

Case Studies of Contemporary Diplomacy of China, India, and the US

Diplomacy has been an indispensable part of global affairs, as it is what makes it about relations between global actors. Diplomacy is one of the important instruments used by a nation-state for conducting its relations and communicating with other sovereign states. Diplomacy in international relations is a factor of power. Through it, nation-states can help secure the objectives of their foreign policies without the use of military force. Joseph Nye, a noted foreign policy scholar, and practitioner coined the phrase "soft power" in 1990. Nye describes soft power as "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion." He sees strong relations with allies, economic assistance programs, and vital cultural exchanges as examples of soft power.¹ Today, countries across the world have embraced this idea to augment their global positioning and influence. A country's soft power essentially refers to its ability to attract other nations through its culture, foreign policy, and political values, rather than the use of military might. This understanding has served as the bedrock for countries to pursue public diplomacy and amplify their cultural engagement with both state and non-state actors.

According to Falk Hartig, the concept of cultural diplomacy is "the act of communicating with foreign publics, and therefore is the instrument to facilitate or project a country's soft power". Following up on this notion, he argues that as soft power originates from the attraction from the other, cultural diplomacy is thus the "instrument in the hands of governments aimed at persuading."² When discussing the purpose of cultural diplomacy, Joseph Nye argues that "by definition, soft power means getting others to want the same outcomes you want, and that requires an understanding of how they are hearing your messages and fine-tuning it accordingly. It is crucial to understand the target audience."³

Cultural diplomacy could be considered a concept can take varied forms, which is a notion further emphasized by Erik Pajtinka. He attempts to explain the varying nature of cultural diplomacy and ascribes it to the efforts of various scholars to highlight merely fragments of the phenomenon "depending usually on the context of the issue discussed". Mark agrees on this notion, adding that there is a "lack of clarity about what precisely the practice entails" and thus no agreed upon definition of the concept.

Although the definition of cultural diplomacy is inconsistent, scholars agree that the concept should be considered "a subset of public diplomacy" According to Mark Leonard and Juliet Sablosky "long-term relationship building is what distinguishes cultural diplomacy from public diplomacy". The concept of cultural diplomacy can thus be viewed as the fraction of public diplomacy that is attentive to the "building of long-term relationships". Leonard formulated an influential three-tiered conceptualization of public diplomacy defined by the frame of time. The first tier is short-term and it may take "hours or days"; the second tier is medium-term and it may be "executed within months"; the third tier is long-term and is tied to the "long term relationship building and may take years", and it is exactly within this tier that cultural diplomacy has its place.⁴ Mark argues that one method that has become an increasingly significant element of the practice and in which cultural diplomacy supports the building of long-term relationships is that of 'nation-branding'. Mitchell proposes three distinct models that governments can utilize in their foreign policy agendas. Specifically, Mitchell is third model, in which he presents a "mixed system" where governments continue to retain overall control, but choose to fund and contract

agencies, which will “operate independently within their competences”, has a particular relevance regarding this case.⁵

Today, one of the easiest methods to connect with the world is digitally in the age of technology. The digital revolution has impacted all aspects of life including international relations. Digital diplomacy uses new methods and modes of conducting diplomacy with the help of the Internet and ICTs and refers to their impact on contemporary diplomatic practices. We are now in the age of post-industrial information society, offering new ranges of transnational production and distributive processes. Conflicts have also included the aspects of the cyber, drone, or robotic technologies, making ICT a key tool of modern warfare. Thus, digital diplomacy becomes more important than ever. Gone are days with conservative policymaking and tight governmental control in the epoch of digital diplomacy, which also has a footprint on the sovereignty of a country as well. Like for example, Kosovo in 2013 became the first country in the world recognized by Facebook. Thus, state, and non-state actors have adopted new strategies and policies to manage these technologies’ driven challenges and capitalize on these transformations, making digital diplomacy more important than ever. The rise of ICTs has also led to many rudimentary changes in the conduct of diplomacy internationally.⁶

Digitalization does not stop at diplomacy. Embassies are increasingly communicating via Twitter, foreign ministries are evaluating data, and in the coronavirus crisis, heads of state are negotiating via video conference. This could have consequences for global politics.⁷

Constance Duncombe, in his excellent article “Twitter and transformative diplomacy: social media and Iran–US relations”, published in *International Affairs*, Volume 93, Issue 3, May 2017, Pages 545–562, argues that:⁸

Social media is increasingly used as a means of communication between states. Diplomats and political leaders are ever more relying on Twitter in their daily practice to communicate with their counterparts. These exchanges occur in view of a global audience, providing an added level of scrutiny that is unique to this form of communication. Twitter arguably challenges traditional notions of diplomacy according to which it is conducted through formal channels of communication and informal face-to-face social engagement... the role of Twitter as a key part of negotiation strategy is a crucial demonstration of how social media can shape the struggle for recognition, and thereby legitimize political possibilities for change. ... Social media are thus changing the space within which diplomacy unfolds. Yet diplomacy in all its complexities continues to be perceived as grounded in personal interaction. ...If diplomacy is the ‘art of communication’, then Twitter is another platform for dialogue between states. Yet this technology challenges traditional notions of diplomacy according to which it occurs through formal channels of communication and informal face-to-face social engagements. Diplomats are increasingly relying on Twitter in their daily practice to communicate with their counterparts. These exchanges occur in front of a global audience, providing an added level of scrutiny that is unique to this form of communication..... The role of Twitter as a key part of negotiating strategy is a crucial

demonstration of how social media can shape the struggle for recognition, and thereby legitimize political possibilities for change. Recognition provides a positive affirmation of identity that maintains an actor's self-esteem. Our identity is formed through reflexive patterns of how others recognize us. When a state believes it is recognized in a way that is different from how it represents itself, it may engage in a 'struggle for recognition' to convince others it should be represented, and recognized, in a different way. Social media are implicated in this intersubjective policy–identity process. Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, among other user-generated Mi, effectively 'cultivate communities of identity performance that reaffirm more than question' the parameters of state identity. Statements made on social media can reflect 'us and them' demarcations, framing state identity and difference and a state's desire for recognition from others. How a state represents itself and recognizes others via social media can make foreign policy options possible and rule out others. If we are attuned to shifts in representational patterns communicated through Twitter during high-level negotiations as part of the struggle for recognition, we can also ascertain political possibilities for change earlier than might normally be the case. Prior to the advent of social media, diplomacy largely enjoyed a 'cushion of time' between maneuver and response. The collapse of space and time brought about by these new channels of instant communication has added to the complex environment in which diplomacy occurs. Contemporary diplomacy is characterized by greater frequency of communication and wider dispersal of information through social media. Diplomats and political leaders will often have limited time to digest and evaluate information posted on social media. What results is a slow realization of change, as the nuances of social media communication may be overlooked due to time constraints. Yet if Twitter posts are examined closely as another vehicle for information in addition to official policy statements, we can begin to see how possible openings for dialogue have formed over time. States have increasingly been employing social media as part of a more interactive engagement with foreign publics. Yet state-to-state diplomatic engagement through social media remains underexamined, despite being 'often implicitly present in many arguments' in IR literature. IR scholars are increasingly recognizing the importance of social media in world politics. In so doing, most focus either on the 'two-way street' dynamic of communication in relation to greater agency for the individual in international affairs, or on the impact of social media on the processes of public diplomacy wherein policymakers seek to influence foreign publics. Both refer to the widespread and 'converging set of technologies' that include user-generated consumer content-driven platforms and micro-blog sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. Social media constitute an important technological tool that has material power precisely because of how its users employ it, like any other technology. Thus, they are implicated not only in the increasing political empowerment of the individual, but also in the relationship between policymakers and their domestic and foreign publics. Scholars in IR and public diplomacy have more recently turned their attention to social media engagement with foreign publics. Public diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy that is centered on diplomatic engagement with other publics. It is an important aspect of the development of a state's international reputation, used to persuade and influence foreign publics according to the agenda of that state. The power of reputation, and the connected pursuit of a particular status, has long been a focus of IR scholars because reputational aspirations are directly implicated in justifications for war. What has changed in such

approaches is an acknowledgement that domestic and foreign publics are key to the pursuit and attainment of reputation and status. With publics more informed about foreign policymaking through online networks, the power of the audience has increased with the amplification of its ability to ‘confer acceptance of actors' authority and [its] participation in the diffusion of communicative power’. ...As Nicholas Cull argues, the significance of public opinion in foreign policymaking is largely attributable to this ‘communications revolution’.

E-diplomacy can simply be defined “as the use of Web and new information and communication technologies for diplomatic objectives. The tools include wikis and social networks, and some tools still in development will allow for even more customization and connectivity between users”.⁹

Thus, cultural diplomacy, in all its complexity, is indeed an incredibly significant element of a nation’s public diplomacy.

The article will consist of three case studies of the diplomacy of China, United States, and India (2011-2021 period). It will employ a common framework for the purpose of the study.

Section I: China

Examination of the following elements of the country’s diplomacy:

The Country’s Definition of its Diplomacy

China defines its diplomacy in terms of the soft power concept following its articulation by Nye. Culture is considered the heart and soul of soft power, as well as a key resource for state power. China hopes to assure the world that it is a civilized, responsible, and reliable nation. It seeks to develop an international voice that reflects its status on the world stage. Today, China aims at attaining a superpower status and desires to project its image abroad.

The Elaboration of the Specific Rational for the Emphasis on Cultural Diplomacy.

China is embarked on a ‘soft’ cultural diplomacy to portray itself as a friendly international actor. President Xi has been encouraging Chinese media to tell the “China Story” well. He also warned the international community to stop reprimanding China. Today, China is clearly telling the US that it is now an equal. Today, China’s cultural diplomacy reflects this new confidence unambiguously.

Structure / Entities Responsible

The Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) are responsible for conducting cultural diplomacy. The MCT is responsible for expanding foreign cultural and tourism cooperation.

The Confucius Institutes (CI): The CIs are a vital part of the China's cultural diplomacy mission. They are focused on teaching the Chinese language and culture, providing cultural and educational exchange programs, and strengthening ties with other nations. From just 303 CIs located in 93 countries in 2010, the institution by 2020 had expanded to 540 CIs in 162 countries. By then 12 million students had been trained. Today, CIs have been established in more than 1,500 high schools and colleges worldwide and are popular in many developing countries. Overall, the CIs are seen as a centerpiece of China's soft power and a path to attain a superpower status by enhancing the country's global appeal. Today, the CIs have given rise to a contentious public debate in host countries. Critics say that the CIs function as a mechanism of Chinese state propaganda.

Financial Budget

China spends roughly \$10 billion annually on various global cultural diplomacy initiatives

Trade Related

Today, China's position as the "world factory" has only been strengthened. It has emerged as an export powerhouse which has reshaped the landscape of global trade. China is increasingly active in its pursuit of regional trade agreements. As of 2014, there were just two such agreements. Today, China has entered into several Free Trade Agreements. The main ones are: Pakistan, New Zealand, Singapore, Peru, Switzerland, Korea, and Australia. In 2020, ASEAN and five regional partners signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership which is the largest free trade agreement in history and is projected to add \$500 billion to world trade by 2030.

The China-US Trade War

Earlier, the Trump administration had increased US tariffs on Chinese products. Despite the increases, China's market share has grown on the global stage. Meanwhile, the US is importing more goods from China and continues to attempt to bring manufacturing back to the country. However, experts argue that it may be difficult to change course. Today, the Biden administration is seemingly bent on confrontation with China, especially on trade, cyber, and high-tech front. The trade war waged by the US is causing damage to US-China relations. Many experts argue that there is no winner in the trade war, and they hope that better sense will prevail in the US.

Cultural Programs

China is a treasure trove of culture and heritage sites. China is second, after Italy, with the most UNESCO World Heritage sites in the world. Today, China is making great strides in establishing cultural programs abroad. It is assisting developing countries in their cultural and heritage conservation initiatives. The UNESCO's World Heritage Centre (WHC) has been collaborating with China on a strategy for nomination of Silk Road cultural properties to the World Heritage List. Already UNESCO had identified 550 sites. China's efforts to promote cultural exchanges had been praised by the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations.

Infrastructure

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

The BRI is a transcontinental development project that seeks to improve connectivity between Asia, Europe, and Africa, and ultimately increase trade, development, and prosperity along six economic corridors. The BRI is China's path-breaking grand scheme to expand its global influence. It is one of the greatest achievements of President Xi. By 2017 more than 40 countries had signed cooperation agreements. The total worth of BRI projects was then \$1 trillion. By 2020, BRI began receiving international recognition, including from the European Union (EU). The BRI projects were then planned to be worth some \$8 trillion. The China Development Bank, the lead financial body for BRI, will invest \$890 billion in over 900 projects spread over 60 countries. Today, other banks involved in the financing of BRI projects are being established like \$100 billion Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. More than 100 countries have joined the BRI. More than 2,600 projects worth \$3.7 trillion were linked to it. China is utilizing BRI to consolidate its position at the center of the global supply and manufacturing networks. Overall, the BRI is an outstanding global project. However, critics think that BRI is part of China's grand geopolitical and strategic agenda, projects are essentially based on China's own economic interests, and they are leaving huge debt burdens many poor countries cannot afford.

Building Centers & Institutions

National Museum of China (NMC): It is the foremost cultural institution which collects, research, displays and interprets China's culture. With over 1 million precious and rare artifacts, The NMC is one of the largest and most popular museums in the world.

Tiananmen Square (TS): It is in Beijing and is the largest center plaza in the world. As a site of many important events, it has a great political, historical, and cultural significance.

Forbidden City: It is a huge palace built by the Ming and Qing Dynasties. The cultural richness of China is truly reflected at this palace. It is the largest ancient imperial architecture complex in the world and is a stunning masterpiece.

The Shanghai Astronomy Museum (SAM): It was just opened on July 17, 2021. It is the world's largest planetarium and exhibition areas have various themes, and precious collections. The SAM contains facilities focusing on topics such as the exploration of Mars. The exhibits include meteorites from the moon, Mars, and Vesta, as well collections of artifacts

International Media

There has been a rapid expansion of Chinese international media in the last decade. Earlier, in 2009, China invested \$6 billion in the sector, and more investments followed which led to an extensive media reach outreach. The Big Four are:

Global Times (GT): The GT was launched in 1993 and in 2013, it launched a bilingual edition in the U.S. Today, it has offices in major US cities. However, the GT is widely criticized and is seen as government-controlled propaganda tool.

Xinhua News Agency (XNA): The XNA is the largest media organization in China. Earlier, in 2010, it established the China Xinhua News Network Corporation (CNC) which runs World News 24/7. Today, XNA is actively transforming itself into a global news agency.

China Global Television Network (CGTN): The CGTN was established in 2016. It broadcasts in 6 channels in 171 countries. The CGTN's TV channels are available in more than 160 countries. It also incorporates the video news agency Global Video News Agency. The CGTN delivers digital content through CGTN Digital, which is widely accessible through social media platforms. The CGTN spent more than \$50 million on its US operations in 2020.

China Radio International (CRI): The CRI broadcasts in 59 languages. In 2017, China Plus was established as CRI's overseas all-in-one English-language media brand. Today, CRI's programs can be heard on radio stations globally. It has become an international multimedia entity that incorporates all mass communication means. Today, CRI broadcasts in 65 languages and is the second largest radio organization in the world.

The China International Broadcasting Network was established in 2011. Today, it relies on advanced internet and mobile technology to communicate with a global audience.

International Linkages

China is rapidly building linkages with global media. Starting from 2016, China has hosted foreign journalists from leading media houses in Asia and Africa. China has also set up the Press Center for journalists from these regions.

In the last decade, China's film market has developed significantly. Today the foreign film industry is eager to enter the Chinese market. By 2020 China had signed intergovernmental film coproduction agreements with 22 countries and international cultural exchanges. The number of coproduced films has increased yearly.

China has rapidly expanded its international media capacity in the US. In total, China spent nearly \$64 million on propaganda and lobbying in America in 2020. This development has not gone well in the US. Meanwhile, China's relationship with foreign media has become increasingly tense in recent years.

International Cooperation

The Academic Exchange Information Centre (AEIC)

The AEIC is an international academic organization that serves as an international platform for science and technology communications. It has partnered with worldwide educational and research institutions, to organize international academic conferences. The AEIC has built up collaboration relationships with many famous publishing groups.

The China International Development Cooperation Agency (CIDCA): The CIDCA was established in 2018 to specialize in international development cooperation affairs. To this day,

several projects have been carried out in developing countries. China works with and supports the Institute of South-South Cooperation and Development.

China - the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Relations

China has sought to consolidate its old relationship with ASEAN which has now become a comprehensive partnership. The ASEAN and China have deepened exchanges and cooperation through mechanisms in such fields as economy, trade, tourism, and culture.

China-West Asia Relations

China is expanding its cooperation agreements with West Asia. In May 2021, China, Afghanistan, and Pakistan co-signed an agreement which will enhance joint preservation and restoration of cultural property, and conservation of world cultural heritage sites.

Promotion of Regional Culture and Tourism Cooperation

China has established several mechanisms to promote regional cultural and tourism cooperation like the Silk Road alliance. As of 2019 China has cooperated with 319 overseas organizations from 88 countries. Also, China has been cooperating more with BRI countries in the tourism sector. The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations had praised China for establishing an instrument for it to promote understanding among different religions, cultures, and civilizations.

China Partnership with UNESCO's WHC

Today, China is expanding its cultural and heritage conservation initiatives to many countries through the WHC. They are now working on a strategy for the nomination of cultural properties along the Silk Road to the World Heritage List. Already, some 550 sites have been identified. Earlier, in 2014 China had partnered with the WHC to establish the China Funds for capacity building and cooperation for World Heritage in Africa. By 2019, the China Funds through the WHC had enabled projects supporting long-term capacity building of professionals working on its properties.

World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia and the Pacific Region (WHITR-AP): It is in Shanghai and specializes in heritage conservation under the auspices of UNESCO. The main objective of the institute is better protecting and manage World Heritage properties in the Asia and the Pacific region

Digital Diplomacy

China has made great strides in Digital Diplomacy. President XI is a frequent user of ediplomacy. He has addressed several summits via video link. China is now embarking on a Twitter diplomacy to catch up with the US. Recently, many Chinese diplomats have become increasingly active on social media platforms. China's active embrace of Twitter as a platform to conduct public diplomacy is meant to gain capacity to sway audiences, and to monitor international public opinion. For China Twitter diplomacy is effectively a crisis messaging tool. Lately, the Twitter "wolf-warriors" ambassadors have attained notoriety and now China's leadership is reigning them, while still retaining the benefits that such ediplomacy provides.

Vaccine Diplomacy

Recently, China had launched the largest, most extensive emergency humanitarian assistance since the founding of the country. It had provided 88 countries and organizations with 28 million Covid-19 vaccines. In May 2021 China announced that it will provide an additional \$3 billion in international aid over the next three years to support COVID-19 response. Today, China has more than 500 million doses of vaccines to over 100 countries and organizations and will provide the WHO's COVAX project with 110 million doses in the next four months.

Meanwhile, criticism of China's vaccine diplomacy is pronounced in some Western countries, especially the US and Germany, which have accused Beijing of using vaccines for geopolitical leverage and gaining influence. As expected, China is also criticizing the US for its own vaccine diplomacy. In June 2021, while responding to American vaccine supply to Taiwan, China had urged US not to interfere in Taiwan. Overall, according to critics, China's vaccine is falling short of pledges. As expected, mutual mudslinging between the US and China persists even on the emergency vaccination issue.

Section II: India

The Country's Definition of its Diplomacy

India, like elsewhere, employs the Nye concepts of soft power to formulate and elucidate its cultural diplomacy. Indian leaders speak positively about the country's soft power potential. They believe that being a civilizational state, India's soft power is manifested in its millennia-old traditions and wisdom. India is a culture-driven soft power, and its unique nature of cultural diplomacy is found in its arts, culture and spiritualism which have global appeal. India's soft power which is multidimensional and based on its cultural heritage is the country's gift to the world.

To outsiders such an emphasis seems to unconvincing. But it shows India's uniqueness as civilization and modern nation-state employing contemporary discourse of Nye's soft power concepts. Also, it is sufficient to state that India is indeed a complex blend of the ancient and modern strains not only in society, state but also knowledge and popular discourse.

Goals & Priorities

India has been advancing its dream of establishing itself as a major global power. The leadership of the country believes that India's unique civilizational ethos has a lot to contribute towards global peace and security. The county is a success story of nation-building, democracy, rule of law and capitalism. India has a rich cultural tradition and civilization. Most importantly, India aspires to be seen as a model of democratic social and economic development. It desires to being considered as a promising global power of immense stature. India aims to promote the India Story, and its global brand.

The Elaboration of the Specific Rational for the Emphasis on Cultural Diplomacy.

Given the pandemic challenge, India wishes to underscore its role as a responsible global citizen. It is attempting to carve out for itself a unique standing in the global hierarchy. Today, the quest for propagating a “India brand” is pronounced and the country’s leadership is convinced that the India Story is still holding promise. Today, India is combatting China at the global level on various forums. The strained relations between the two Asian giants are spilling over into global cultural diplomacy.

Structure / Entities Responsible

The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA)

The MEA is responsible for all aspects of external relations and is manned by the elite Indian Foreign Service (IFS) which is responsible for the country’s diplomacy.

Ministry of Culture

The Ministry functions is to preserve and conserve the cultural heritage, promote all forms of art and culture, and sponsor cultural exchanges at the international level. The ministry has been successful in getting UNESCO recognition for several heritage properties. The latest one is Telangana's Ramappa Temple which dates to the 13th century and is thought to have taken 40 years to complete.

Archaeological Survey of India (ASI): Responsible to preserve and conserve sites of national importance. Over the years, it has been the custodian of 3,677 monuments and archaeological sites in India. The ASI has also excavated sites and restored monuments in many foreign countries. It brings out a variety of publications. The ASI’s Central Archaeological Library has a collection of about 150,000 books and journals. The library is a unique and valuable treasure trove in India.

The National Museum India (NMI): The premier state museum under the administrative control of the Ministry of Culture. It houses around 200,000 artefacts covering a history of around 5000 years. The NMI has a university which administers various academic programs. There are 16 departments which preserve heritage from the past and 21 collection galleries where exhibits, paintings and collectibles from different ages are conserved.

Infrastructure

India has a large development partnership programs on track with a disbursement of \$657 million for projects in 2020-21, higher than \$ 630 million in 2019-20. Today, India has more than \$60 billion in credit as it develops more than 500 projects in 64 countries.

International Cooperation

Given the context of the new strained relations between China and the US, India has sought to consolidate its relationship with America with a new determination. America is also seeking to do the same. Today, the two countries consider China as a common adversary. Relations between India and the US have increased remarkably in recent years. Both, commercial relations, security, and defense cooperation are now rapidly expanding. Today, both shared a growing concern about China's rising power in the Indo-Pacific. The US supports India's emergence as a leading global power. Recently, the US and India have developed several mechanisms to strengthen security and economic ties between themselves. Meanwhile, America has become the largest export destination for India. Energy trade has taken off as US crude oil exports to India have skyrocketed. This trend of intensifying energy ties is poised to continue, given robust US natural gas production, and India's strong demand for external energy sources.

US investments in India have grown substantially. The rising interest of American tech giants in India comes as tensions continue to rise between Washington and Beijing. India is now phasing out equipment from Chinese companies from its telecommunication networks. India's longstanding tech ties with the US are being strengthened. Today, US tech companies are eyeing India's massive ecommerce market which is expected to grow substantially. US-India commercial relations are also poised to strengthen further with more technology collaboration initiatives between the two countries. Several mechanisms have been established to strengthen economic ties between the two countries like the Trade Policy Forum, and the US-India Strategic Partnership Forum.

International Media

India has made strides in developing its international media capacity. It is propounding themes like: "India's global growth model", "India rises", and "India as the world's true development partner". Among the better international media channels are Zee News, Zee Business, DNA India and Gravitass.

The Gravitass's WION -The World is One News is a new venture. The channel examines global issues with in-depth analysis. It has its headquarters in New Delhi and is 24/7 new outlet. The WION has social media handles: Facebook, Twitter, Google News. It is propagating India's global model as the world's growth model, as opposed to China. Today, the Gravitass Live is stringently targeting China and ruthlessly exposes the country's propaganda. Overall, WION is an excellent Indian channel.

Vaccine Diplomacy

India is among the world's largest pharmaceutical manufacturers. Today, it has been hard hit by the pandemic, with more than ten million infections which is second only to the US. India desperately needs vaccines to protect its people and economy.

Earlier, India had actively engaged in vaccine diplomacy. As a major producer of the AstraZeneca-Oxford vaccine, it had pledged to deliver 240 million doses in the first half of 2021. India's bilateral donations started in early January. India's vaccine diplomacy focuses on

donations to its neighboring countries in South Asia and partners in Southeast Asia and Africa. Under its “neighborhood first” policy, India donated 6 million vaccines and sold over 29 million doses to various countries. By April 2021 India itself was hit badly by the pandemic. A massive virus surge in March 2021 pushed India’s health systems to breaking point. Surprisingly, the Modi government was so confident of its ability to meet domestic demand for vaccines that it allowed more than 60 million doses to be exported or donated to other countries between January and March 2021.

Today, international media reports that the official toll of more than 414,000 dead is a vast undercount number and the number is likely to be beyond 3 million. As India was faced with surging infections, it suspended exports at the end of March. The Modi government also began importing Russia’s Sputnik vaccine to try to alleviate the shortfall in local production. It also acknowledged that vaccine shortages in India will persist at least until July 2021. India vaccine diplomacy, like that of China, smears of politics and image building. India and China are rivals and therefore do not conduct vaccine diplomacy independent of one another. They both compete for international recognition and influence. However, India’s ambition is more regional, unlike that of China. Overall, India’s vaccine diplomacy has failed miserably.

Digital Diplomacy

The modern public diplomacy of India began shaping from the 1990s. Much earlier, India in embarked on its most distinguishable advertising campaign known as “Incredible India” to aggrandize India’s profile as a tourism destination. The MEA’s online presence had then played a critical role in many crisis events. In 2007, the MEA and Confederation of Indian Industry, jointly launched the Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre to enlarge Indian diaspora’s connections with its homeland. Earlier, the MEA had made an institutional foray into the realm of social media with a tweet in 2010. Since then, India has built an impressive presence on many social media platforms, including Twitter. Currently, Indian diplomats widely use Twitter which gives them considerable global reach. Modi is known to be a tech-savvy leader and certainly has made good use of digital diplomacy. He held an online conference to inaugurate the Mothihari-Amlekhgunj cross border petroleum pipeline in September 2019. The first India-Australia virtual leaders’ summit was held in June 2020, in which Modi was on a video conference call with Prime Minister of Australia. Recently, he had engaged in a few multilateral ‘e-diplomacy’ rounds since the COVID-19 outbreak. In March 2020 Modi convened the SAARC leaders’ video conference and joined the Extraordinary G20 Leaders’ Summit via video link He also made his maiden appearance at the Non-Aligned Movement virtual summit in May 2020.

Meanwhile, India has taken a big leap in the digital sector by initiating the Digital India program. Today, diplomacy in India has hailed technological changes as various ministries and government officials have been in favor of social media to practice diplomacy. India has collaborated with private industry to ameliorate its outreach efforts.

The digital transformation in India at present is impressive. The country aspires to augment its ediplomacy capabilities so that it can become a global leader.

Section III: United States

The Country's Definition of its Diplomacy

The US defines its diplomacy in the terms of Nye's "soft power" which is described as a course of actions, based on, and utilizing the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity. These measures are meant to strengthen relationships, enhance cultural cooperation, and promote national interests.

Goals & Priorities

The US will seek partnership with its allies in meeting global challenges. It will restore its standing in the world, strengthen its national security, rebuild democratic alliances across the globe, champion America's values and human rights.

In particular, the US will strengthen its relationship with the EU through trade, investment, and technological cooperation mechanisms. They together will build a more democratic, peaceful, and secure world.

The US will secure future prosperity by championing freer, fairer trade within a reformed trading system, a more resilient global economy, and a fairer global tax system.

The US believes that climate change poses an existential threat to people, prosperity, security, and nature. It will work with partners to secure a cleaner, greener, freer, fairer, and safer future for the planet.

The US will support multilateral cooperation. It will renew the NATO alliance as it is the cornerstone of its foreign and defense policy.

The US will meet the challenge posed by a rising and expansionist China.

Thus, the Biden administration has abandoned the isolationist streak of the Trump era which is indeed a welcome change in American diplomacy.

The Elaboration of the Specific Rationale for the Emphasis on Cultural Diplomacy

The US wants to show the world that it is the preeminent superpower. It wants to send a clear message that "America is back" on the world's leadership stage. The US cares about its image abroad and wants to have a much more favorable one. The Biden administration is mindful of the fact that last year, the American image took a historic beating, and a reversal was now in order. Thus, the stress on image building of the country through international engagements and image building exercises.

Today, the US is attacking China on many issues involving South China sea, Hong Kong, Xinjiang, Taiwan, trade war, and cyber-attacks. Many allies share American strategic concerns about the rise of Chinese power. President Biden has called competition with China one of the defining challenges of the century. Hostility toward China has deepened in the US in recent

years, with a consensus hardening among both Republicans and Democrats that China is at root an adversary that must be thwarted. Four years under President Donald Trump have enlarged and inflamed that trend. There is a strong consensus in the country that China is an adversary bent on expansion, at the cost of American national interests. Today, China's challenge requires an immediate American response. However, the Biden administration has been wise in reaching out to allies and friends in formulating a new China policy.

All politics is local is a universal dictum. Therefore, there is some obvious politics involved in the Biden administration's China policy mainly because of changed global public opinion. Across 17 advanced economies, views of the US are now positive while most continue to see China in an unfavorable light. Confidence in the US president has shot up precipitously since Biden took office, while confidence in President Xi remains unchanged and near historic lows. Meanwhile, widespread distrust toward China is growing in the US and levels of anxiety about it are at historic highs. Negative US opinion extends to Chinese business as well. Thus, China-bashing is now the norm of American domestic politics

Structure / Entities Responsible

The Department of State (DoS) plays the lead role in developing and implementing America's foreign policy. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) at the DoS is responsible for the public diplomacy activities of the US, including international cultural exchange programs. Also, Congress has shown bipartisan support in recent years for cultural exchange programs.

Financial Budget

In 2010 the DoS, together with other international programs (such as USAID), had a combined budget of \$51.7 billion. Today, the budget is approximately \$35 billion. The FY 2022 budget request is of \$58.5 billion for the DoS and USAID.

Language Studies Programs

Earlier, in 2006 then President Bush had launched the National Security Language Initiative. Later, then President Obama initiated the "1 Million Strong," program in 2015.

Today, there are several programs like the National Security Language Initiative for Youth (NSLI-Y), National (NLSC); STARTALK; and Critical Language Scholarships Program (CLS); Opportunities; Joint Language University (JLU); Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC); The Advanced Global Intelligence Learning Environment (AGILE); Training FLOAT; National; Foreign Service Institute (FSI); Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR); and Special Operations Forces Tele-training System (SOFTS)

Trade Related

US-China Trade War

Given the global trade decline due to the Covid-19 pandemic, US had a trade deficit of about \$682 billion by 2020. By June 2021, it had narrowed slightly from record levels, however. Earlier, bilateral trade between the US and China totaled almost \$559 billion in 2019. However, that trade was lopsided, with the US running a large and growing trade deficit with China. Then President Trump alleged that China conducted unfair trading practices, including intellectual property theft, forced technology transfers, a lack of market access for American companies in China, and an uneven playing field caused by Beijing's subsidies for favored Chinese companies. The US-China trade war started in 2018 and 2019, when the US imposed a series of tariffs imposed on Chinese goods. At its peak at the end of 2019, the US had imposed tariffs on more than \$360 billion worth of Chinese goods, while China had retaliated with import duties of its own worth around \$110 billion on US products. Finally, an agreement in principle on a trade deal was reached in December 2019. The deal was formally signed in January 2020. As part of the deal, China agreed to buy more American goods and services over the following two years and remove barriers to a long list of US exports. Both sides agreed to suspend planned tariffs on goods traded between the two countries. Thus, the US and China had fought over trade to reach a cautious truce.

However, in February 2021, the Biden administration announced that tariffs on China put in place by the previous Trump administration would be kept in place for the moment. A review of China's trade policy is taking place that expires at the end of 2021.

Meanwhile, the U.S. trade gap widened in May 2021 to the second largest on record as imports increased faster than exports. The Biden administration is concerned, and US has received support from the EU on the trade issue. In May 2021, the US and the EU issued a joint statement saying that they will hold China to account because it supports trade-distorting policies. Top trade negotiators from China and the US held their first call in late May 2021. Both sides stressed the importance of improving bilateral ties. Recently, in June 2021 China's Commerce minister spoke with his American counterpart. The US raised the concern of the need to level the playing field for American companies in China. Meanwhile, American corporations like Tesla have faced restrictions by China in their sales in the country. To date, tensions between the US and China persist in the trade sector with no end in sight.

Cultural Programs

The Alliance for International Exchange (AIE)

The mission of the AIE is to promote the growth and impact of exchange programs. The member organizations, in conjunction with the DoS, facilitate a variety of academic exchange programs, including inbound and outbound.

The Office of Academic Exchange Programs in the ECA

It oversees all academic programs sponsored by the DoS, including the Fulbright Program, Humphrey program, teacher exchange programs, English language programs, and Study of the US programs. The office is also responsible for international student advising and marketing of American higher education resources through Education USA's network of offices around the

world; activities that support specialized scholarly research and other education and people-to-people activities through the Council of American Overseas Research Centers.

Some AIE members that partner with the DoS in administering programs are: American Councils for International Education; AMIDEAST; CAORC: Council of American Overseas Research Centers; CIED Georgetown; IREX; NAFSA: Association of International Educators; STS Global Studies Inc.; and World Learning.

The ECA has several exchange programs for citizens wishing to study abroad for cultural, educational, or professional exchange. Some of the programs are: American Film Showcase; American Music Abroad, Arts Envoy, Benjamin Franklin Summer Institutes; Program; Congress-Bundestag; Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange; Professionals; DanceMotion USA; English Language Fellow Program; Fulbright Distinguished Chairs Program; Fulbright Teachers for Global Classrooms; Venice Architectural Biennale, Venice Art Biennale, and Youth Leadership Program. The exchange programs engage future leaders from around the world. Undoubtedly, the exchange programs have had an impressive impact. The people-to-people exchanges have brought the world closer together and conveyed the best of America to the world.

Infrastructure

The US has launched several plans to counter China's BRI amid concerns about Beijing's handling of international projects and worsening finances among developing countries. Notwithstanding US claims, the Chinese schemes have seemingly been criticized, often on contested evidence.

Build Back Better World (B3W): It was very recently launched by President Biden and G7 leaders in June 2021. It is a global infrastructure plan which challenges China's BRI. The plan would involve raising hundreds of billions in public and private money. The B3W will be a high-standard, and transparent partnership to help narrow the \$40+ trillion infrastructure need in the developing world. Different G7 partners will have different geographic orientations, but the sum of the initiative will cover low- and middle-income countries across the world. As a lead partner in B3W, the US is committed to mobilize the full potential of its development finance tools.

Taiwan-US Infrastructure Plan: Earlier, in 2020, Taiwan and the U.S. moved ahead with a plan to finance infrastructure and energy projects in Asia and Latin America. The first projects will start within 2021 and 2022. The plan will raise funds through bonds aimed at Taiwanese banks, insurers, and other private capital.

Other US Infrastructure Plans: Sixteen other countries have reached similar agreements with the US, under which companies from those countries work with the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation (IDFC) to fund infrastructure projects. Earlier, Japan, South Korea, and Australia had announced a partnership with the U.S. in 2018.

Building Centers & Institutions

Smithsonian Institution (SI)

The SI is one of the best institutions of its kind in the world. It is in Washington, DC and consists of 17 museums and galleries, including the National Zoo. The museum collection contains more than 150 million objects, works of art and specimens altogether. Some of the museums, galleries, and gardens, are: National; National Museum of African Art; National Air and Space Museum; National Air and Space Museum; Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum; Freer Gallery of Art; National Museum of Natural History; Renwick Gallery of the Smithsonian American Art Museum; and Smithsonian Gardens

International Cooperation

The US has scores of international cooperation agreements with countries across the globe. Very recently, the US and the C5 (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), held an International Conference in Tashkent, Uzbekistan on July 15-16, 2021. The C5+1 cooperates to modernize infrastructure and transit potential in Central Asia, promote increased regional cooperation in support of transboundary business-to-business connections and people-to-people exchanges, and improve energy sector connectivity and performance.

The Group of Seven (G-7)

Recently, the G-7 wealthy democracies held their summit in England. The leaders of the G-7 have made commitments on a range of topics, from sharing coronavirus vaccines to tackling climate change and making corporate taxation fairer. The key topics they covered were vaccine sharing, environment, China, corporation tax, global infrastructure, and future pandemic preparedness. Their final agreement also included a section on challenging China over “non-economic” economic practices and calling on Beijing to respect human rights.

Partnerships with UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC)

Since 2012, Google has been working with the UNESCO WHC to promote the value of World Heritage sites. The partnership focuses on making WHC properties accessible to everyone through the Google’s World Wonders Project.

UNESCO's WHC and HISTORY have partnered to increase awareness about heritage preservation worldwide and to promote education about World Heritage.

Since 2018, WHC and National Geographic (NG) have worked together to raise public awareness and create public engagement in the field of sustainable tourism development through culture. The NG developed the co-branded mobile friendly travel website visitworldheritage.com, providing an important promotional tool for the WHC and Sustainable Tourism Program.

The SI and the WHC have a project “Protection, Preservation and Prosperity: Stories of World Heritage” which is a comprehensive bilingual (English/French) online platform consisting of a virtual exhibition hosted by the SI with a link to UNESCO’s website. Content for the Project has

been developed by the WHC and the SI in close collaboration, and it consists primarily of images, audio, and video content from the SI and the World Heritage collections.

Vaccine Diplomacy

The Biden administration is now leading a historic global effort to end the pandemic. In June 2021, the US announced that it will lead the G7+ in a global COVID-19 vaccination campaign, providing 500 million COVID-19 vaccines for the world through COVAX, with delivery starting in August 2021. This donation is the largest single donation of vaccines in history and comprises half of the G7+ commitment over the next 12 months. The Biden administration has provided \$11.5 billion for the global COVID-19 response and plans to provide at least 1 billion vaccines by the end of 2022. It is also investing \$500 million to modernize public health data and infrastructure which will help lead a new global pandemic early warning network. The US has contributed \$2 billion to GAVI, to support the purchase and delivery of COVID-19 vaccines to 92 low- and middle- income countries. It also plans to commit another \$2 billion by 2022, making the US the largest financial donor to COVAX.

There is a geopolitical element to vaccine deliveries as the US looks to compete with China's global vaccine response. The US notes that some countries have faced significant pressure to cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan in exchange for receiving Chinese vaccines. While a few countries resisted the pressure, some could not. The US delivery of vaccines is a move aimed at curbing China's efforts to wield its vaccine exports for geopolitical influence. Meanwhile, there has been criticism of the Biden administration that it was not doing enough to stem the tide of the pandemic through global vaccination efforts.

Digital Diplomacy

The US leads in digital diplomacy and has made rapid advances in videoconference technology. American leaders are now conducting talks over Zoom and Webex, in conferences by video. Much earlier, in 2010, DoS's Office of eDiplomacy launched an internal networking site. By 2012 the DoS had become the world's leading user of ediplomacy. The DoS operated what was effectively a global media empire. By 2013, the DoS had many different bureaus involved in the use of digital media. Later, the State Department's ediplomacy program grew in a spectacular fashion and becoming the best of its kind in the world. The DoS is utilizing e-diplomacy for eight missions, including public diplomacy, Internet Freedom, Consular communications, Disaster Response and Policy Planning. The DoS's Bureau of Information Resource Management (BIRM) has an Office on eDiplomacy which combines the expertise and experience of Foreign and Civil Service Officers and contract professionals. It directly manages initiatives and programs for knowledge leadership, interagency collaboration, and public outreach by American embassies and missions abroad.

The Virtual Student Federal Service (VSFS) was developed by the BIRM's eDiplomacy which has now become the largest virtual internship in the world, relied upon by more than 50 federal agencies.

Thus, the US is set to lead the world in the field. Its nearest competition is China, but the US remains far ahead in ediplomacy from its rival.

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