

# On Modern Media and the Transmission of Western National Diplomatic Thought

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#### **Abstract**

Modern Western national diplomatic thought passed from Japan to China through the media. In this paper, we examine how newspapers and periodicals can help us understand the historical context in which Western national diplomatic thought formed and developed. We explore how Japanese national diplomatic thought was introduced to China through the media. The transmission of Western national diplomatic thought through the modern media reveals the development of this media communication network, and reflects the role of the press and media in the transformation from the traditional to the modern era.

**Key words:** Media; National diplomacy thought; Transmission

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#### INTRODUCTION

The media played a prominent role in the transmission of Western knowledge into China, with a network of newspapers and periodicals forming from the rise of folk publications in the late Qing Dynasty, a major period of philosophical and intellectual transformation. Western national diplomatic thought passed through Japan to China

with the introduction and development of the modern media, which had a profound impact on China.

From 1950s to 1980s, Japan and the European and American scholars studied on issues related to national diplomacy gradually increased. In 1956, American scholar Henry M. Wriston proposed that democratic factors have a decisive role in the formulation of government foreign policy, as one of the public policy elements of public opinion become a key factor influencing the diplomatic functions of government (Henry, 1956, p.6.). In 1963, Japanese scholar Kondo Haruo elaborated the significance of national diplomacy in promoting the government diplomacy before and after World War II, from the perspective of popularizing international law knowledge and diplomatic common sense (Kondo, 1963).

By combining the concepts of Western national diplomacy with the media, we can grasp the historical context of the formation and spread of the concepts of Western national diplomacy, explore the historical input process of Japanese national diplomacy into China with the help of media.

### 1. THE FORMATION OF WESTERN NATIONAL DIPLOMATIC THOUGHT

In Western literature, the earliest use of the term "Diplomatic" appears toward the end of the seventeenth century. In 1693, Leibniz's book Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus used the word Diplomaticus; and in 1726, Dumont's book Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droitdes Genus used the word Diplomatique (Satow, 1957, p.2). The use of the terms diplomaticus and diplomatique represented the beginning of the application of diplomatic terms, but at that time the meaning referred to a type of file used for official diplomatic documents rather than to external negotiations (Yang, 1936, p.2). Although Western countries formed the concept of

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diplomacy in the early seventeenth century, the evolution of the concept of national diplomacy occurred over a long historical period.

The expression "National Diplomacy" was used in the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States. However, the document *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States in 1896* indicates that national diplomacy was not a concept of diplomacy between people, but between nations (Department of State, 1936, p.43). With the historical evolution of vocabulary, European and American scholars generally spread the concept of national diplomacy through the process described below.

In 1915, the British political scientist Arthur Ponsonby proposed the expression "Democratic Control of Foreign Policy" in the book *Democracy and Diplomacy: A Plea for Popular Control of Foreign Policy* (Arthur, 1915, p.198). In the same year, the famous American political commentator Walter Lippmann proposed the expression "Democratic Diplomacy" in his book *Stakes of Diplomacy* (Walter, 1915, p.235). In 1916, American political scholar Lindsay Rogers proposed the expressions "Popular Control of Foreign Policy" and "Parliamentary Control of Foreign Affairs" in his paper "Popular Control of Foreign Policy: A Review of Current Literatures" (Lindsay, 1921, p.507).

In 1921, the Japanese Doctor of Jurisprudence Kenkichi Kodera translated Ponsonby's book (mentioned above) and renamed it *Democracy and Diplomacy* (Kenkichi, 1921, p.3). In the same year, the British historian James Bryce gave a speech in the United States in which he described the term "National Diplomacy" as "Popular Control of Foreign Policy" and "Democratic Control of Foreign Policy." His speech was published by the Macmillan Company in 1922 (James, 1922, p.5). In 1923, Zhong Jianhong translated this speech and published the book *International Relations Theory* with the Commercial Press (Zhong, 1923, p.18).

# 2. THE EMERGENCE OF JAPANESE NATIONAL DIPLOMATIC THOUGHT

As described above, the famous Japanese international jurist Junpei Shinobu studied international law and diplomatic history with Ariga Nagao in 1905 and proposed the expressions "National Diplomacy" and "People's Diplomacy" with the publication of the book *The Foreign Political Oversight and Diplomatic Organization* (Junpei, 1926, p.26). People who subsequently used the expression *national diplomacy* might have had done so in connection to this book. In 1949, James Marshall, who served on the United States Commission for UNESCO, proposed the expression "Citizen Diplomacy," which clearly differed from the previous expression of "National Diplomacy" (James, 1949, p.83).

With an understanding of the connotations of Western national diplomacy, Ariga Nagao published the book Modern Diplomatic History in 1898, which discussed the transformation of the modern history of Japan from Monarchist Diplomacy to National Diplomacy, with a perspective on the history of international relations and diplomacy. He then founded the journal Diplomatic Times, in which he published articles entitled Secret Diplomacy Theory and National Diplomacy and Diplomatic Bureaucracy. In these articles, Nagao systematically expounded on the concept of National Diplomacy in Japan, and the concept was spread through media. According to his research, the Japanese concept of national diplomacy refers to the national spirit, but it is not a foreign policy that is subordinate to the majority (Ariga, 1898, p.6). In 1903, Onotsuka Kiraji's book Outline of Political Science was published by the Tokyo Bowen Press (Onotsuka, 1903, p.3). According to Kiraji's research, national foreign policy must be centered on the people. This was mainly manifested by two dynamics: First, the driving force of foreign policy was the people; and second, the focus of foreign policy was the people. Onotsuka Kiraji's views were soon reprinted by the media, which gradually formed a network by which the concept of Western national diplomacy was introduced and spread.

### 3. THE TRANSMISSION OF JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC THOUGHT

From current literature, the emergence of the expression "National Diplomacy" in China originated with the introduction and spread of perceptions of Japanese diplomacy. Before and after the twentieth century, Ariga Nagao, Onokazuka Hirayasu, Fukuzawa Yukichi, and Soeda Juichi systematically expounded the concept of National Diplomacy, which attracted the attention of Liang Qichao and Chinese students studying in Japan. After accepting this theory of national diplomacy, which was full of internal and external problems, they introduced it into China through the media.

In 1854, Japan was forced to open its doors to the outside world. This led to dramatic changes in Japan, including an increased need for Japanese participation in politics and diplomacy. In order to enhance understanding of other countries and to improve Japan's participation in diplomacy, Ariga Nagao founded the journal *Diplomatic Times* in 1898 (Ito, 2008, p.52). Nagao was known as the founder of Japan's diplomatic history. The *Diplomatic Times* had an immediate and strong impact on the Japanese community and became the center of the Japanese diplomatic forum, which leads to widespread concern in the international community (Nobuyuki, 1921, p.21).

In March 1898, Nagao published *On Secret Diplomacy* in the *Diplomatic Times*, in which he advocated that Japan was in an era of transition from bureaucratic to national diplomacy and argued that national spirit rather than the political majority was the driving force of diplomacy (Ariga, 1898, p.36). Thus, Japan's concept of national diplomacy was formally put forward.

On February 10, 1900, *Ch'i-Ji-Pao* published *Qing Dynasty and the World's Security* by Soeda Juichi, a Japanese Doctor of Jurisprudence. Although Juichi did not mention the concept of national diplomacy, he gave a brief introduction to the background and meaning of European national diplomacy (Soeda, 1900, p.5).

On March 11, 1900, the article An Overview of World Diplomacy in the Nineteenth Century was published by Nagao in Ch'i-Ji-Pao, in which Nagao used the concept of nationalism to examine the international diplomatic situation and stressed the importance of a nationalist ideology for European diplomacy in the 19th century. Nagao stated that although Napoleon III advocated nationalism in 1848, it could not be effectively implemented. In comparison, Bismarck put forth nationalistic ideas and sought German unification, calling on the German people to uphold nationalism in the Vienna Association. Nationalistic sentiments in European countries were so important that people there considered the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the era of nationalism (Ariga, 1900, p.7).

Ten days after publication of the above article, an article translated from the *Diplomatic Times* claimed that all countries worldwide were trying to avoid war and pursue peace, believing that "when diplomacy fails, the interests of the nation are the most important thing" (Yi, 1900, p.12). This article expounded on the important connection between Western nationalism and diplomacy.

On December 6, 1900, the journal *Translation Book* was founded in Tokyo by Chinese students studying in Japan. *Translation Book* was praised as one of the earliest periodicals founded by international students; it aimed to introduce European and American ideology and culture to the Chinese people by reprinting famous works of law and politics in Europe and the United States (Ding, 1982, p.55).

On August 28, 1901, the translation of Ariga Nagao's book *Recent Diplomatic History* was published in *Translation Book*; Nagao's book introduced unique insights into the relationship between modern Western nationalism and diplomacy and advocated that so-called nationalism was not determined by the virtue of diplomatic skills and that it was not limited by sovereignty but by national qualifications (Ariga, 1901, p.21). In the face of the complicated and changeable international situation, modern Western countries emphasized

nationalism in their foreign relations, which reflected the complex historical context in which national diplomacy emerged.

After nearly a year and a half, the journal Zhejiang Tide was founded in Tokyo by the Association of Zhejiang Province on February 17, 1903. The editors included Sun Yizhong, Wang Jiaju, Jiang Zhiyou, Jiang Fangzhen and Ma Junwu (Ding, 1982, p.55). On May 16, an article in Zhejiang Tide claimed that diplomacy in Europe and America, which advocated for economic issues, colonial policy, or imperialism, must obtain the support of the people in order to be defined as the overall diplomacy of the nation. With the increased development of modern media, the influence of public opinion on diplomacy in Europe and America continued to increase, making it necessary to consider public opinion before formulating foreign policy. At the same time, newspapers had become an important body of public opinion, called "Newspaper Diplomats" in Europe and America (Zhu, 1903, p.23). Obviously, diplomatic drive and reasoning, together with overall national diplomacy, was an important factor in the national diplomatic concept.

### CONCLUSION

Modern media is not only the product of interaction between Chinese and Western cultures, but also the intermediary of Chinese and Western cultures. With the introduction and distribution of media in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Chinese people's understanding of Western diplomatic concepts and Western society as a whole was strongly influenced by Japan. The transmission of Western national diplomatic thought through the modern media reveals the development of this media communication network, and reflects the role of the press and media in the transformation from the traditional to the modern era.

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