

Chinese Leaders' Diplomatic Rhetoric and its Power

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I. Introduction

Early in 2015, two intriguing books were published in China. They were none other than 'Xi Jinping's Quotations from Classics (习近平用典)¹⁾' and 'Humble and Sociable (平易近人)²⁾ : Xi Jinping's linguistic capacity.'

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1) 人民日报评论部, 《习近平用典》, 北京: 人民日报出版社, 2015年

Collections of public speeches for the highest-ranking leaders of China are regularly published and thus, they are nothing new. In the case of Xi Jinping, however, it is noteworthy that a new form of books were published other than simple public speech collections. Xi Jinping is well-known for frequently quoting numerous classics and Chinese poems. According to an article in internet newspaper Xinhuaawang (新华网) in China which introduced the publication of 'Xi Jinping's Quotations from Classics (習近平用典)', there have been more than 300 quotations from Chinese traditional philosophy, novels, essays and poems except Marxist theory in his 42 major speeches announced from November 15, 2012 through October 25, 2014. Among them, Xi quoted Confucian philosophy especially often; 36 times from Analects of Confucius, 10 times from Mencius and 5 times from Li ji (禮記), Shangjunshu (商君書) and Xunzi (荀子)³⁾. Quotations from Chinese classics have been very widely used not only in domestic speeches but in overseas speeches as well. 'Xi Jinping's Quotations from Classics (習近平用典)' was published out of interest in Xi's special linguistic ability.

In fact, expression by quoting classics and poems is a linguistic characteristic unique to China and this tradition has been proficiently kept in official diplomatic ceremonies. Chinese leaders from Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping to Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping have left numerous quotations from classics and poems in diplomatic events. Gyu-il Lee explains this diplomatic characteristic in the concept of 'Chinese poem diplomacy⁴⁾.' And yet, it is worthy of attention that humanistic nature of

2) 陈锡喜 张曦 等, 《平易近人: 习近平的语言力量》, 上海交通大学出版社, 2014年

3) Article from Xinhuaawang on Mar 1, 2015, http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-03/01/c_127529903.htm

4) Gyu-il Lee (2014), Study on Cultural Nature of Poetry Diplomacy, Study on

Xi's policy language leaves impression strong enough to differentiate it from those of previous Chinese leaders. Xi's linguistic ability of this kind might be called as 'Chinese humanistic leadership.'

Then, why have Chinese leaders made speeches by quoting numerous poems and classics to express their meanings? What functions and roles does this unique Chinese diplomatic rhetoric called 'Poetry diplomacy' play? What connections does it have in the linguistic structure and culture of China? What implications do Mao Zedong's revolutionary leadership, Deng Xiaoping and his successor Jiang Zemin's leadership which pursued Reform and Open-door policy, Hu Jintao's leadership which had to ponder over growth and distribution at the same time and incumbent president Xi Jinping's 'humanistic leadership' have in understanding modern China?

Starting from this critical awareness, this study aims to find out the implications of Xi's 'humanistic leadership' era and Chinese 'soft power' by investigating 'poetry diplomacy' as diplomatic rhetoric and analyzing quotations from classics in the Xi's speeches. For this purpose, this study summarizes who the Chinese are in historic and cultural context and looks into the directing point of China, as the kingdom of poems. Then, the study examines cases of Chinese leaders' poetry diplomacy and states Xi's humanistic diplomacy through analysis on 'Xi Jinping's Quotations from Classics' in detail.

II. The function of Chinese poetry diplomacy

1. China, the Kingdom of Poems

Chinese poems have more than 3000-year-long history. The “Book of Odes” consists of 305 poems collected from ‘Zhou’ dynasty and edited by Confucius. And <Chuci>- the lyrical poems were mostly written by patriot poet ‘Quyuan’. So, they say the tradition comes from South ‘Su’ and North ‘Feng’(南騷北風) which means <Chuci (楚辭)> of southern China and <Book of Songs(詩經)>of northern China. Besides, Tao Yuanming (陶淵明), the natural poet of ‘Jin(晉)’- one of 6 dynasties - and eight great poets of Tang and Song dynasty are the source of pride for Chinese people.

Placing high value on poetic emotion is a characteristic of Chinese culture. Geun Kim maintains that Chinese historical tradition of placing importance is already inherent in their language ‘Han language (漢語, Chinese language)’⁵⁾. Chinese language is basically a syllable language in which one syllable contains one meaning. In addition, Chinese language has the characteristic of pronouncing a tone for each syllable. Tones give the effect of musical melody by granting high and low pitch to the language. Thus, with the characteristic of syllable language, Chinese language gives rise to the desire to fit the number of syllable to a certain number and with the characteristic of tonal language, Chinese language gives rise to aesthetic desire to give change in tonal patterns. Hence, linguistic rhythm of Chinese language gave birth to poems with fixed form

5) Guen Kim (2008), ‘Secret of Chinese Poems’, Sonamoo (Pine tree) Publishing, P.44-45

such as 4-letter, 5-letter and 7-letter-in-one-line poems and even prose was influenced by this rhythm, creating Pianliti (駢儷體) in 4.6 structure.

Confucian teaching which constructs the basic structure of Chinese civilization emphasizes the power of poems in attaining the goals of Confucianism; that is becoming the Sage or a superior man. Confucius said to his son that “The man who has not studied the ‘Zhounan(周南)’ and ‘Zhaonan(召南)’, is like one who stands with his face right against a wall.” Why then did Confucius emphasize the poems so much? It was because poems were essential in becoming a Sage or superior man. 《Confucian Analects》 begins with the phrase “Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?” And it ends with “Without recognizing the ordinances of Heaven, it is impossible to be a superior man. Without an acquaintance with ‘the rules of Propriety’, it is impossible for the character to be established. Without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know man.”

In short, Confucius’ teaching for a Sage or a superior man consists in expressing human nature with equilibrium and harmony and pursuing the path of Heaven. Chinese poetry changed its form in Tang dynasty by the name of “Jintishi (今体诗)”. It became more formal and strict with the form of ‘4 sentences with 5 characters’, ‘4 sentences with 7 characters’ and ‘8 sentences with 5 characters’ and ‘8 sentences with 5 characters’ which contains the Oriental perspective on the Universe like the principle of ‘Yin and Yang’ or the doctrine of ‘Becoming and Change’.

Poets of Tang dynasty, especially the great poet Dufu and the heavenly poet Libai and the lyric poet Baijuyi have been highly respected and loved by almost all Chinese. The poems of these poets are read and recited by Chinese much more than the poems of western poets Emerson, Keats,

Wordsworth or Shakespeare. Actually, the criteria of intellectuals have been whether he can create poems or not.

Civil service man or governmental officials were selected by the ability to comprehend the world of poems. Modern Chinese people identify themselves that they belong to 'Hanzu'. Here, let us note the word 'Han'. It means the name of Han dynasty. The Chinese have been taking great pride in Han Dynasty (BC206-AD220) and Tang Dynasty (AD618-907). Demonstrating the greatness of China's glorious soft power in 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, Chinese people sang a song with the slogan of "Returning again to the glory of Hand and Tang".

2. Chinese top leaders' poetry in diplomacy

In modern China, ancient classics and poetry have been used not only in domestic politics but in international arena as well. It is called "Chinese poetry diplomacy", which is a unique style of communication by political leaders. This kind of communication in diplomacy is considered as soft power of China in contrast with hard power in world politics. It is a common sense that unless one understands Chinese style poetry diplomacy, one hardly gets success not only in the field of foreign diplomacy but even in business arena. Now, this study will present the practical examples of Chinese poetry diplomacy. And then, I will analyze Chinese classics and poetry which President Xi Jinping has used since he took his presidential office.

"A man is known by the company he keeps!" This is a famous maxim for westerners. What if this maxim is remade in China? Then, it will be changed as follows: 'A man is known by the words he uses!' Actually,

Chinese believe that "he has no way of judging men unless he understands words. Words or languages are, as Heidegger argued, the 'house of being'. Once language comes out of the house of being, its message is interpreted by the receiver. It is true that words or languages are surely the universal media for communication. Man, however, makes the most of the languages or words that contain connotation, implication, image or symbols. Especially the Chinese political leaders utilize ancient poems or classics to advance the level of diplomacy up to artistic stage. They borrow wisdoms and the emotions of the philosophers or poets and refine the relationship between the partners concerned. Furthermore, Chinese leaders seek to enhance China's soft power in global diplomacy.

Lee Kyuil argues, "Chinese language and way of thinking are similar to those of the principle of poems and they take pride in traditional culture and classics. This kind of Chinese mentality naturally makes Chinese recite poems in diplomacy, not just in ordinary life." It is a common sense that if a Chinese wants to be a diplomat, he's intellectual ability should include the knowledge of classics and history. For example, Chinese diplomats scrutinize even the contents of agreement signed between Seo, Hee of Koryo dynasty and So, Sonnyung of 'Chi-dan'(契丹).

1) The method of Diplomacy: "Fushiyanzhi(賦詩言志)"

In China, poem has been a communication between man and man, man and society, man and nature. Since Spring and Autumn Period, Poems have been utilized as a means of diplomatic communication. Diplomats or envoys conveyed their mind by reciting poems or lyrics. This kind of method is called 'fushiyanzhi.' <Hanshu Liwenzhi(漢書 藝文志) says:

“In ancient times, the Secretary of the State or high-ranking officials communicated with secret words when they meet neighboring countries. When they meet and greeting, they discerned whether their counterpart is wise or not by communicating with poems and judged the vicissitudes of that country. So Confucius said, ‘Unless ones learns poems, there can be no words worth communicating⁶⁾’”

Confucius also emphasized the practical usage of poems in diplomacy: “Though a man may be able to recite three hundred odes, if, when entrusted with a governmental charge, he knows not how to act, or if, when sent to any quarter on a mission, he cannot give his replies unassisted, notwithstanding the extent of his learning, of what practical use is it⁷⁾?”

2) Several Cases of Chinese poetry diplomacy

Case 1: In April of 2006, when President Hujintao visited the United States of America, he happened to be called “The President of Taiwan”. Besides, President of George W. Bush of the USA pulled President Hu’s sleeve of suit which was evidently against diplomatic manner. How President Hu reacted in such diplomatic atmosphere? President Hu, at luncheon, cited two phrases of Chinese poem-Xinglunan(行路難 written by Libai.

“time will come when long wind breaks the wave of the sea, let a boat going through the waves by the continuous winds eventually has the fate of timing⁸⁾”

6) 古者諸侯卿大夫交接隣國，以微言相感，當揖讓之時，必稱詩以喻其志，蓋以別賢不肖而觀盛衰焉，故孔子曰，‘不學詩，無以言’也

7) (子曰，誦詩三百授之以政，不達，使於四方不能專對，雖多亦奚以為?)

“Once climbing the mountain top and look downwards, all mountains below look small⁸⁾”

5 years later, President Hu revisited America to participate in the 1st Summit Talk for Strategic Economy between China and America. This time, in respect of Chinese culture, President Barak Obama cited a phrase from the Chinese classic ‘Guanzi’- “in planning a year, nothing is better than planting grains” - and also cited a phrase from ‘The Work of Mencius’. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton also cited the Chinese idiom- “Cross the sea on same boat(同舟共濟)”.

On the third day of visit, when President Hu visited one of the international schools in Baltimore, the students recited Chinese poem ‘Chunxiao’ written by Tang poet Meng Haoran for President Hu. When the students were invited to the Chinese Embassy in America, they recited Muranshi(木蘭詩).

In return for the hospitality of the students who recited Chinese poems, President Hu invited 20 American youths to Zhongnanhai-the presidential residence of China, and, there, they recited ‘Guogurenzhuang’(過故人莊) written by Meng Haoran.

“Preparing chicken and grain food,
a friend invited me to his rural house,
green trees full of the edge of village,
blue mountain lies aside out of the castle,
on opening the window, the long vegetable field is seen,
holding a glass of liquor, we talk over farming,
when it comes 9th of September,

8) 長風破浪會有時，直掛雲帆濟滄海

9) 會當凌絕頂，一覽衆山小

let me come again and enjoy the chrysanthemum”¹⁰⁾

“Pursue the same within differences, remain different within the same” (求存同異) has been one of the most frequently cited maxims. Premier Zhou Enlai(1898-1976) preferred this maxim as the principle of Chinese line for foreign affairs.

At the 1999 four-party talk in Geneva, and at the 2005 six-party talk in Beijing to solve North Korean nuclear problem, a Chinese representative presented this idiom as the principle of talks.

When the draft of 2005 six-party talk hosted by Chinese government failed to reach an agreement, head representative Wudawei, lamenting the disagreement among six-party talk participants, cited the idiom ‘Jinyoujishe’ which means the unsophisticated tactic donkey in Guizhou province.

Case 2: when the South Korean corvette “Chenan” tragedy occurred in May 2010, deputy Secretary of MOFA Chen Youngwoo was sent to China to explain the situation and to get support from China. Chinese government kept neutrality and kept silent. Chui Tiankai(崔天凱), the deputy Secretary of Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, presented Korea government official Chen a hanging scroll on which a phrase of Chinese poem Lihoulun(留侯論) written by Sudongpo:

For one who retains great bravery,
no sudden accident frightens him,
no unreasonable loss make him angry
because his direction is deep and far¹¹⁾

Case 3: President of Korea, Park Keunhye, right after the inauguration

10) 故人具鷄黍，邀我至田家。綠水村邊合，青山郭外斜。開軒面長圃，把酒話桑麻。待到重陽日，還來就菊花

11) 天下有大勇者，猝然臨之而不驚，無故加之而不怒，此其所挾持者大，而其志甚遠也

of the presidency, made a state visit to China in 2013. President Park named her visit '信心之旅' – the newly created word with Chinese 4 characters which means 'The Tour with heartfelt trust. On the first day of visit, President Park cited a phrase from Chinese classic, 'Confucian Analects': The Master added, "I used to put my trust in a man's deeds after listening to his words. Now having listened to a man's words, I go on to observe his deeds. The Master said, 'At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct¹²⁾.'

On the third day, addressing at Qinghua University, President Park cited "Guanzi":

In planning a year, nothing is better than sowing grains

In planning 10 years, nothing is better than planting trees

In planning 100 years, nothing is better than educating men¹³⁾

President Xijiping at the summit talk between China and Korea, wishing good relationships, cited Korean poet Choiqiwen(崔致遠)(857-?)'s poem Fanhai(泛海):

"Set sails floating on the sea, continuous winds coupled ten thousand miles instantly¹⁴⁾"

Some may think that Xi used this phrase to emphasize the long relationship between China and Korea. But this can be interpreted that the standard of civilization in East Asia has returned to China and the two countries should to learn from Korea's ancestor Choi Qiwen who was the government official of Tang Dynasty.

Then how did President Xi cope with the problem of North

12) (始吾於人也 聽其言而信其行, 今吾於人也 聽其言而觀其行)

13) (一年之計莫如樹谷, 十年之計莫如樹木, 百年之計莫如樹人)

14) (掛席浮滄海, 長風萬里通)

Korea's nuclear weapon when he met South Koreans? President Xi at his address to National Seoul University in 2014, wishing thaw in the relationship between South and North Korea, cited Libai's poem:

“Three-foot-deep ice is not made with one day's coldness¹⁵⁾”

And he recited Libai's Xinglunan(行路難) again describing the days when the coldness would thaw between South and North Korea.:

‘Time will come when long wind breaks the wave of the sea, let a boat going through the waves by the continuous winds eventually has the fate of timing’¹⁶⁾

President Jiang Zheming was no exception. When he visited Blue House of Korea in 1995, he also recited poet Dumu's ‘Shanxing’(山行):

“Frozen leaves are more red than February flowers¹⁷⁾”

With this phrase of Dumu's poem, President Jiang intended to express his wishes that the estranged relationship during last three years between China and South Korea would be developed not less than the relationship between China and North Korea.

In China, one of the most frequently recited poem is Wang Zhihuan's ‘Dengguanquelou(登鶴雀樓)’: “white sun set over mountain, yellow river flows into the sea. One who wants his eyes reach the limit, just climb onto one more floor¹⁸⁾”

This poem is the one that almost every Chinese recites from childhood. Especially the last phrase of this poem ‘just climb onto one more floor’ is often used when Chinese propose a toast.

15) (冰凍三尺非一日之寒)

16) (長風破浪會有時, 直掛雲帆濟滄海)

17) (霜葉紅於二月花)

18) 白日依山盡, 黃海入海流, 欲窮千里目, 更上一層樓

III. President Xi's new diplomatic strategy and Poetry diplomacy

1. President Xi's diplomatic strategy

China and America have been competing for the hegemony in East Asia. For example, America has been planning to establish TPP(Trans-Pacific Partnership) to block the influence of China while China proposed AIIB to cope with the coalition, among South Korea, America and Japan. In June 2013, when President Xi visited America to meet President Obama, President Xi suggested the two countries build a new form of super power relationship. President Obama, however, gently rejected his suggestion by saying that "I understand your situation". President Xi, returning from America, asked his adviser Wang Huning to make a roundabout strategy instead of contending for victory over America. Wang Huning's idea was 'one belt one road(一帶一路)' policy. In the same year, President Xi, on visiting Kazakhstan, declared that China will build up the 'one bloc and one road', a new silk road which links Asia with Europe through roads and seas at the same time. And this policy has expanded to China's new diplomatic strategy which contains both economy and diplomacy with soft power.

In April 2015, Chinese government officially opened the new diplomatic strategy-one belt and one road(一帶一路) policy- a plan to pave a new silk road both on land and at sea for economic prosperity. One of these policies is to establish Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a Bank initiated by Chinese government. Participants recorded more than 50

countries. Participants reached far bigger number than China had expected. Despite America's check on China's initiative in East Asia, Western countries including England, France, Germany and Australia declared that they would participate in AIIB.

Kim Yong, the chairman of IBRD said in the interview with CNN, "AIIB is not our enemy, it's for overcoming poverty. So, IBRD sees no reason not to go with AIIB for the same goal." The analysts say China took the strategy to deceive America by the logic of economy and across the sea (瞞天過海).

I, however, pay attention to the words that Chinese leaders have used in diplomacy or the Chinese poetry diplomacy which is a part of China's soft power. Why have Chinese leaders used poetry in diplomacy? It's because they have in mind the phrase of Confucius that "without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know men." It's Chinese way of life and way of thinking.

2. Analysis of President Xi's words since his inauguration

Xi's narrative in diplomacy contains quite strong implications. He mobilizes fables and historical facts, phrases from poems and maxims. His narrative retains dignity and the beauty of connotation. This is Xi's rhetoric device based on liberal arts. Then how is the Chinese poetry diplomacy useful and effective? No empirical research has been conducted on this. But one thing is sure; Chinese poetry diplomacy is said to enhance the power of persuasion and make the listener's memory last long. One can hardly do anything without understanding the Chinese mind which is expressed with Chinese poetry when you deal with Chinese.

From now on, this study will analyze the usage of Xi's diplomacy from <XiJinPing's Allusion>(习近平用典) .

In the late 2014 and 2015, the two books titled 'XiJinPing's Allusions to Chinese classics>(习近平用典) ' and Xi JinPing's 'Easy Approach to The People Through His Language skills(平易近人)' were published in China. Those books were fully introduced and described some of Xi Jinping's special sentences quoted from the ancient Chinese classics on appropriate occasions in his public speeches. The collections of public speeches by China's top leaders are nothing new to Chinese people because they have been routinely published since the beginning of new government by People's Publishing House(人民出版社). However, in the case of Xi Jinping, one feature that does deserve highlighted is the new format of publication focusing on his strong linguistic skills which resonated with the Chinese public after President Xi's public speeches. For general Chinese people, "Allusions to Chinese Classics" is well-educated way of communications and is also highly admired way of speaking. President Xi is also good at quoting various allusions to the Ancient Chinese classics and poem in his speech. Unlike former president Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao majoring in science and engineering, president Xi holds a doctorate in law and he refers not only to Marxist theory but also to the thought of Chinese Ancient Philosophers, famous novels from all over the world such as Russia, France, England and the U.S.A. His strong language skills show the quality of his speeches, which is something different from the previous Chinese leaders. President Xi officially addressed 42 public speeches from 15th of November, 2012 to 25th of October, 2014. Among those speeches, 300 books have been quoted extensively as references. Among them, president Xi quoted <The Analects of Confucius> 36 times, Mencius 《孟

子》10 times, Shang Jun Book 《商君书》 and Xun Zi 《荀子》 more than 5 times. He also used those ancient Chinese classics as his diplomatic rhetoric far and wide.

The essence of Chinese traditional culture is an important source of Xi Jinping's concept of governing the country. President Xi advocated "Chinese dream(中国梦)", the rule of law and harmonious society from the Chinese traditional culture. This paper analyzes Xi Jinping's allusion as a rhetoric of diplomacy from the book <Xi Jinping's allusions(习近平用典)>. The book 《Xi Jinping's allusions》 is divided into 13 chapters: respecting people 《敬民》, politics 《为政》, morality 《立德》, Self-cultivation 《修身》, sincere behavior 《笃行》, selection of talented persons for higher positions 《任贤》, encouraging learning 《劝学》 the world 《天下》, incorrupt government 《廉政》, faith 《信念》, innovation 《创新》, rule of law 《法治》, dialectical 《辩证》 and is composed of total 134 subtitles. Each part includes four contents: quotation(引语), understanding(解读), the original code(原典) and interpretation(释义). It helps people to easily understand historical background of the original code and to be familiar with and understand the Xi's thought. It shows the significant way of advocating Chinese thoughts to other countries through Chinese way of thinking and history. Among 134 allusions, this paper analyzes the part of world 《天下》, which is special allusions for the diplomatic occasions. 12 different allusions are have been used as diplomatic rhetoric in different occasions, but their roles and characteristics can divide into two parts:1) Respecting other countries. 2)Showing China's magnanimity. In these two categories, this paper will analyze the allusions focusing on 1) In what places president Xi have used them, 2) what kind of implications the allusions have. Furthermore, at the end of the paper, this paper will

examine what elements constitute China's power and how to understand Chinese way of thinking through the President Xi's allusion analysis. The table below is the arranged figure of President Xi's allusions in the part of 'The world'(天下) from the book titled <XiJinPing's Allusion>. The characteristics of Xi's diplomatic rhetoric divided into two categories: one is the way of respecting other countries in mutual interest and culture. The other is the way of showing China's magnanimity which can be explained as a skillful hidden tactics to get something they want.

[Figure 1. President Xi's allusions as a diplomatic rhetoric]

classifications	Respecting other countries		Exposing China's magnanimity		
	Mutual interests	Culture	Exchanging for a long time	Situational judgment and change	National Interest based diplomacy
Major contents	The interests to be considered should be the interests of all ¹⁹⁾	Spring does not come with the blossom of one flower alone, spring garden is filled with hundred blooms of hundred flowers ²⁰⁾ .	The mountain becomes higher when it is accumulated, the pond becomes longer when it is accumulated ²¹⁾	The bright man changes himself according to a current. The intellectual controls himself according to the case ²²⁾	If poor, they attend to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they make the whole kingdom virtuous as well ²³⁾
	The ocean has no limitation, so once we pull up the anchor, the boat will follow the wind and go forward ²⁴⁾	What if the water is measured by water, who is able to drink? what if someone only plays the Qin or Se, one of the two, who will listen ^{25)?}	By giving to others he gains more and more. By serving others he receives everything ²⁶⁾	What you do not want to be done to yourself, do not do to others ²⁷⁾	While the wise man seeks for the similarities, the fool seeks for the differences ²⁸⁾
	All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. Their ways are pursued without any collision among them ²⁹⁾	Once the oranges in the South are transplanted into the North they become trifoliate oranges. The leaves look			

		similar but the tastes are different. why are they different? That is because waters and soils are different ³⁰⁾			
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1) Respecting other countries : Mutual interest & Culture

President Xi's speeches mainly underline the mutual interest, especially in the diplomatic occasions. In the diplomatic occasions, it is a standard manner to show great respect for a partner country. So, it is nothing new to find out the rhetoric to show respectful attitude for partner countries in a top leader's speeches. However, the most notable point in China's diplomacy is the unique way of expressions with Chinese characteristics, which are allusions from the hundred of Chinese ancient classics. There were three occasions that president Xi used the ancient Chinese allusions to emphasize his intention of mutual interest and culture.

First, it was on 2nd of October, 2013, when President Xi Jinping delivered a keynote speech in Indonesian Parliament in Jakarta, Indonesia³¹⁾.

19) 计利当计天下利

20) 一花独放不是春, 百花齐放春满园

21) 山积而高, 泽积而长

22) 明者因时而变、知者随事而制

23) 穷则独善其身, 达则兼善天下

24) 浩渺行无极、扬帆但信风

25) 若以水济水、谁能食之? 若琴之专壹, 谁能听之?

26) 即以为人, 已愈有, 即以与人, 已愈多

27) 己所不欲, 勿施于人

28) 智者求同, 愚者求异

29) 万物并育而不相害, 道并行而不相悖

30) 橘生淮南则为橘, 生于淮北则为枳, 叶徒相似, 其实味不同。所以然者何? 水土异也

At the parliament, he emphasized win-win cooperation between ASEAN countries and China. China wanted to work with Indonesia and other ASEAN countries to ensure that China and ASEAN remain good partners who would share prosperity and security. It was the very time that president Xi talked about the well-known Chinese saying that goes, “The interests to be considered should be the interests of all³²⁾”. After the Chinese saying, he emphasized the importance of cooperation between Indonesia and China and he also added that they should respect each other’s right to independently choose social system and development path as well as each other’s efforts to explore and pursue economic and social development and improve people’s lives. Adding the Chinese saying, he said that China is ready to open itself wider to ASEAN countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit to enable ASEAN countries to benefit more from China’s development. Interestingly, this Chinese old saying was used to show the fact that China is ready to expand its practical cooperation with ASEAN countries across the board, satisfying each other’s needs and complementing each other’s strengths, with a view to jointly seizing opportunities and meeting challenges for common development and prosperity.

Secondly, it was on 7th of October, 2013, when President Xi Jinping attended the APEC CEO Summit in Bali, Indonesia, and delivered an important speech “Deepening Reform and Opening up to Build a Better Asia-Pacific”. In his speech, he stressed that the Chinese economy maintains good development momentum, and China will insist on the right direction of reform and opening up to ensure that reform and opening up

31) http://www.asean-china-center.org/english/2013-10/03/c_133062675.htm(full text of the speech)

32) 计利当计天下利

will never stop. He said that China will bring more opportunities to the development of the Asia-Pacific region. To emphasize a mutual interest between two countries, he used one part of Tang Dynasty's poem which is "The ocean has no limitation, so once we pull up the anchor, the boat will follow the wind and go forward³³⁾". At the end of the Xi Jinping's speech, he pointed out that the Asia-Pacific is the space for their joint development, and they all are the sailing ships moving forward in the sea of the Asia-Pacific. This poem perfectly reflects the Chinese government intention with the emotional approach.

Thirdly, it was the 50th anniversary of diplomatic ties between China and the France when (that) president Xi stressed out the mutual interest with Chinese way of thinking such as ancient allusion in his speech. He said that the Chinese dream offers an opportunity to France; so does the French dream to China. At the same time, he quoted an ancient Chinese saying, "All living things are nourished without injuring one another; all roads run parallel without interfering with one another³⁴⁾". In his speech, he tried to stress out that two countries and peoples will increase mutual understanding and extend mutual assistance in the pursuit of their respective dreams.

In addition, when president Xi tried to show the attitude of respecting other culture, he also used many allusions from Chinese ancient classics such as "spring is not coming with the blossom of one flower alone, spring garden is filled with hundred blooms of hundred flowers³⁵⁾" at the opening plenary of the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference 2013 on Sunday in South China's Hainan province. On 27th of March, 2014, at the

33) 浩渺行无极、杨帆但信风

34) 万物并育而不相害，道并行而不相悖

35) 一花独放不是春，百花齐放春满园

UNESCO speech, he said that “What if the water is measured by water, who is able to drink? What if someone only plays the Qin or Se, one of the two, who will listen³⁶⁾ ?” On 1st of April, 2014, at the European Colleges in Brussels, Belgium, he also used the allusion, “Once the oranges in the South are transplanted into the North, they become trifoliate oranges. The leaves look similar but the tastes are different. Why are they different³⁷⁾? That is because waters and soils are different.” These allusions are the good examples of Chinese diplomatic rhetoric to show how they respect cultures of other countries and mutual interest. Expressing mutual interest and respect for counterpart’s culture in official diplomatic occasions and ceremonies is a general diplomatic practice and thus, nothing new. What is noteworthy here is unique Chinese linguistic method of ‘allusion to classics’ in expressing established ‘general practice.’ While following all general diplomatic practices, China clearly exposes its identity internally and externally through this ‘linguistic method unique to China.’ This is another side of function which general linguistic rhetoric of mutual interest and respect for culture possesses. Classics cited in Xi Jinping’s speeches have following functions both internally and externally;

First, by showing the leader’s humanistic knowledge, they induce internal unity by imbuing pride in being “the Chinese” with its citizens. For Chinese, how widely and diversely a person quotes classics, poems and 4-character idioms becomes the criterion for the person’s culture. Expressing the same meaning stirs a totally different emotions and responses in the listeners when conveyed with quotations from

36) 若以水济水、谁能食之？若琴瑟之专壹，谁能听之？

37) 橘生淮南则为橘，生于淮北则为枳，叶徒相似，其实味不同。所以然者何？水土异也。

4-character idioms, poems of Tang dynasty and Confucian Analects with historical background. Various quotations including sentences of classics and poems which Xi uses in diplomatic occasions can arouse pride and cultural identification in Chinese people. This is clearly visible in newspaper articles which exclusively analyze quotations used in Xi's speeches. In Korea, a president's allusion to 4-character idioms or poems would not lead to exclusive analysis on the sentences in the newspapers. Articles of newspapers generally deal with the place, background and contents of the speech. In China, however, articles frequently appear in newspapers which analyze the quotations of poems or classics as well as the place and background of the speech. This implies that for Chinese people, quotations used by the leaders in speeches have more meaning than simple interpretation of the quotations.

Second, ancient Chinese poems and maxims quoted in leaders' speeches highlight China with 'Chinese characteristics' while remaining in the limit of general diplomatic rhetoric, 'respect for the other country.' This does not apply to Chinese people or Asian nations alone which belong to Chinese-character culture. Linguistic communication system called 'poetry diplomacy' is now spreading around the world beyond Chinese-character cultures.

In fact, US president Obama took friendly attitude to induce China to be its partner in the 1st Strategic Economic Dialogue. Markedly, Obama recited a Chinese classic 'Mencius' which Chinese leaders have enjoyed citing. This is an example of 'table-turning.' Here, Obama quoted from Jinxin Part(盡心篇) of Mencius, which goes, "Narrow trails in the middle of mountains, when used continuously, become a way while it is blocked when not used frequently (山徑之蹊間 介然用之而成路 爲間不用 則茅塞之

矣。” The method the US used to request continuous exchange and cooperation between the 2 countries was none other than communication method familiar to the Chinese, which is to quote Chinese classics. In addition, US Secretary of State quoted the sentence, “When people are in the same mind, they can move even a huge mountain (人心齊, 泰山移)” and Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner quoted “Boarding on a same boat in the wind and rain (風雨同舟)” when he suggested cooperative efforts to overcome the financial crisis. These examples not only show that US has studied the ways the Chinese like but also demonstrate that Chinese diplomatic rhetorical method has effectively delivered “Chinese identity unique to China” in diplomatic occasions. At the time, quoting Obama’s catchword in US presidential election “Yes, We can” in response to Obama, Dai Bingguo, a member of State Council of China, stated that a better future is in store for the relationship between the 2 countries, which must have been the expression of satisfaction with sincerity the US exhibited.

2) Exhibiting China’s magnanimousness

Allusions to ancient poems and classics Xi Jinping have made in diplomatic relationships well demonstrate the way China ‘embraces’ its counterparts. First, it intends to carry out exchange in the long term to build trustworthy relationship with their counterparts however long time it may take. Second, recognizing current situation which has greatly changed from the past, it aims to seek out necessary changes. Third, it tries to make efforts to improve relationships by focusing on similarities rather than differences. Xi exhibits China’s efforts well to improve friendly

relationships with other countries by alluding to classic sentences and poems. Here, this study will introduce several of typical cases.

In his speech at the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) on May 21, 2014, Xi stressed the importance of long-term cooperation and exchange among Asian nations by alluding to a poet's phrase of Tang dynasty which runs, "The mountains become higher when they are accumulated, the ponds become longer when they are accumulated(山积而高, 泽积而长)." CICA is a regional security forum³⁸⁾ which was launched in 1992 under the leadership of Kazakhstani president Nazarbayev with the goal of establishing mutual trust and preventing conflicts for peace and security in Asia. Turkey served as chair country twice from 2010 through 2014 and China succeeded as the chair from 2014. Thus, president Xi's speech at the time was also inauguration speech as a new chair for the organization. Here, Xi displayed direction for development of CICA and China's determination as a new chair; it was the fact that exchange among nations takes long time and great efforts to achieve its goals and the ambition of China to endure a long time for the exchange.

On November 21, 2014, Xi made a state visit to Fiji, an island country in the South Pacific for the first time as Chinese president. Why did Xi pay a visit to Fiji islands no previous president of China had visited, then? 14 island countries in the Pacific including Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Tuvalu and Nauru act together as 'brother countries' in the votes

38) Members of Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) were a total of 24 countries including 6 Northeastern Asian countries(China, Mongolia, Korea, Thailand, Viet Nam, Cambodia), 3 Southwestern Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Afghanistan), Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyz and Tajikistan

of major international organizations like U.N General Assembly. Earning 'Big Brother' Fiji secures 14 votes in international arena, which makes the region very important from diplomatic perspective. Considering that ASEAN nations are only 10 in total, 14 island countries in the Pacific and its center Fiji can hardly be ignored. Probably for this reason, Fiji is the arena of diplomatic competition. 60 international organizations have their offices in Fiji and recently Chinese president Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Fiji for summit meeting with Fiji. Chinese president Xi also put great efforts to Fiji during his visits to Pacific countries. Xi unprecedentedly announced an article in Fiji Daily titled "Please be a true friend of Chinese people as eternal Pacific island" of which Chinese newspapers printed the whole. In a rather short article, Xi mentioned "Fiji has convenient transportation, rich resources in agriculture, fishery and mining industry while China has strength in capital, technology and market" and stressed that enhanced level of complementary cooperation between the two countries will benefit both, quoting Book of Morals by Laozi that runs "By giving to others he gains more and more. By serving others he receives everything(即以为人, 已愈有, 即以与人, 已愈多)." By alluding to 81st chapter of Book of Morals that giving more returns more, he promised to provide large-scale of support to Fiji.

Through Xi's visit, the relationship between China and island countries was greatly enhanced. Xi raised mutual relationship with head of island countries into strategic plans and high-ranking design level and agreed to continue exchange and cooperation on multiple levels. What was important was Xi's mention that China's development will benefit the peace and prosperity of the world as China protects peace however big China

becomes while bringing up China's dream and Asia-Pacific's dream. China seems to practice effective soft power policies by alluding to phrases from classics and ancient poems since quoting them in diplomatic speeches properly can expose cultural capacity of China. In addition, the expressions in ancient poems and classics are not clear but rather philosophical and abstract in their meanings, which are proper to be used in difficult situation appropriately, since their meanings have room to be interpreted differently by respective parties. Expectedly, Xi opened China Culture Centers and Confucius Institutes in South Pacific nations such as Australia, New Zealand and Fiji and signed no-visa entry agreement with Fiji. During the visit, local media reported that Xi's wife Peng Liyuan launched cultural soft power diplomacy, visiting local schools and museums in the region. Media around the world analyzed that Xi's visit to Fiji has great strategic meaning in that it strengthen China's influence on Asia Pacific region while pushing forward 21st-century marine silk road and controlling the US, and in making the strategy, a little tactic of 'alluding to classics and ancient poems', which is a unique Chinese rhetoric, cannot be neglected.

In 2013, in Boao Forum in Hainan, which is called Asian-version of 'Davos Forum', Xi delivered message that China will make efforts to make its development more beneficial to neighboring countries by maintaining friendly relationship and partnership relations and expanding mutual cooperation. In his keynote speech 'Let's open beautiful tomorrow for Asia and the world', Xi stated that China will actively contribute to the development and prosperity of Asia and the world and Chinese economy will continue with healthy development and, with consumption and demand constantly expanding, overseas investment will also be expanded to an

enormous degree. Furthermore, Xi made it clear that China would protect peace and stability of Asia and the world as ever and China will develop itself through peaceful international environment and through its self-development, it will protect the peace of the world. In the forum, Xi quoted a part of the book 'Yantielun (鹽鐵論)' written by a eunuch during Emperor Xuan's rule (宣帝: BC 74~BC 49) in the Former Han (前漢) period, which runs, "The bright man changes himself according to a current. The intellectual controls himself according to the case (明者因时而变、知者随事而制)." This quotation emphasizes flexible adaptation to the change of time, which can be interpreted that China will work hard to contribute to the economic development of Asia with flexibility and magnanimousness in the face of change of time.

In the forum, Xi maintained that China will actively push for regional cooperation in Asia and global arena, support open cooperation in other regions of Asia by facilitating liberalization and expediency of trade and investment and work for mutual prosperity with other regions of the world. In short, Xi urged wise actions in line with the change of age. In fact, 2 years later in 2015, in Boao Forum China announced Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and Yidai Yilu (一帶一路: Land and Marine Silk Road Plan) which were the hottest international issues in Asia recently. Given the circumstances, it turned out that the phrase from 'Yantielun' which Xi quoted in Boao Forum 2 years before was an important indication of China's strategy for Asia and its direction.

Other than the occasion, in a foundation association speech in Germany, Xi quoted "What you do not want to be done to yourself, do not do to others (己所不欲, 勿施于人) which is a famous phrase from Confucian Analects and in a writing to promote friendship and cooperation with

Europe, he quoted the phrase “The wise man seeks for the similarity, the fool seeks for the difference(智者求同, 愚者求异)”, both of which are diplomatic rhetoric frequently used by the Chinese government. The phrase ‘What you do not want to be done to yourself, do not do to others’ from Confucian Analects supports diplomatic principle of nonintervention in domestic affairs while the phrase “The wise man seeks for the similarity, the fool seeks for the difference” supports China’s pragmatic diplomatic attitude for negotiation.

Quoted phrases of classics and ancient poems in Chinese leaders’ speeches are short but leave long lingering impressions. Even though they are not long sentences, they exert 3 effective functions; first, by naturally containing Chinese traditional culture in modern speeches, they work as soft power themselves. Laozi’s phrase which president Xi Jinping quoted in Fiji is a successful example of improving relationship of the two counties by naturally exposing attractions of Chinese language and philosophical tradition. Xi used excellent language which pleases both countries as diplomatic rhetoric through Laozi’s maxim that through giving, one earns everything, not a unilateral promise to extend support. Second, allusion to classics and poems delivers proper suggestions on the future and its direction China pictures within comfortable bounds in the middle of West’s offensive of ‘China threat.’ By quoting a phrase of a poet in Tang dynasty “The mountains become higher when they are accumulated, the ponds become longer when they are accumulated.(山积而高, 泽积而长)” in the 4th Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) held in 2014, Xi emphasized the importance of long-term cooperation and exchange among Asian countries. The phrase quoted in the event which was China’s inauguration speech as the chair nation

suggested that China would make long-term efforts for the exchange and cooperation in Asia. In addition, the phrase “The mountains become higher when they are accumulated, the ponds become longer when they are accumulated.(山积而高, 泽积而长)” quoted in Boao (博鳌) Forum in 2013 showed that China would flexibly meet the change of the time. In reality, in Boao Forum in 2015, Xi suggested AIB and Yidai Yilu (一带一路: Land and Marine Silk Road Plan) initiative in detail and earned the consent of neighboring countries.

IV. Summary and Conclusion

Like tea and drinking culture, poems are part of daily life and culture for the Chinese. Age-long tradition of civil service examination system in Chinese history had the important subject of poem-writing. They required poets even for the civil servants. Critics criticized with the poems of their own writing. Even now, waitresses in the restaurants can recite several poems of Tang dynasty. They write notices and obscene scribbles in poems even in the restrooms. China can be rightly called ‘the Republic of Poems.’ These routine linguistic expressions are exposed in the method of ‘allusion to classics and poems’ by Chinese leaders in diplomatic occasions.

So far, Chinese leaders have quoted countless ancient poems and classics in their speeches without exception to express their meanings. This study explored how Chinese leaders have flexibly used their way of expressions in various diplomatic circumstances to find out what roles and functions this unique way of expression has in diplomatic arena.

Furthermore, the study analyzed phrases Xi Jinping has used in formal diplomatic events through the book 'Xi Jinping's Quotations from Classics (習近平用典)'. Xi is well-known for making speeches with allusions to numerous classics and poems and Chinese press have published many articles which selected and analyzed quotations Xi has enjoyed using in his speeches. This study defined his leadership as 'humanistic leadership' and aimed to investigate the role of 'poetry diplomacy' as diplomatic rhetoric in Chinese culture by analyzing quotations from some classics and ancient poems Xi has alluded to.

Represented by allusion to classics and ancient poems, Xi Jinping's diplomatic rhetoric has following functions; first, it internally enables leadership for unity for the revival of Chinese nation expressed as 'China Dream.' In his inauguration speech, Xi counted 'China Dream' as the most important keyword which refers to the revival of Chinese nationals. In the nation composed of 55 minority ethnic groups, the revival of Chinese nationals will start from cultural identity of the Chinese people. In the Chinese culture in which allusions to classics and ancient poems are ingrained in linguistic and historical terms, Xi's speech have the potential to bring Chinese people together with 'cultural' capability. Unusual publication and selling of the book 'Xi Jinping's Quotations from Classics (習近平用典)' and 'Humble and Sociable (平易近人): Xi Jinping's linguistic capacity' is a good example of how strongly his rhetoric appeals to Chinese people who retain great poetic sensibility.

Second, it works externally as method of expression of Chinese culture in diplomatic strategy of Xi era which is mixed with economic and cultural power. China has went through Mao Zedong's revolutionary leadership which adopted communist system as the ideology for New China, Deng

Xiaoping and his successor Jiang Zemin's leadership which pursued Reform and Open-door policy and entered market economy and Hu Jintao's leadership which had to seriously consider growth and distribution at the same time and now in Xi Jinping's era, China is facing an era to work for cultural unity beyond political ideology and economic growth. Overcoming the contradiction of socialism and market economy, China with enormous amount of capital is aiming for expansion of external soft power policies and consolidation of culture with Xi's 'humanistic leadership.'

Using ancient poems and classic quotations 'unique to China', Xi Jinping has well demonstrated its way of 'embracing' its partners in diplomatic relationships; first, it intends to carry out exchange in the long term to build trustworthy relationship with their counterparts however long time it may take. Second, recognizing current situation which has greatly changed from the past, it aims to seek out necessary changes. Third, it tries to improve relationships by focusing on similarities rather than differences. This way of using diplomatic rhetoric is not new but in Xi's era when China enjoys enhanced international status with stunning economic achievements, it is necessary for Korea to earn deeper understanding on the Chinese way of thinking and its culture.

In his book 'Chinese poems, stirring the mind of people', Gyu-il Lee emphasized, "Chinese language and way of thinking is similar to the principle of poetry and since Chinese people are proud of their traditional culture and classics, they frequently quote poems in delivering their message. These characteristics are naturally exhibited in their diplomacy." The reason why considerable level of knowledge is required on classics for Chinese diplomats lies in this reality. Especially, in the educational

course for its diplomats for Sino-Korea relationship for example, China teaches not only recent relationship between the two countries but all the negotiation details, their meanings and backgrounds from as early as period of Three Nations down to modern and contemporary era. Simply speaking, Chinese diplomats today study even the negotiation between General Seo, Hee of Goryo dynasty and So, Son Nyung of Khitan (契丹) which invaded Goryo.

On the contrary, in the Korean embassy in China, it is very difficult to find diplomats who specialize in China. As most diplomats are circulating US, Japan and China around for management of individual career, there are considerable number of diplomats who cannot even speak Chinese. After the Reform and Open-door policy, Chinese poems have become even more important part in the education of Chinese students, who recite ancient poem just as Korean children memorize the multiplication table. As witnessed in the passion for recitation of ancient poems, Chinese's love for and pride in their culture are beyond imagination. With the enhancement of Chinese status in the international stage, especially the US government is actively staging 'Chinese poetry diplomacy' by preparing and using phrases from ancient Chinese poems in each exchange with Chinese government. Through diplomatic stages, China is now spreading their culture and linguistic way of expression to other countries.

This study was written during the process of pondering over a China study in an integrated form of humanities and social science, not in separated categories. I do hope that more in-depth studies will be actively conducted on 'China's Diplomatic Rhetoric and its Power' in all areas of humanities and social science so that diplomats and those who study China can expand their horizons.

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Abstract

Chinese Leaders' Diplomatic Rhetoric and its Power

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Why have Chinese leaders made speeches by quoting numerous poems and classics to express their meanings? What functions and roles does this unique Chinese diplomatic rhetoric called 'Poetry diplomacy' play? Starting from this critical awareness, this study aims to find out the implications of Xi's 'humanistic leadership' era and Chinese 'soft power' by investigating 'poetry diplomacy' as diplomatic rhetoric and analyzing quotations from classics in the Xi's speeches. For this purpose, this study summarizes who the Chinese are in historic and cultural context and looks into the directing point of China's soft power policies. Then, the study examines cases of Chinese leaders' poetry diplomacy and states Xi's humanistic diplomacy through analysis on 'Xi Jinping's Quotations from Classics' in detail.

Key words : Chinese Diplomatic Rhetoric, Poetry diplomacy, Linguistic capacity

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