *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War*, co-authored with Edward D. Mansfield; *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*; *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*; *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914*; and *Religion and International Relations Theory*, editor. His articles on such topics as crisis diplomacy ("The Cost of Empty Threats; A Penny, Not a Pound," *American Political Science Review*, August 2011, co-authored with Erica Borghard), democratization and war, nationalism, imperial overstretch, war crimes tribunals versus amnesties, international relations theory after September 11, and anarchy and culture have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, and *World Politics*. Professor Snyder is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and editor of the W. W. Norton book series on World Politics. Professor Snyder received a B.A. in Government from Harvard in 1973 and the Certificate of Columbia's Russian Institute in 1978.



Jean Tible is Professor of International Relations at l'Université de São Paulo. He graduated from the Catholic University of São Paulo with a B.A. in International Relations (2001), received an MA in International Relations from the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (2005) and a Ph.D. in Sociology from the State University of Campinas (2012). His research interests include Marxism, Brazilian foreign policy, social movements, international relations theory and political theory.



Jiang Fei has a Ph.D. from the Department of Literature, Media & Communication studies from Sichuan University (Chengdu, China). Currently he is a Professor at the Institute of Journalism and Communication, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He is Director of the Department of Communication Studies of his Institute and Director of the Global Media and Communication Research Center of CASS. He is also the Deputy Secretary General of the Communication Association of China (CAC), and associate editor for the Journal of China Media Report Overseas. Prof. Jiang has taught at several universities in China and has given invited lectures at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Taiwan National Chengchi University, and Lugano University (Switzerland). He was visiting scholar at Stockholm University (Sweden), Toronto University (Canada), University of British Columbia (Canada), University of Macquarie (Australia) and the Annenberg School for Communications, University of Pennsylvania (USA). His research interests include communication theory, new media and intercultural communication studies, cultural studies, and post-colonial theory.



Martina Bassan graduated from Venice Cà Foscari University (MA and Bachelor in Legal and Economic Institutions of Eastern Asia and Chinese Language). She is currently a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Sciences Po Paris. Her research focuses on China's Africa watchers and think tanks in China.



Mustafa Kutlay is assistant professor of International Political Economy at TOBB University of Economics and Technology. After receiving BA and MA degrees from Middle East Technical University, in his PhD studies, Dr Kutlay specialized on international political economy at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Koç University. He works on international/comparative political economy, political economy of Europe and Turkey, Turkey-EU relations, regionalization and emerging powers, and Southern Europe (Greece and Cyprus).



Lerna K. Yanık is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Turkey. She received her Ph.D. in Government from Georgetown University and has worked at Bilkent University, in Ankara, Turkey before coming to Kadir Has University. Her current research is about the discursive construction of politics of space and place and political economy that surrounds it, especially with respect to Turkey.



Logan de La Barre-Hays is a dual MA/MSc student in International and World History at Columbia University and the London School of Economics. She graduated summa cum laude from the Louisiana State University Honors College in 2014, where she obtained B.A.s in International Studies and in Political Science and specialized in Middle Eastern Studies and International Politics. She is a two-time Critical Language Scholarship recipient. Her current thesis project examines

the role of petitioning as a form of Arab claim making under the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine.



Pang Zhongying is a Professor of International Relations and the founding Director, Centre for the Study of Global Governance at School of International Studies, Renmin University of China. His current research interests are major powers in global governance, global concert of powers, the reform of existing international governance, comparative regional governance among world's regions, and theory and practice of diplomacy. Pang graduated from China's Nankai University with B.A. in economics, UK's University of Warwick with MA in Politics and International Studies, and China's Peking University with

Ph.D. in International Relations. He served in both the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) and the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia.



Richard Balme is Professor at the Paris School of International Affairs, Scientific Advisor to the Master In international Public Management, and Senior Fellow at the Centre for European Studies in Sciences Po. He is also Visiting Professor at the School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University in Beijing. He teaches public policy analysis, comparative politics and international relations. He is currently director of the programme Governance and Globalization for Sciences Po in China. His current research interests cover EU-China relations, comparative environmental governance, and climate change policy and diplomacy. Among his recent publications are *European Governance and Democracy: Power and Protest in the European Union*, (with D. Chabanet, Rowman and Littlefield 2008) and

Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralisms, (with B. Bridges, Palgrave, 2008). He obtained research grants from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), the National Science Foundation, the Fondation Jean Jaures, and the Lee Hysan Foundation in Hong Kong.



Victoria de Grazia is Moore Collegiate Professor of History at Columbia and directs the European Institute. The project builds on Professor de Grazia's longstanding work on transatlantic and international history which culminated in two lines of publications, one on transatlantic commodity and cultural flows (*Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe*, Harvard 2005, with editions in Italian, German, Spanish, and with the Commercial Press of Beijing with a new preface on soft power in China and the US), the other on consumer cultures and gender (*The Sex of Things: Women and Gender in Historical Perspective*, California 1996).



Wang Yiwei is professor of the School of International Studies and senior fellow of the Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies (RDCY), director of the Institute of International Affairs and director of the Center for EU Studies at Renmin University of China. He is also director of the China-Europe Academic Network (CEAN) and senior research fellow of the Charhar Institute. He was formerly distinguished professor of Tongji University (2011-2012), diplomat at the Chinese Mission to the European Union (2008-2011) and professor of the Center for American Studies at Fudan University (2001-

2008), Korea Foundation Distinguished Visiting Professor of Yonsei University (2005) and Fox Fellow of Yale University (2000-2001). He has published more than 170 academic articles in *Social Sciences in China*, *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* etc. 15 books including the recent *One Belt and One Road: Opportunities and Challenges*, *Haishang: Revelations of European Civilization* (both in Chinese and English) and *China NATO Studies Series*, 600 commentaries at *Project Syndicate*, *Europe's World*, *People's Daily* etc.



Ying Zhu is a professor in the Department of Media Culture at CUNY. She has published eight books, including *Two Billion Eyes: The Story of China Central Television* (New Press, 2014). Her first research monograph, *Chinese Cinema during the Era of Reform: The Ingenuity of the System* (2003) initiated the study of Chinese cinema within the framework of political economy. Her second research monograph, *Television in Post-Reform China: Serial Drama, Confucian Leadership and the Global Television Market* (2008), together with two book volumes in which her work featured prominently—*TV China* (2009) and *TV Drama in China* (2008)—pioneered the subfield of Chinese TV drama studies.

Zhu's writings have appeared in major academic journals, books, and publications such as *The Atlantic*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. Her works have been translated into Chinese, Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish. A recipient of a US National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship (2006) and an American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship (2008), Zhu also produces current affairs documentary films, including *Google vs. China* (2011) and *China: From Cartier to Confucius* (2012), both screened on the Netherlands Public Television. She will start a 2016-17 Senior Research Fulbright in China this fall to work on a new book tracing the evolution of the Sino-Hollywood relation against the larger backdrop of the Sino-US relation.