

CHINA'S SOFT POWER OFFENSIVE



Confucius Institutes
and China's Interference
in Local Education Centres



NO CONFUCIUS INSTITUTES



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Language classes - at first glance they seem harmless and quite innocent: learning a new language and getting to know a different culture will enrich your life and help shape your world-view. But what if a language class isn't as innocent as it looks? What if a language class is being used as a covert tool of propaganda and censorship?

This is precisely what China's Confucius Institutes are doing in our own educational institutions - from primary and secondary school to universities and colleges. As the Chinese answer to the British Council, Goethe-Institut or Alliance Française, the Confucius Institutes have been set up to provide language courses and cultural events around the world. **The difference, however, is that those first named institutions exist independently, while the Confucius Institutes are predominantly integrated and embedded into our reputable schools and universities.** It not only uses the infrastructure and premises, but also the reputation of the respected school and university to legitimize its covert means. For local education facilities it usually means good business with the institutes providing and funding teachers, materials and the establishment of the centres – student trips to China included. Since opening its first doors in Seoul in 2004, the Confucius Institutes have known a rapid growth in the last decade and are counting over 500 branches of the institute and over 1000 classrooms in more than 140 countries worldwide.

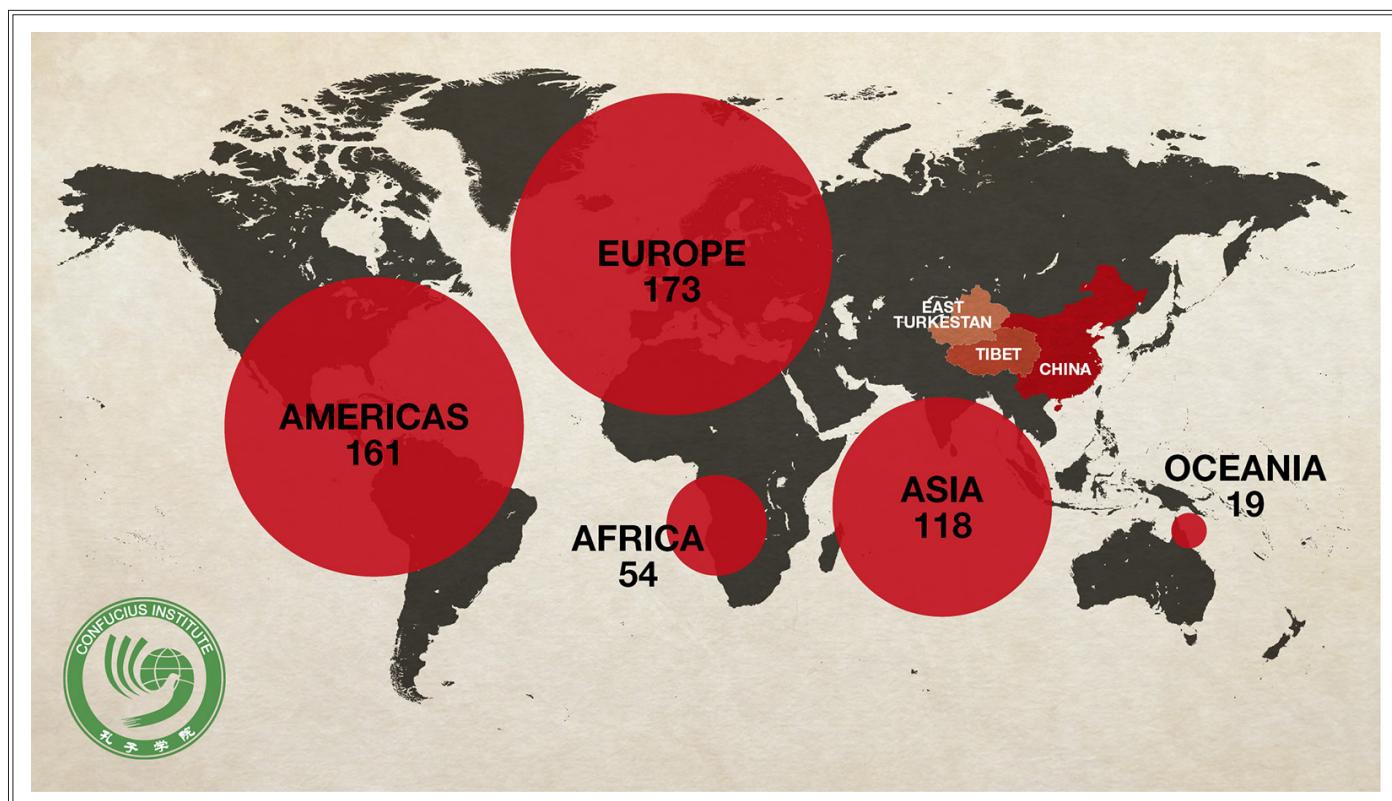
Learning the Chinese language is not a crime, however it's a disturbing and threatening fact that Confucius Institutes are controlled and funded by the Chinese government - a totalitarian regime that lacks all respect for freedom of speech and all basic human rights. Although

marketed as a benign language and culture program, Confucius Institutes use their influence to direct the academic discourse and intellectual debate. By distorting information on political and human rights issues such as Tibet, the persecution of Falun Gong-followers or the Tiananmen massacre of 1989, these institutes are used as a key part of Beijing's soft-power push around the world.

"An oppressive government is fiercer and more feared than a tiger", Confucius said, believing a person should be humble towards authority. A statement that fits present-day China like a glove, although Chairman Mao Zedong once condemned Confucius as a feudal thinker and his Red Guards smashed all evidence of his existence. In the last decades Confucius – or at least the brand – became useful again in the corridors of power in Beijing and has been on a comeback. The Chinese philosopher, whose teachings dominated imperial China for centuries, created ethical models on family and public life and set educational standards. His 'Analects', a compilation of sayings attributed to him, is back on the curriculum in the People's Republic of China while Mao's Little Red Book is being shelved. American political scientist Joseph S. Nye, who coined the term 'soft power' in 1990, stated that 'the best propaganda is not propaganda'.¹ As for China and its manoeuvring within the international community, one of the most ancient and influential thinkers in history works like a charm.

AN EXTENDED ARM OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

The Confucius Institute (CI), under the auspices of The Office of the Chinese Language Council International or more commonly 'Hanban', describes itself as an



The Confucius Institute program began in 2004. There are now over 500 Confucius Institutes in dozens of countries across six continents; the highest concentration of Institutes in Europe and the United States. China's Ministry of Education estimated in 2010 that 100 million people overseas were taking part in CI learning. The Chinese Government aims to establish 1,000 Confucius Institutes by 2020. At least 24 CIs in the US have been closed due to concern for academic freedom and censorship.

educational institution that is “committed to providing Chinese language and cultural teaching resources and services worldwide, it goes all out in meeting the demands of foreign Chinese learners and contributing to the development of multiculturalism and the building of a harmonious world”.²

Confucius Institutes - and their offshoot Confucius Classrooms - are set up through partnerships between a Chinese university, a foreign university and Hanban, which provides funding, staff and materials. Self-identified as a non-governmental and non-profit organisation with affiliations to the Chinese Ministry of Education it operates by The Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes, which state to “abide by the laws and regulations of the countries in which they are located, respect local cultural and educational traditions and social customs, and they shall not contravene concerning the laws and regulations of China”.³

Despite its so-called independent status and outward appearance of academic legitimacy, Hanban, in reality, is controlled by what is vaguely named the Council. Chaired by members of the Politburo - China's top leading Communist Party members - the Council determines the strategies and overall working of the global Confucius Institutes.

In order to see the true nature of Confucius Institutes it's necessary, according to former U.S. intelligence analyst Peter Mattis, to understand their connections to the Communist Party and its history. They can be directly linked to the Communist Party's United Front Work Department (UFWD), rooted in the Maoist area and campaigning ‘to mobilize the party's friends and to strike at the party's enemies’. Key example here is Madame Liu Yandong, one of the former two female Politburo members and highest-ranked woman in the Party, who launched the Confucius Institutes and served as chairwoman when the program began. “They are an instrument of the Party's power, not a support for independent scholarship,” Mattis said. “They can be used to groom academics and administrators to provide a voice for the party in university decision-making.”⁴

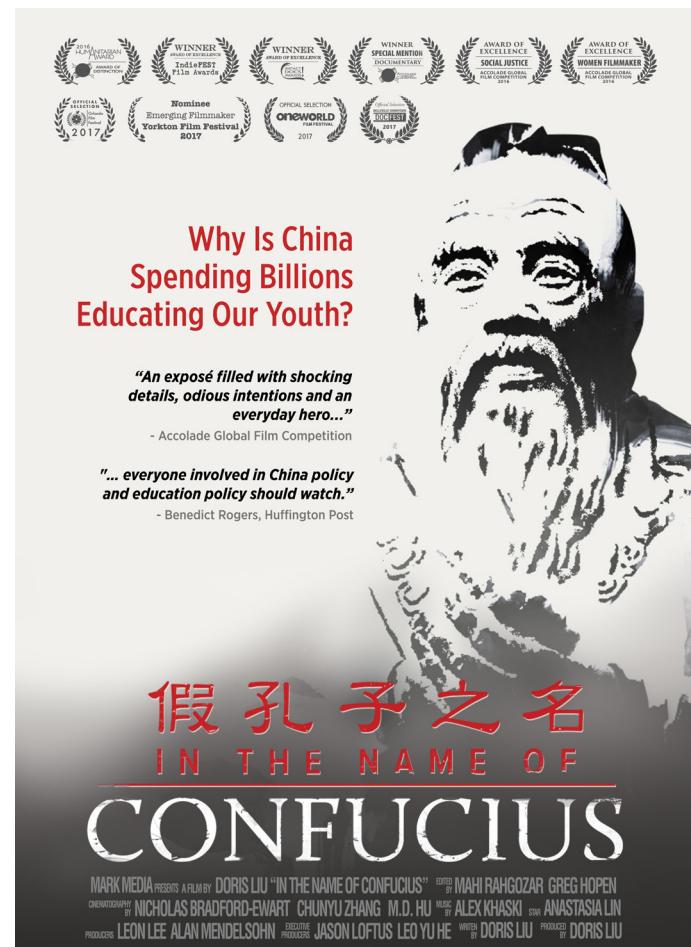
The somewhat obscure UFWD is an integral part of the Party structure penetrating the lowest levels and coordinated by the very top - the United Front Leading Small Group initiated by President Xi Jinping. The department is responsible for managing the Party's relations with non-party elites both inside and outside China. Winning support for China's political agenda, accumulating overseas influence and gathering intelligence are amongst its key aims. According to a Financial Times investigation the United Fronts are ‘to charm, co-opt or attack well-defined groups and individuals’. The organisation's structure consists of nine bureaus which cover almost all possible threats the CCP's power structure could face: the 60 million overseas Chinese in over 180 countries, Taiwan and Hong Kong, religion in all its shapes and sizes (for example, the future reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama) and cultivating loyalty or suppressing separatism among minority people in Tibet and Xinjiang.⁵

Taking this into account, the description for Hanban as ‘Chinese Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language’ sounds much less harmless as it initially did and is a mere beautification and trivialization of the truth. It is clear that the Confucius Institutes do not aim to conduct serious and high-level education and research, but want to spread a distorted image of the People's Republic of China.

In a testimony presented to the US Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations House Committee on Foreign Affairs it states that *“The purpose of the UFWD, it should be noted, is subversion, co-option and control. During the Communist revolution, it subverted and co-opted a number of other political parties, such as the Chinese Socialist Party, into serving the interests of the Communist Party. After the establishment of the PRC, it continued to control these parties, which were allowed to exist on sufferance, albeit as hollow shells, to create the illusion of ‘democracy’ in China. That it has de facto control over the Hanban suggests, more strongly than anything else, what one of the chief purposes of the Confucius Institutes are, namely, to subvert, co-opt, and ultimately control Western academic discourse on matters pertaining to China.”*⁶

CENSORSHIP

The true nature of the Confucius Institute - and one of the most prominent cases of self-censorship - came to light when McMaster University in Canada shut down its Confucius Institute in 2013 due to a human rights complaint. Former CI teacher Sonia Zhao exposed the rules of her



In the Name of Confucius movie poster (In the Name of Confucius)

employment imposed by Hanban which forced her to hide her belief in Falun Gong, a spiritual movement persecuted by the Chinese government. During her training she was taught to avoid sensitive topics and if students insisted on a question she needed to cite the official Party-line on the subject: Taiwan is part of China, and Tibet has been liberated.⁷

The documentary film 'In the Name of Confucius' by director Doris Liu exposes the growing global controversies surrounding the Chinese government's multi-billion dollar Confucius Institutes while focussing on the McMaster case featuring the personal story of Sonia Zhao. Her complaint led to the first closure of a CI on a North American campus. The film examines the risks that Confucius Institutes could pose to our society—a loss of academic integrity, violations to human rights codes, foreign influence, and even potential infringements on national security.⁸

In the wake of the growing debate and concern at least 27 universities around the globe have terminated their contracts and closed down Confucius Institutes including Stockholm University, Copenhagen Business School, Stuttgart Media, the University of Lyon, Penn State and the University of Chicago. In the past year at least 10 American universities have moved to close their Confucius Institutes as political pressure has intensified and the debate shifted from academic to the political circles. The University of North Florida (August 2018), the University of Michigan (December 2018) and Massachusetts Boston (January 2019) severed their ties with the on-campus academic centres after 'careful consideration' and increasing national scrutiny. Also in the Netherlands, after a twelve year collaboration, Leiden University announced that it will not extend its partnership agreement that will come to an end in August 2019. Although the university recognizes 'the excellent work' done by the CI over the years, its activities no longer align with the university's China strategy and the direction this has taken in recent years.⁹

As the bylaws of CIs stipulate that teachers cannot 'contravene concerning the laws and regulations of China', this, of course, leaves the door open for self-imposed, forced or cooperative censorship within our educational system and society. This fact became ever so clear in 2008 when the Chinese regime violently suppressed Tibetan protests during the build-up to the Beijing Olympics. The academic director of the CI at Waterloo, Canada, Yan Li, protested the local media's coverage of the Tibetan Uprising and mobilized her students to block local sympathy for 'Tibetan separatists'. She even took class time to recount her version of Tibetan history. The campaign succeeded to the extent that one TV station publicly apologized for its presentation of the conflict.¹⁰

Another high profile case and academic scandal occurred in 2014 during the annual meeting of the European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS) in Braga and Coimbra, Portugal. Director-General of the Confucius Institutes in Beijing, Xu Lin, went as far as confiscating and physically removing certain pages out of the conference program and abstracts referring to Taiwanese

academic institutions that co-sponsored the event. When Professor Roger Greatrex, president of the association, was informed that conference participants were receiving programs lacking several pages he ordered his staff to make copies of the original and to distribute these pages during the bus ride from Braga to Coimbra. During his opening speech he emphasized that '*the EACS is unable to accept any attempt to censor conference materials by the Confucius Institute Headquarters and that the CCKF (the Taiwanese co-sponsor Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation) has been a long-term, trusted and generous sponsor of EACS conferences and activities, and has never interfered in conference organization in any way.*'¹¹

When confronted with the Braga-incident during a BBC-interview some months later, Madam Xu Lin demanded the deletion of that specific piece, which the BBC refused.¹² China's Confucius Institutes have not gone unnoticed as they have caught the eye of independent think tanks like the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPI). With China's rapidly increasing political influence in Europe and the promotion of its authoritarian ideals, the GPPI states that China poses a significant challenge to liberal democracy and European values.



Mass protest agianst the inclusion of the Confucius Institute material in Toronto Public Schools, Toronto District School Board ,2014. (In the Name of Confucius)

*"Beijing is determined to control how China is taught and studied in Western academic institutions. This involves silencing voices that contrast with the Chinese government's official views on politically sensitive issues, ultimately undermining academic freedom. There are now 160 Confucius Institutes in Europe. Concerns over these institutions'influence on universities'curricula have already led some to close down their respective institutes, as Stockholm University did in 2015. Recent cases of Beijing pressuring Western publishing houses to block part of their content in China (as in the Cambridge University Press and Springer Nature cases) is a clear indicator of Beijing's attitude towards open debate and critical thinking."*¹³

PROPAGANDA

In May 2018, Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, a journalist at Foreign Policy, wrote that a reference to her work in Taiwan was deleted from her biography when she gave a talk at Savannah State University's CI. She later learned that the reference to Taiwan was removed at the request of the institute's co-director, Luo Qijuan, who argued that it challenged Chinese sovereignty. After Allen-Abrahamian's keynote speech Luo came over and criticized her for making China look bad when speaking about Beijing's crackdown on freedom of expression and persecution of ethnic minority groups.¹⁴

The suppression of speech and writing has soared under current Chinese President Xi Jinping, who consolidated his personal power to a degree not seen since Deng Xiaoping, targeting so-called dissidents both local and international. The Chinese Communist Party is tightening its control over the media, online speech and cracks down on religious and civil society groups. A significant increase in the number of restrictive laws and regulations - to protect the unity of the Motherland - has been issued, with internet censorship and surveillance reaching new heights.¹⁵

Given the fact that the official constitution and bylaws of Confucius Institutes specify that the laws and regulations of both China and the host country are to be respected, a certain degree of censorship is bound to creep in our schools and universities. The influence of Beijing became very clear during Chinese state visits to Denmark, the UK, Belgium¹⁶ and other European countries in the first half of the 2010s. Peaceful protests were blocked and democratic rights violated while European democracies kowtowed for Chinese currency.

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Danish Ministry of Justice reopened investigation into the conduct of authorities in relation to the pro-Tibet demonstration in 2012. (The Local)

In European cities police confiscated Tibetan flags, hard-handed and arrested activists while democratic rights like freedom of expression and association were censored. In Brussels, for example, a New York-based Chinese dance company even had to remove its advertisement posters ahead of China's presidential visit because it had some

reference to Falun Gong.¹⁷

In 2018 the Danish Ministry of Justice reopened a formal investigation into the conduct of authorities in relation to the pro-Tibet demonstration in 2012. During the visit of former President Hu Jintao the police of Copenhagen had given illegal orders which prevented people from gathering and violated their right to free speech.¹⁸

"Coordinate the efforts of overseas and domestic propaganda; further create a favourable international environment for us. Overseas propaganda should be "comprehensive, multilevel and wide-ranging."... We should do well in providing services and exercising control and management of foreign journalists; we should guide them to report China objectively and friendly. With regard to key issues that influence our sovereignty and safety, we should actively carry out international propaganda battles against issues such as Tibet, Xinjiang, Taiwan, Human Rights, and Falun Gong. Our strategy is to proactively take our culture abroad... We should do well in establishing and operating overseas cultural centres and Confucius Institutes", Liu Yunshan, former member of the Politburo Standing Committee and Minister of Propaganda stated.¹⁹

According to the China Daily, the English-language newspaper owned by the Communist Party of China, more than 7 million students have been trained and 2.1 million are currently studying at a Confucius Institute since its establishment 13 years ago. In the process 135 institutes were set up in 51 countries along the *Belt and Road* route. Described as a 21st century Silk Road and launched in 2013, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) consists of a belt of overland corridors and a road of maritime lanes. Along these routes China is carrying out or is planning infrastructure development and investment projects in more than 60 countries linking China to Europe, Asia and Africa.²⁰

The BRI's ambition to improve regional integration, increase trade and stimulate economic growth sounds ambitious to say the least and hasn't gone by without criticism of its expansionist nature. Countries are getting into debt and loan traps, public opposition to projects is rising, as are objections over labour policies and concerns over national security.²¹ In July 2018 The Financial Times pointed out that 234 out of 1,674 Chinese-invested infrastructure projects announced in 66 Belt and Road countries since 2013 have 'encountered difficulties'.²²

The Confucius Institutes do play their part in promoting the BRI by organizing and supporting academic events on the topic. This has been the case in Austria at the University of Vienna and Graz where the local CIs worked closely with the Austrian Diplomatic Academy, the training academy for Austrian diplomats. In Belgium at the VUB - Free University of Brussels - the CI partnered up for the occasion with CERIS, a post-graduate school designed specifically for diplomats, international civil servants, corporate executives and journalists and the EU-ASIA Centre, a think tank dedicated to promoting closer relations between the EU and Asia.²³ With a wide range of activities that go beyond the much stated limited goals of language and culture, the CI functions as a propaganda

platform of the PRC and promotes China's political and economic agenda.

INFILTRATION

Canada

According to former chief of Asia-Pacific for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Michel Juneau-Katsuya, CIs do represent a threat to governments and the general public: *"There is publicly available information stating clearly that Western counter-intelligence agencies have identified Confucius Institutes as forms of spy agencies used by the [Chinese] government and employed by the [Chinese] government."* Intelligence expert Juneau-Katsuya told the Toronto District School Board in 2014 that there was no lack of evidence on CI's spying activities as investigations have shown attempts by CI employees in certain provinces to get access to government accounts and secrets. He further stressed that Chinese intelligence agencies take their time, and plan in terms of generations rather than years. *"They have developed a system where they would be capable to recruit people or identify people from very, very early ages, wait for a long period of time ... and eventually sort of capture the 'spirit' of the love that person might have for the Chinese culture."*²⁴

teachers, researchers and other academic professionals at 120 universities and colleges, called on their members to cut their ties with the institutes which are subsidized and supervised by an authoritarian regime. Leonard Findlay, chair of the CAUT's Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee, said that cultural institutes like Alliance Française or Goethe-Institut are not directly attached to post-secondary institutions, unlike Confucius institutes, and thus are free to teach whatever curriculum they like. *"Any entity on campus that is charged with and involved with education has to recognize the traditions of intellectual independence and academic freedom,"* said Findlay and went on to explain that topics such as Tibet, Taiwan and Tiananmen Square – the three Ts - may be taboo at a Confucius Institute. According to Findlay the larger the institution, the more they can push the agenda in contrast to smaller institutions which may have to sign non-transparent deals in order to sign the deal. However he pointed out that this may not always be the case and that the problem is bigger in the United States than in Canada.²⁶

United States

In 2014 the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), representing faculty and researchers employed over 500 local campus chapters and 39 state organizations in the US, teamed up with the CAUT in their concern in a

The screenshot shows a news article from Leiden University. At the top, there is a navigation bar with links for Leiden University, Students, Staff members, Organisational structure, and Library. Below the navigation bar is the university logo for Universiteit Leiden. To the right of the logo is a search bar with the placeholder "Search for subject or person" and a dropdown menu for "All categories". Further to the right is a magnifying glass icon. Below the search bar is another navigation bar with links for Home, News, Research, Education, Academic staff, About us, Faculties, Campus The Hague, Alumni, and Library. Under the "News" link, the specific article is titled "Leiden University to end agreement with Confucius Institute". The article is dated 19 February 2019 and states: "Leiden University will not extend the present partnership agreement with the Institute, which comes to an end on 31 August 2019." A large photograph of a traditional Chinese water town with buildings reflected in the water is displayed above the article title.

Leiden University stated not to extend its partnership agreement that will come to an end in August 2019 (Leiden University)

Back in 2007, three years after the CI's conception, a declassified report by the Canadian intelligence service already pointed to the creation of Confucius Institutes as an attempt to create 'positive feelings toward China and things Chinese'. The report, obtained under the Access to Information Act, painted the spread of CIs as a calculated use of soft power.²⁵

The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), an independent federation representing around 70,000

joint statement. They recommended universities to cease their involvement in CIs unless they are guaranteed unilateral control over all academic matters - from teachers, over curricula and textbooks - and CI-teacher enjoy the same domestic rights.²⁷ In the wake of the latter the National Association of Scholars (NAS) released in 2017 'Outsourced to China: Confucius Institutes and Soft Power in American Higher Education', a comprehensive report on the way the Chinese government infiltrates

American colleges and universities to enhance its own image. The NAS accuses the institutes of avoiding real Chinese political history and human rights abuses and took a closer look at 12 CIs in New York and New Jersey. It examined China's soft power influence through American higher education and revealed new data on China's funding, hiring and academic freedom policies. As of February 2019, NAS counted a total of 104 Confucius Institutes in the United States.²⁸ Although acknowledged as a conservative and rightist advocacy group the NAS doesn't stand alone on the matter as U.S. lawmakers want CIs to register as foreign agents. In a draft proposal in the US Senate and House of Representatives foreign-backed academic organizations should enrol with the US government under the Foreign Influence Transparency

one year failed to properly report that information to the Department of Education.”³⁰

A separate report by the US Government Accountability Office (GAO) reviewed some 90 written contracts between US universities and the Chinese government agency, Hanban. The GAO report also raised transparency concerns, concluding that “the presence of an institute could constrain campus activities and classroom content”.³¹ FBI Director Christopher A. Wray already articulated these concerns in early 2018 during a testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee. He said the FBI is “watching warily” and even investigating some Confucius Institutes. He blamed ‘naivety’ within the academic world for aggravating the issue and accused



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Confucius Institute

The Coventry University Confucius Institute (CUCI) is the only Confucius Institute in the West Midlands and JUFE is one of the leading universities in economics and management nationwide, ranking 7th among all the universities of Finance and Economics in China.

Launched in May 2016, CUCI is young, forward thinking and passionate about what it does. We are proud to bring a bit of China in Coventry city with our range of language and culture courses and many exciting events!

Confucius Institute at the Coventry University, UK. (Coventry University)

Act (FARA) of 2018. This requires organisations to register whenever they promote the propaganda of a foreign country's government and, according to one of the champions of the bill US Congressman Joe Wilson, ‘to increase transparency between foreign governments, universities, and communities’.²⁹ China’s Confucius Institutes are funded “with strings attached that can compromise academic freedom, attempt to export China’s censorship, and are often lacking in transparency”, a report published in March 2019 by a US Senate committee said. Issued by the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs it continued that unless there is full transparency and reciprocity for U.S. cultural outreach efforts on college campuses in China the institutes operating on American soil should be closed down. The committee further finger-pointed schools covering up their CI funding: “Nearly seventy percent of U.S. schools with a Confucius Institute that received more than \$250,000 in

the Chinese government for planting spies in American schools: “They’re exploiting the very open research and development environment that we have, which we all revere. But they’re taking advantage of it.”³²

Europe

The growing debate didn’t stop at the borders of the American continent as the UK Conservative Party Human Rights Commission (CPHRC) followed suit and launched a new report in February 2019, which called for a review of all agreements between British institutions and the Confucius Institutes. The commission concluded that these educational and cultural centres embedded in universities and schools around the world represent an extension of the Chinese Communist Party’s propaganda efforts and threaten academic freedom and freedom of expression. Last year the CPHRC conducted an inquiry and received evidence from academics, former

diplomats, human rights activists and researchers. The report noted that an increasing number of universities around the world have terminated their contracts with the CIs and made ten recommendations which included calling for a suspension of further agreements between British universities and schools and CIs until a review is completed. With at least 29 branches, Britain has the second largest number of CIs after the US. Fiona Bruce MP, Chair of the Conservative Party Human Rights Commission, said: *"The evidence we received raises very serious questions about the influence which Confucius Institutes may have in British universities and schools. We welcome and encourage language teaching and cultural exchange, but we believe a review is necessary to assess whether Confucius Institutes represent a threat to academic freedom, freedom of expression, other basic rights and indeed national security. We also believe it is right to have an assessment to ensure that the curriculum taught in Confucius Institutes is balanced, independent, holistic and comprehensive, and measures to require transparency and accountability in any future agreements between British institutions and Confucius Institutes."*³³

In Belgium, home of six CIs, scepticism arose in 2015 when the Free University of Brussels (VUB) launched its Confucius Institute after negative advice given by the Belgian State Security to Flemish Minister of Education Hilde Crevist (Christian Democrats). The VUB ignored the advice and, according to Crevist, made the decision 'autonomously'. She explained to a journalist from the Belgian quality weekly Knack that unless something illegal is happening, the government can't interfere and stressed the fact that the institutes are financed one-sidedly by China. Beside the CI, both the Brussels Academy for China and European Studies (BACES), a 'platform' for exchanging academic ideas between the VUB and three Chinese universities, and a joint research group with the controversial Chinese Northwestern Polytechnical University (NPU) were scrutinized. According to Knack, eyebrows were raised especially about BACES main sponsor, the Chinese multinational Huawei as, at the time, the telecom giant was under investigation for distortions of competition. By now Huawei covers 20 % of the Belgian consumer market and is front runner in the race for the 5G-network. A similar story continues in regards to the VUB's collaboration with NPU. In contrast to most universities in China, the NPU doesn't fall under the Chinese Department of Education but is controlled by the Ministry of Industry and Information technology. The NPU plays a crucial role in developing China's security technology. Most recently the use of this classified technology for the repression of Uyghurs came under fire in statements made by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. All three initiatives were launched by former Vice-rector International Policy at VUB Jan Cornelis and are now subjected to an internal evaluation.³⁴

RECOMMENDATIONS

Tibet Network Confucius Institute Campaign Working Group believes that the presence of Confucius Institutes in universities and schools requires immediate and urgent attention. We therefore call on all education facilities to:

- **Review all current agreements between the university, school or other educational institution and Confucius Institute partners, and suspend further agreements between universities, schools or educational institutions and Confucius Institutions until such a review has reported;**
- **Carry out thorough investigations into whether educational institutions, including universities and schools, with Confucius Institutes and classrooms, are involved in discrimination in their hiring processes; are or have been used to monitor and intimidate students and/or teachers; impede freedom of expression and academic thought in discussions – particularly in regard to Falun Gong, the Tiananmen massacre, Tibet and Taiwan – in order to prevent censorship and protect freedom of expression;**
- **Cease from allowing Confucius Institutes on educational campuses due to incompatibility with a commitment to academic freedom.**
- **Publicly disclose all Chinese government funding including all sources and amounts.**
- **Publish annual lists of all projects and exchanges with Chinese government counterparts.**

FURTHER READING:

Marshall Sahlins - *Confucius Institutes: Academic Malware* - <https://apjjf.org/-Marshall-Sahlins/4220/article.pdf>

R.S. Zaharna, Jennifer Hubbert, and Falk Hartig - *USC Centre on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School - Confucius Institutes and the Globalisation of China's Soft Power* -
[https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u25044/Confucius%20Institutes%20v2%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u25044/Confucius%20Institutes%20v2%20(1).pdf)

Falk Hartig – *Chinese Public Diplomacy: The rise of Confucius Institutes* - http://sipa.jlu.edu.cn/__local/1/3B/6A/

The Conservative Party Human Rights Commission – *China's Confucius Institutes: An inquiry by the Conservative Party Human Rights Commission* - http://www.conservativehumanrights.com/news/2019/CPHRC_Confucius_Institutes_report_FEBRUARY_2019.pdf

Human Rights Watch - *Resisting Chinese Government Efforts to Undermine Academic Freedom Abroad* - https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/supporting_resources/190321_china_academic_freedom_coc.pdf

Documentary film

In the Name of Confucius – A documentary exposing the hidden truth behind China's global push to educate our youth - <https://inthenameofconfuciusmovie.com/>

Footnotes

- 1 https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/story/qa-cpd-joseph-s-nye-jr
- 2 http://english.hanban.org/
- 3 http://english.hanban.org/
- 4 https://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article201055139.html
- 5 https://www.ft.com/content/fb2b3934-b004-11e7-beba-5521c713abf4
- 6 https://www.pop.org/confucius-institutes-trojan-horses-with-chinese-characteristics/
- 7 https://www.thepochoftimes.com/former-mcmaster-confucius-institute-teacher-seeks-asylum-in-canada_1494583.html
- 8 http://inthenameofconfuciusmovie.com/
- 9 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-education/florida-university-latest-to-cut-ties-with-chinas-confucius-institute-idUSKBN1L012Z, https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2018/12/12/michigan-close-confucius-institute, https://commonwealthmagazine.org/education/umass-boston-severs-ties-with-confucius-institute/ & https://www.universiteleiden.nl/en/news/2019/02/confucius-instituut-en
- 10 https://apjjf.org/-Marshall-Sahlins/4220/article.pdf
- 11 http://chinesestudies.eu/?p=584
- 12 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-30567743
- 13 http://www.gppi.net/publications/rising-powers/article/authoritarian-advance-responding-to-chinas-growing-political-influence-in-europe/
- 14 https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/05/09/how-china-managed-to-play-censor-at-a-conference-on-u-s-soil/
- 15 https://rsf.org/en/china & https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2018/china
- 16 https://www.fidh.org/en/region/asia/tibet/15083-illegal-detentions-of-protesters-in-belgium-during-the-visit-of-chinese
- 17 https://euobserver.com/foreign/123674
- 18 https://www.thelocal.dk/20180607/denmark-to-re-open-inquiry-into-authorities-conduct-over-tibet-demonstration
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The International Tibet Network is a global coalition of Tibet-related non-governmental organisations. Its purpose is to maximise the effectiveness of the worldwide Tibet movement. The Network works to increase the capacity of individual member organisations, develops coordinated strategic campaigns, and encourages increased cooperation among organisations, thereby strengthening the Tibet movement as a whole.