



CHINA IN CONTEXT AND PERSPECTIVE

Unbundling systems

Foreign affairs reform in China's provinces

Charmian Goh, Audrey Fritz, Petra Ševčíková and Jichang Lulu

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Abstract

Province-level Foreign Affairs Offices (FAOs) wield considerable authority to initiate, maintain, and shape foreign engagement. Although the 2018 institutional reform has had a significant impact on local FAOs, its effects have received little attention. Through examining official websites, news reports of leaders' interactions, and accounting reports, we mapped the structure and recent history of all 31 province-level FAOs. In a large majority of provinces, province-level Overseas Chinese Affairs Offices split from foreign affairs at the end of 2018 and became subsumed under the United Front Work Department, thus quickly reflecting central-level changes. The clearer institutional anchoring of united front's leadership over diaspora affairs signals the party's renewed focus on diasporic communities. With noteworthy exceptions, province-level foreign affairs retained robust links to Hong Kong and Macao affairs. A vanguard of provinces split that portfolio from foreign affairs to consolidate it with united front, Taiwan affairs, or both. On the other hand, other foreign affairs agencies, such as People's Associations for Friendship with Foreign Countries, stayed under their FAOs' aegis wherever we could document recent activity. We suggest that the new institutional arrangement points to greater compartmentalization in systems and the growing importance of diaspora work. More broadly, we argue, the elucidation of the reform brought about by our methodology advocates for the study of adjacent systems in concert, over time, and at both the central and subnational levels. An appendix summarizes the features of all 31 province-level FAOs, with additional detail on Jiangsu and Guangdong, respectively reflecting typical and outlying institutional arrangements.

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0 Introduction: The CCP foreign affairs system at the province level

This article examines the recent institutional evolution of province-level Foreign Affairs Offices (FAOs, 外事办公室). In March 2018, the CCP Central Committee issued a *Plan on deepening party and state institutional reform* (深化党和国家机构改革方案),⁰ which heralded a restructuring of the party-state bureaucracy in foreign affairs, united front, and adjacent systems. Our analysis of the province-level reflection of the restructuring aims to contribute to a regionally differentiated understanding of the relative importance of foreign affairs and proximate portfolios, as demonstrated in their bureaucratic anchoring. The key role of these subnational bureaucracies in the party-state's external engagements points to the need for local-level analysis to inform the study of CCP influence abroad.¹

0.1 Foreign affairs and adjacent systems in the Xi era

FAOs coordinate the work of party and government foreign affairs agencies at the central and lower levels of administration.² At the central level, this role corresponds to an organ directly under the CCP Central Committee, the office of the Central Foreign Affairs Work Commission (FAWC, 外事工作委员会),³ through which the top party leadership oversees the entire foreign affairs system. Under the CCP's concept

⁰中共中央印发《深化党和国家机构改革方案》(新华 via gov.cn, 22 Mar. 2018).

¹Party policy informs this local imperative. Addressing Hunan leaders, Yang Jiechi recently stressed the importance of local-level external work as a component of the party-state's foreign affairs. '杨洁篪在湖南调研时强调: 充分发挥地方优势特色更好服务国家对外工作大局' (湖南省人民政府, 22 Sep. 2020).

²The provincial level studied in this article includes four municipalities, 22 provinces and five autonomous regions. The Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions are excluded from consideration. FAOs also exist at the prefecture and county levels. At the prefecture level, FAO structures can closely resemble those of provinces, also losing diaspora affairs after the 2018 reform: '机构设置' (成都外办); '2019年度厦门市人民政府外事办公室部门决算' (厦门外办, 6 Aug. 2020). For an example of coalescence with other systems at the county level, consider Jiashan 嘉善 County (Zhejiang), where the FAO also has the Financial Work Office nameplate: '嘉善县人民政府办公室 (县政府外事办公室、县政府金融工作办公室)' (嘉善县政府网, 14 Oct. 2020). Party committees and governments below the county level often lack separate foreign affairs units; foreign affairs may be added to the portfolio of a party committee member, and foreign affairs committees and offices do exist in some cases. Cf., e.g., '关于调整龙头镇领导班子成员 (含主任科员、副主任科员) 分工的通知' (中共坡头区龙头镇委员会, 20 Aug. 2019); '塘前乡人民政府' (福州市永泰县人民政府, 5 Feb. 2021); '中共阜沙镇委办公室关于成立阜沙镇外事工作领导小组的通知' (中山市阜沙镇人民政府, 3 Sep. 2018).

³Unlike the subnational FAOs discussed below, the Central FAWC Office, currently headed by Yang Jiechi 杨洁篪, is a party, rather than dual party-state organ. Its immediate predecessor did have a state nameplate, as the FAO under the State Council. The State Council FAO ceased to exist in 1998. Although an often-cited secondary source, with Central Party School-affiliated authors, does not refer to any official documents on its abolition, biographies and later government documents do confirm that date; see 宫力, 门洪华 and 孙东方, '中国外交决策机制变迁研究 (1949~2009年)', 世界经济与政治 11 (2009); '国务院关于机构设置的通知' (国发 [1998] 5 号, [2003] 8号), via gov.cn; cf. '关于印发国务院办公厅职能配置内设机构和人员编制规定的通知' (国办发 [1998] 31号); '刘华秋' (外交部); '牛清报大使简历' (驻智利共和国大使馆, 22 Feb. 2021). The FAWC's predecessor body doubled as Central State Security Leading Small Group between 2000 and the 2013 establishment of the Central State Security Commission (宫力 et al., *op. cit.*; Matthew D. Johnson, 'Safeguarding socialism: The origins, evolution and expansion of China's total security paradigm' (Synopsis, 6 Jun. 2020)).



of “total diplomacy” (总体外交), the work of the foreign affairs system goes beyond state-to-state engagement.⁴ In addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA, 外交部) under the State Council, the system comprises dedicated organs the party uses to target political parties, local governments, think tanks, academics, NGOs and other influential actors in foreign societies. Foreign affairs agencies such as the International Liaison Department (ILD, 对外联络部), directly under the Central Committee, and the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC, 中国人民对外友好协会), managed by the MFA, are among the most active in “people-to-people diplomacy” (民间外交) activities seeking to influence foreign societies outside state-to-state channels.⁵

Beyond the foreign affairs system, other centrally-led institutional groupings engage in external activities, often with considerable overlap in methods and sharing specific targets. The united front system, also led by a body chaired by a Politburo Standing Committee member and coordinated by a Central Committee department, is tasked with “uniting and liaising” with the diaspora, students and scholars abroad, among other international target groups.⁶ Studies of CCP influence abroad have repeatedly shown the synergies and overlaps between the external operations of the foreign affairs, united front and other systems.⁷

Xi Jinping’s tenure has strengthened the bureaucratic institutionalization of the CCP’s organizational systems, bringing agencies closer to the top leadership by consolidating them under leading small groups and around a few Central Committee organs. The propaganda system saw reforms along these lines beginning early in the Xi era, with the merger of various party and state propaganda agencies into the Propaganda De-

⁴On “total diplomacy”, see Anne-Marie Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China: Managing Foreigners in the People’s Republic* (Rowman & Littlefield, Sep. 2003), pp. 199 sq.; 杨洁篪, ‘以习近平外交思想为指导 深入推进新时代对外工作’, 求是 15 (2018).

⁵On the ILD’s role in influence abroad, see Martin Hála & Jichang Lulu, ‘A new Comintern for the New Era: The CCP International Department from Bucharest to Reykjavík’ (Sinopsis, 16 Aug. 2018); Julia G. Bowie, ‘International liaison work for the new era: Generating global consensus?’, in *Party Watch Annual Report 2018*, ed. by David Gitter & Julia G. Bowie (Center for Advanced China Research, 18 Oct. 2018); Nadège Rolland, ‘Mapping the footprint of Belt and Road influence operations’ (Sinopsis, 12 Aug. 2019). The CPAFFC’s institutional position within the foreign affairs system is described in Jichang Lulu, ‘Repurposing democracy: The European Parliament China friendship cluster’ (Sinopsis, 26 Nov. 2019), p. 21 n. 105, and, in more detail, idem, ‘The Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and its role in CCP influence work’, forthcoming. On “people-to-people diplomacy” and “people’s diplomacy” (人民外交), see 刘宁一, ‘周恩来与建国前后的人民外交’, in 不尽的思念 (中央文献出版社, 1987), via 中国共产党新闻网; Brady, *op. cit.*, p. 23 et passim; Casper Wits, ‘The Japan hands: China’s people’s diplomacy towards Japan, 1949-1972’, PhD thesis (Doshisha University, Nov. 2015), passim; 王超, ‘民间外交助力构建人类命运共同体’ (人民日报, 5 Feb. 2021); cf. ‘国务委员兼外交部长王毅就中国外交政策和对外关系回答中外记者提问’ (外交部, 7 Mar. 2021).

⁶On the united front system, see Alex Joske, ‘The party speaks for you: Foreign interference and the Chinese Communist Party’s united front system’, *ASPI Policy Brief* 32 (2020).

⁷On multi-system influence work, see Mark Stokes & Russell Hsiao, ‘The People’s Liberation Army General Political Department: Political warfare with Chinese characteristics’ (Project 2049, 14 Oct. 2013), esp. pp. 31 sqq.; Anne-Marie Brady, ‘Magic Weapons: China’s political influence activities under Xi Jinping’ (Wilson Center, Sep. 2017); Jichang Lulu, ‘Repurposing democracy...’, *op. cit.*; Stokes, ‘Chinese Authoritarian Influence in the United States’, in Hsu Szu-Chien & J. Michael Cole, eds., *Insidious Power: How China Undermines Global Democracy* (Eastbridge, 2020); Clive Hamilton & Mareike Ohlberg, *Hidden hand: Exposing how the Chinese Communist Party is reshaping the world* (Hardie Grant, 2020); Ralph Weber, ‘Unified message, rhizomatic delivery: A preliminary analysis of PRC/CCP influence and the united front in Switzerland’ (Sinopsis, 18 Dec. 2020).



Figure 0: Like many other province-level jurisdictions, the Jilin FAO shares a website with HKMAO and PAFFC. Source: 吉林省外事办公室.

partment.⁸ The united front system was given a restored leading small group in 2015; in 2018, the United Front Work Department (UFWD, 统一战线工作部) under the CCP Central Committee formally absorbed organs that were part of state, rather than party, structures.⁹ The latter reform of the united front system, which more formally delimited the target domains of united front work, in turn had consequences for foreign affairs. The growing importance of diaspora affairs, an aspect of external united front work that naturally involves foreign affairs organs, is reflected in the consolidation of this portfolio under the united front system's purview. This consolidation most saliently manifested itself in the 2018 merger of the central Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (OCAO, 侨务办公室), until then under the State Council, into the central UFWD to become an external nameplate of the department.¹⁰

0.2 Province-level foreign affairs offices: A window into evolving institutional relationships

At subnational levels, each system's bureaucracy is simplified, with the local counterparts of different central-level organs coalescing into one office.¹¹ Crucially, local organs often coalesce across systems. Examining which offices do or do not combine at local levels can help elucidate system relationships and proximities at the center.¹²

This local coalescence is especially visible in the case of foreign affairs, in particular making FAOs relevant to the analysis of the evolving relationship with united front

⁸For the 2014 reform, see Jichang Lulu, Filip Jirouš & Rachel Lee, 'Xi's centralisation of external propaganda: SCIO and the Central Propaganda Department' (Synopsis, 25 Jan. 2021); for the 2018 reform, '中共中央印发《深化党和国家机构改革方案》', op. cit.

⁹Alex Joske, 'Reorganizing the United Front Work Department: New Structures for a New Era of Diaspora and Religious Affairs Work', *China Brief* 19.9 (9 May 2019); idem, 'The Central United Front Work Leading Small Group: Institutionalising united front work' (Synopsis, 23 Jul. 2019).

¹⁰'中共中央印发《深化党和国家机构改革方案》', op. cit.

¹¹There are about 90 agencies under the Central Committee and State Council, some 60 on average under province-level party committees and governments, and even fewer further from the center (王红茹, '31省份机构改革方案获批：多地设置“特色部门”', 中国经济周刊 via 新华网, 18 Dec. 2018).

¹²Subnational coalescence is used to analyse institutional linkages and their evolution in the case of the CPAFFC in Lulu, 'Repurposing democracy...', loc. cit., and idem, 'The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries...', op. cit.; and in external propaganda in Lulu et al., op. cit..



and other systems. As shown below, local FAOs serve as offices of the FAWCs under local party committees. They also consolidate roles that at the central level belong to the ILD and the MFA. Subnational People's Associations for Friendship with Foreign Countries (PAFFC) are also typically managed as units or nameplates of their respective local FAOs. Before the 2018 reform, subnational foreign affairs typically overlapped with the Overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao portfolios. Answering empirical questions on, e.g., the subnational impact of the UFWD's 2018 absorption of the central OCAO can thus help understand the underresearched implications of Xi's reforms for foreign affairs and its adjacent systems. Whether and how fast the merger spread down from the center further indicates the extent to which local party committees refract high-level policy directives, with potential implications for the relative power of components of the local party-state bureaucracy. A slow and uneven subnational spread of central reform has been observed in, e.g., the propaganda system,¹³ the recognition that provinces are important foreign policy actors that wield considerable authority to shape policy formulation and implementation primes us to expect variation in provincial foreign affairs organizational constellations as well.¹⁴

In order to analyze the subnational impact of the 2018 reforms, we examined the nameplates, leadership, structure, organizational changes, and recent history of province-level FAOs. Using resources including FAO websites, news reports of leaders' interactions, and accounting reports, we reviewed all 31 province-level FAOs, examining Jiangsu and Guangdong in more detail. We chose Jiangsu as a case study to illustrate the archetypal features of a province-level FAO that underwent institutional reform. In contrast, we chose the Guangdong FAO for its deviations in institutional arrangements, which presumably accommodate the province's large diaspora and proximity to Hong Kong and Macao.

Our findings reveal a fast province-level reflection of the institutional restructuring: within months of the central-level reform, all province-level OCAOs were disjoint from their FAOs and had merged into their respective UFWDs. The reform deprived local foreign affairs systems of the Overseas Chinese portfolio, reducing their overlap with a more institutionalized united front system, while preserving some of their other coalesced competencies. Most FAOs retained robust links to province-level Hong Kong and Macao affairs, with a vanguard of provinces transferring that portfolio from FAO to UFWD during the restructuring, at times combining it with Taiwan affairs. While the central-level reform already pointed to the growing importance of diaspora work, our analysis of recent province-level institutional evolution shows how the varying importance of these portfolios to different local administrations is reflected in bureaucratic arrangements.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Jian Junbo, Chen Zhimin & Chen Diyu, 'The Provinces and China's Multi-Layered Diplomacy: The Cases of GMS and Africa', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 5:4, (2010); Audrye Wong, 'More than Peripheral: How Provinces Influence China's Foreign Policy', *The China Quarterly* 235 (2018); '杨洁篪在湖南调研时...', op. cit.



1 Findings

We first review the prevailing norm of post-reform province-level FAOs, before turning to province-level deviations in OCAOs, Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Offices (HKMAOs) and Taiwan Affairs Offices (TAOs), and PAFFCs. We conclude our endeavor to map province-level FAOs with a brief section on “known unknowns” in which a lack of post-reform data precludes categorization.

1.1 The post-2018 norm: FAO loses Overseas Chinese affairs while consolidating foreign and Hong Kong affairs

By December 2018, the 31 province-level jurisdictions had their institutional reform plans approved. The province-level institutional reform plans had to be submitted by September 2018, the basic organizational adjustments had to be in place by the end of 2018, and local organizational reforms had to be completed by March 2019. Province-level party committee leadership oversaw the process of institutional reform.¹⁵

In all 31 cases, the FAO is simultaneously the office of the local FAWC, invariably chaired by the local party secretary. The appointments are thus modeled after the central level, where General Secretary Xi Jinping heads the Central FAWC.

The typical province-level FAO separated from the Overseas Chinese affairs bureaucracy in 2018, while continuing to overlap with the local PAFFC and HKMAO. 25 out of 31 OCAOs split from their FAOs during the late-2018 reform. At least 25 province-level PAFFCs share the same offices with the respective FAOs. In at least 24 administrations, the FAO doubles as HKMAO.

The Jiangsu FAO exemplifies the standard experience of a province that has gone through institutional reform. The Jiangsu OCAO split from FAO in November 2018. The Jiangsu PAFFC is managed by the FAO through a division that doubles as the PAFFC’s office.¹⁶ Ten other provinces could be classified as following this archetype.¹⁷

1.2 Deviations

1.2.1 Already separate FAOs and OCAOs

Although most province-level OCAOs only split from the FAO at the end of 2018, in six cases¹⁸ they were already separate prior to the 2018 government reorganization. In some cases, the offices were disjoint decades before the reform.

Similar to how the 2018 reorganization indicated an increased focus on targeting diaspora communities, provinces and municipalities whose OCAOs and FAOs were already separate appear to be those that historically had a greater need for intensive diaspora work. These jurisdictions with a separate OCAO and FAO before 2018 are home to major cities in China that have long played a pivotal role in international cooperation, such as Shenzhen, Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin, and include two of the provinces with strongest diaspora connections, Guangdong and Fujian.

¹⁵‘安徽省改革方案获批，实施意见获讨论通过’ (澎湃新闻 via Sohu, 20 Oct. 2018).

¹⁶Full references for the findings summarized in this section are provided in the [Appendix](#).

¹⁷Chongqing, Gansu, Guizhou, Hubei, Hebei, Hunan, Jilin, Jiangxi, Shaanxi, and Zhejiang.

¹⁸Beijing, Fujian, Guangdong, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Yunnan.



1.2.2 Standalone PAFFCs

In some province-level administrations, the local People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries has its own leadership and full-time staff, thus resembling its central-level equivalent more than the ones acting as mere FAO nameplates. The Beijing and Liaoning PAFFCs have their own buildings. Even in these cases, however, personnel and other connections again link the PAFFC to the FAO.

1.2.3 Separate HKMAOs: standalone or merged into united front or Taiwan affairs

At least seven provinces have separate FAOs and HKMAOs.¹⁹ Guangdong was the only province with a standalone HKMAO before and after 2018. The other six provinces separated Hong Kong and Macao affairs from FAO during the institutional reform, merging that portfolio into the UFWD, the TAO, or both.²⁰ Geographical proximity, resource streamlining, and a desire for flexibility could account for some of the organizational variation.²¹

Some provinces' merger of Hong Kong and Macao with Taiwan affairs points to similarities between party work targeting all three places; to different degrees, in the party's eyes Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan all require reunification and consolidation under a "one country, two systems" model.²² Moving the department to united front in other provinces could also signal dissatisfaction with the state organs and a desire for the party to exert greater control.²³ This move indeed foreshadowed subsequent central leadership changes in Hong Kong and Macao Affairs.²⁴

¹⁹In one case (Heilongjiang), the sources consulted did not allow us to determine if the HKMAO is separate from the FAO.

²⁰The organizational arrangements varied in the involvement of UFWD and TAO, and in the name of the merged offices. UFWD took over Hong Kong and Macao affairs in Hainan, Ningxia and Tibet. In Fujian, Ningxia, and Shandong, Hong Kong and Macao affairs combined with Taiwan affairs in a single office. In Shanxi, the TAO took over Hong Kong and Macao affairs portfolio while preserving the HKMAO as a nameplate. In Hainan and Tibet, the UFWD manages Hong Kong and Macao affairs and Taiwan affairs, respectively as a single and two separate nameplates. Fujian and Shandong have Taiwan before Hong Kong and Macao, while Ningxia and Tibet have Taiwan after. At least in the Fujian case, this seems to reflect the priorities in their work and the primacy of different offices.

²¹Guangdong, Fujian, and Hainan are close to Hong Kong and Macao, increasing the relevance of those portfolios to the three provinces. Articles on institutional reform reported a reduction in the number of offices in each province, thus pointing to an incentive to merge offices; province-level officials explained that the new arrangements would consolidate and streamline resources ('宁夏再挂牌一新组建部门!', 澎湃新闻, 17 Nov. 2018; '台港澳辦整併 山東開首例', 中國時報, 19 Oct. 2018). Professor Pang Jianguo 庞建国, chairman of the Taiwan Competitiveness Forum (台湾竞争力论坛理事长), a pro-unification policy think tank (cf. '两岸专家: 新时代融合发展助力实现祖国和平统一', 中国政府网, 20 Dec. 2018; 'When Surveys Become Instruments of Pro-Beijing Propaganda', Thinking Taiwan, 5 Sep. 2014), explained that the needs of provinces differ according to geographical distance, personal connections, and industrial development. He also suggested that consolidating offices could grant more flexibility in resource and workforce allocation (苏榕蓉, '福建省委台港澳工作办成立 学者称整并让资源配置更具弹性', 大公网, 8 Nov. 2018).

²²Zhu Songling 朱松嶺, Professor at the Institute of Taiwan Studies in Beijing Union University, makes this point. '台港澳辦整併 山東開首例' (中國時報, 19 Oct. 2018).

²³Joske has argued the same about why OCAO came under the UFWD's direct supervision. See 'Reorganizing the United Front Work Department...', op. cit.

²⁴Xia Baolong 夏宝龙, vice chair of the 13th Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), was appointed as director of the State Council HKMAO in February 2020. His appointment points to more direct united front leadership over Hong Kong and Macao affairs. In June 2020, the head of the Central Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Leading Small Group, Han Zheng 韩正, met Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam, publicizing the body's elevation from the prior Central Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Small Group (中央港澳小組), or the Central Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Work Coordination Group (中央



Figure 1: Fujian party and state officials at the unveiling of the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao Affairs Office. From left: Guo Ningning 郭宁宁, government party group member; Zhou Lianqing 周联清, party standing committee member; and Wang Ling 王玲, director of the office. Source: 中国台湾网 via Sohu, 7 Nov. 2018).

1.3 Known unknowns

While we assessed leadership titles, office addresses, bureaus, budgets, responsibilities of the office, among others, to draw conclusions about the province-level FAOs, there was insufficient data on occasion, particularly from a lack of documented recent activity. A distinct sub-category of known unknowns were the leaders of the less active PAFFCs, including in four autonomous regions. In Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Qinghai, Guangxi, and Heilongjiang, post-reform data did not allow us to determine the identity of the PAFFC leadership, even though pre-reform links to the FAO could typically be documented. When faced with insufficient evidence, we classified some cases as indeterminate or drew tentative conclusions.

2 Conclusion

By 2019, province-level FAOs underwent an institutional reform that mirrored the 2018 consolidation of diaspora work into the central UFWD. Before the reform, Overseas Chinese affairs came under the oversight of the UFWD. By making all OCAOs separate from FAOs, the reform institutionalized these oversight relationships. The restructuring generalized the arrangement already in place in six provinces, where substantial diaspora work had warranted the establishment of independent OCAOs and FAOs. In effect, the reform increased the compartmentalization of systems. Provincial foreign affairs bureaucracies had their purview demarcated from that of a more institutionalized united front system, as the central leadership stressed their role in the party-state's external work.

This study makes the case for studying bureaucratic systems at subnational levels as co-evolving. Existing studies have focused on the absorption of OCAO into the UFWD to the neglect of attendant province-level changes in foreign affairs, Hong

港澳工作协调小组). See '中央港澳工作领导小组亮相' (新京报, 3 Jun. 2020); cf. '中国共产党大事记·1978年' (共产党新闻网); 吕秉權, '悄悄地開了的中央港澳工作會議' (明報, 27 Oct. 2016).



Kong and Macao affairs, and Taiwan affairs. While the FAO retained robust links to the HKMAO in a majority of provinces, a vanguard of provinces split HKMAO from FAO, combined HKMAO with TAO, and/or brought HKMAO under the leadership of the UFWD. Though officials from the Central TAO have discouraged extrapolating meaning from the merger of province-level HKMAOs with TAOs,²⁵ we suggest that the new institutional arrangement could portend a consolidation of unification work in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. The absorption of province-level HKMAO into UFWD signals stronger party control and mirrors the subsequent leadership changes that reflect the renewed importance of Hong Kong and Macao affairs. Placing the changes in OCAO alongside FAO, HKMAO, and TAO, the growing significance of diaspora work becomes more apparent.

More generally, our study makes the argument that the foreign affairs system and systems in general cannot be treated anachronistically. The fact that the institutional reform redefined and demarcated new boundaries between systems directs us to study systems longitudinally.

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²⁵ '推進統一任務重台港澳辦不整併' (中國時報, 2 Mar. 2019).



A Appendix: Post-reform province-level FAOs

Our appendix begins with case studies of two province-level FAOs, their subunits and leadership. We chose Jiangsu to illustrate the archetypal features of a province-level FAO that underwent institutional reform, and Guangdong for its deviations in institutional arrangements.

We then summarize the features of the other 29 province-level FAOs, noting the overlap between offices, leadership, and organizational changes for each province. Where appropriate, we added comments about organizational deviations from the norm and insufficient evidence.

This appendix reflects data on FAO leadership and institutional links as of late March or early April 2021.

The following abbreviations are used:²⁶

FAWC	Foreign Affairs Work Commission	外事工作委员会
UFWD	United Front Work Department	统一战线工作部
FAO	Foreign Affairs Office	外事办公室
OCAO	Overseas Chinese Affairs Office	侨务办公室
HKMAO	Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office	港澳事务办公室
TAO	Taiwan Affairs Office	台湾事务办公室
PAFFC	People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries	人民对外友好协会

The FAWC and UFWD are party bodies, under the local party committee. The FAO is an organ under the local government, doubling as the FAWC Office. The evolving status of OCAOs, HKMAOs and some TAOs is discussed in the text. PAFFCs are province-level “people’s organizations” (人民团体) controlled by local foreign affairs organs, as discussed in each case.

²⁶Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uyghur names are given in some cases under entries for autonomous regions.



Figure 2: Jiangsu UFWD leaders unveil OCAO and Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission nameplates, Nov. 2018. Source: 新华报业网.

A.1 An illustration of the norm: Jiangsu Province

The Jiangsu FAO exhibits little deviation from the norm. The FAO lost the diaspora affairs portfolio in November 2018, when the OCAO nameplate was unveiled at the UFWD.²⁷ Hong Kong and Macao Affairs and the daily work of the PAFFC are managed by FAO divisions.

Structure

The FAO's main subordinate units are its 12 functional and geographical divisions, each led by a division chief with one or more deputies: Provincial Party Foreign Affairs Commission Coordination (省委外事工作委员会办公室综合协调处), Secretariat (秘书处), Policy Research (International Issues) (政策调研处 (国际问题研究室)), Foreign Affairs Management (Administrative Approval) (外事管理处 (行政审批处)), with duties including managing sister-city relationships), Consular (External Security) (领事处 (涉外安全处)), Protocol and Press (Translation) (礼宾新闻处 (翻译处)), Asia (亚洲处), Europe and Africa (欧非处), Americas and Oceania (美大处), Hong Kong and Macao Affairs (港澳事务处), Promotion of People-to-People Exchanges (PAFFC Office) (民间交流促进处 (省人民对外友好协会办公室)), and Personnel (人事处). They also include the FAO Party Committee and Disciplinary Committee (机关党委、纪委).²⁸ Other units subordinate to the FAO include the Jiangsu Province International Exchange Center (江苏省国际交流中心) and the Shuangmenlou Hotel

²⁷ 陈月飞 ‘江苏省民宗委、省侨办今日正式挂牌’ (新华报业网, 16 Nov. 2018).

²⁸ ‘机构设置’ (江苏外办); ‘外事管理处 (行政审批处)’ (江苏外办).



(双门楼宾馆), at the building that housed the British consulate and embassy in the Republican era.²⁹ The FAO manages (代管) the PAFFC.³⁰

Leadership

The FAO has a director assisted by five deputies (four FAO deputy directors and an FAO party group member double-hatted as PAFFC deputy chair). Each deputy oversees the work of several subordinate units, including Hong Kong and Macao affairs, and the PAFFC. Four of these six top cadres have typical foreign affairs careers. Career overlaps involve the province's economic and security systems.

Fei Shaoyun 费少云 is the FAO's director and the secretary of its party group. He was in the Foreign Economic and Trade Commission (外经贸委) and the Department of Commerce before joining Foreign Affairs. Fei oversees the office's operations.³¹

The following are FAO deputy directors:

- **Zhou Wei 周隳**: Since February 2018, Zhou has been seconded to the MFA to serve as deputy consul-general in Auckland. Zhou was trained in international relations and spent his career at the Jiangsu FAO.³²
- **Zhang Songping 张松平**: Zhang is responsible for policy research, foreign affairs management, the Hong Kong and Macao desk, personnel, and the party committee. Zhang began his career in the province's science and technology system, later rising through the ranks of the provincial government's General Office before joining the FAO.³³
- **Liu Jiandong 刘建东**: Liu manages the Coordination office, Secretariat, Americas, and International Exchange (国际交流). He first worked at the Entry and Exit Administration Division under the Public Security Department before joining Foreign Affairs and working in several of its divisions.³⁴
- **Yang Jing 杨菁**: Yang is responsible for Protocol and Press, Europe and Africa, and Translation. She has spent her full known career in foreign affairs.³⁵

The chairperson of the Jiangsu PAFFC is **Bai Suning 柏苏宁**, who previously led the province's Women's Federation and was a deputy chair of the Standing Committee the Jiangsu Province People's Congress.³⁶ In addition to the FAO director, a member of the FAO party group, **Cai Xisheng 蔡锡生**, serves as deputy chairperson. Cai

²⁹ '关于我们' (江苏省国际交流中心); '江苏省人民政府外事办公室2014年部门预算' (江苏外办, 30 Apr. 2014); '南京双门楼宾馆' (企查查); '宾馆介绍' (双门楼宾馆).

³⁰ '江苏省人民政府外事办公室机构职能' (江苏外办).

³¹ '费少云主任' (江苏外办); '长三角三省一市地方友协合作机制在上海建立' (江苏外办, 16 Oct. 2020).

³² '周隳副主任' (江苏外办).

³³ '张松平副主任' (江苏外办). Zhang began his career at the Jiangsu Science and Technology Intelligence (or Information) Institute (江苏省科技情报研究所). For a recent discussion of the PRC's science and technology intelligence system, see Wm. C. Hannas and Huey-Meei Chang, 'China's STI operations: monitoring foreign science and technology through open sources' (Center for Security and Emerging Technology, Jan. 2021).

³⁴ '刘建东副主任' (江苏外办).

³⁵ '杨菁副主任' (江苏外办).

³⁶ '长三角三省一市地方友协合作机制在上海建立' (江苏省人民政府外事办公室, 16 Jan. 2020); '2021无锡国际赏樱周暨中日樱花友谊林建设34周年纪念活动启动' (人民网, 26 Mar. 2021); '1980-2010年大事记' (江苏省社会科学院, 21 Jan. 2011); '柏苏宁同志简历' (新华日报 via 人大网).



oversees international exchanges and the Shuangmenlou Hotel. Cai has been with the FAO since the 1980s, including a three-year period at the consulate in Fukuoka.³⁷ The PAFFC's daily operations are managed by its office, a nameplate of the FAO People-to-People Exchange Promotion Office Division.³⁸ The head and deputy head of the division concurrently serve as respectively the PAFFC's secretary-general and their deputy.³⁹

A.2 A deviation from the norm: Guangdong Province

In contrast to Jiangsu, the Foreign Affairs Office of the People's Government of Guangdong Province is more anomalous. While the FAO, FAWC Office and PAFFC overlap in the usual manner, the Guangdong OCAO and FAO were separate long before the reform.⁴⁰



Figure 3: Left: Senior Captain He Rusheng, then director of the Guangzhou Naval Garrison Political Department, aboard the destroyer *Haikou* visiting Algeria, 2018. Source: ‘我海军第二十七批护航编队访问阿尔及利亚’ (驻阿尔及利亚民主人民共和国大使馆, 15 Jan. 2018). Right: He Rusheng as Guangdong FAO deputy director at the Italian Consulate in Guangzhou. Source: *Consolato Generale d'Italia a Canton* via Facebook, 6 Nov. 2020.

Structure

The FAO has 11 divisions: Secretariat (秘书处), Development and Planning (发展规划处), Coordination (协调处), Protocol and Press (礼宾与新闻处), Consular (领事处), Maritime Rights and Foreign Security (海洋权益与涉外安全处), Management of Overseas Trips (出国管理处), Asia (亚洲处), Africa (非洲处), Europe (欧洲处), and Americas and Oceania (美洲与大洋洲处). The PAFFC office is listed as a subordin-

³⁷ ‘蔡锡生’ (江苏外办).

³⁸ ‘民间交流促进处 (省人民对外友好协会办公室)’ (江苏外办, 15 Nov. 2016).

³⁹ Ibid., ‘省外办来苏调研苏州社会组织“走出去”情况’ (苏州市外办, 27 Aug. 2020); ‘中韩大学生演讲大赛江苏赛区预赛在我市成功举办’ (盐城市外办, 30 Sep. 2020).

⁴⁰ Both offices existed in the 1980s. See, e.g., ‘大事记 1968-1999年12月19日 (回歸前篇)’ (澳門歸僑總會); ‘宣布失效的广东省人民政府文件目录’ (广东省人民政府), p. 110. Note their separate leadership as of, e.g., 2004: ‘日本广播协会成立广州分局’ (广东外办, 26 Jul. 2004); ‘广东省侨办吕伟雄主任拜访香港华侨华人总会’ (广东侨网, 7 Aug. 2003); ‘“华侨文化与建设广东新侨乡” 研讨会在顺德召开’ (顺德市人民政府, 15 May 2008). On the early history of the Guangdong OCAO, see James Jiann Hua To, ‘Hand-in-Hand, Heart-to-Heart: Qiaowu and the Overseas Chinese’ (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2009), pp. 81 sq. et passim.



ate unit of the FAO. Other subordinate units include the Support Center mentioned below.⁴¹

Leadership

The FAO leadership combines typical foreign affairs and party work affairs with backgrounds in finance and trade and PLA political work.

Chen Qiuyan 陈秋彦 is director of the Office of the FAWC Office of the province's party committee, as well as of the provincial government's FAO.⁴² He is also chairperson of the Guangdong PAFFC.⁴³

Before joining the FAO, Chen was largely involved in foreign trade and economic cooperation, having held leadership positions at the Processing Trade Division of the Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Department (广东省外经贸厅加工贸易处), the Guangdong Institute of Foreign Trade and Economic Development (广东省外经贸发展研究所), and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade Guangdong Committee (Guangdong Chamber of International Commerce) (广东省贸促会 (广东国际商会)).⁴⁴ He had also been a member of the Standing Committee in the CCP Shaoguan Municipal Committee (韶关市委常委), and deputy mayor of Shaoguan City (韶关市副市长) prior.⁴⁵

Zhu Gudian 朱谷典, the chair of the Discipline Inspection Group, has worked at the provincial party committee since the early 2000s.⁴⁶

Apart from the director who oversees the work of the office, four deputy directors manage different divisions as follows:⁴⁷

- **Liu Chenzi 柳琛子**: Oversees Europe, and Party Committee (Cadres) (机关党委 (干部处)). She occupied leadership positions in a bank, an assets management company, and an investment company. She has worked at the embassy in the US and as head of the Propaganda Department in Shaoguan.⁴⁸
- **Chen Guangjun 陈广俊**: Management of Overseas Trips, the PAFFC office, and Official Visit License Center (因公出访证照中心). Chen was trained in Law and has largely been involved in the finance and economy system. He worked at the Zhuhai Investment Promotion Bureau (珠海市投资促进局) and the General Affairs Office of the Guangdong Pilot Free Trade Zone (广东省自贸办) before joining the FAO.⁴⁹

⁴¹ '中共广东省委外事工作委员会办公室、广东省人民政府外事办公室主要职责与机构设置' (广东外办, 14 Nov. 2017).

⁴² '陈秋彦：中共广东省委外事工作委员会办公室（广东省人民政府外事办公室）主任' (广东外办); '2021年全省外事工作会议在广州召开' (广东外办, 11 Mar. 2021).

⁴³ '中国人民对外友好协会会长林松添来粤调研' (广东友协, 4 Sep. 2020).

⁴⁴ On CCPIT and its role in CCP influence work, see Lulu, 'Repurposing democracy...', pp. 24 sqq.

⁴⁵ '陈秋彦...', op. cit.

⁴⁶ '朱谷典' (广东外办).

⁴⁷ '领导介绍' (广东外办).

⁴⁸ '柳琛子：中共广东省委外事工作委员会办公室（广东省人民政府外事办公室）副主任' (广东外办).

⁴⁹ '陈广俊：中共广东省委外事工作委员会办公室（广东省人民政府外事办公室）副主任' (广东外办).



- **Cang Feng 仓峰**: Development and Planning, Coordination, and Americas and Oceania He has spent his entire publicly known career at the Guangdong FAO.⁵⁰
- **He Rusheng 何如胜**: Secretariat, Maritime Rights and Foreign Security, and Foreign Affairs Support Center (外事保障中心).⁵¹ Before joining the FAO, he was a PLA Navy political officer, with senior captain (大校) rank as of 2018 (see Figure 3).⁵²
- **Qian Hongjie 钱红洁**, responsible for Asia and Africa, was already at the FAO and CPAFFC in the early 2010s.⁵³

Former Guangdong FAO directors include Huang Qun 黄群, who before being sent to Guangdong headed the ILD Second Bureau.⁵⁴



Figure 4: Former ILD Second Bureau chief, later Guangdong FAO director Huang Qun with former US president Richard Nixon. Source: 策马翻译集团.

⁵⁰‘仓峰：中共广东省委外事工作委员会办公室（广东省人民政府外事办公室）副主任’（广东省人民政府外事办公室）.

⁵¹The analogous unit under the Shenzhen FAO uses the English name ‘Service’ Center. See ‘中心介绍’（深圳市外事保障中心）.

⁵²‘何如胜’（广东外办）. For He’s rank, see ‘大国担当中国形象：中国海军护航档案’（央广，21 Dec. 2018）. According to his FAO website bio, He was a political officer at navy units including 92830 (formerly 38010, navy aviation, Haikou, Hainan), 91960 (Shantou Naval Garrison), 92962 (Guangzhou Naval Garrison, formerly 26th Speed Boat Flotilla) and 92143 (South Sea Fleet submarine rescue ship squadron, by the time He joined seemingly upgraded to a flotilla, Sanya, Hainan). See ‘关于支持推进 S212 省道隆大线美向至大半段公路项目建设的函’（澄迈县人民政府），p. 9; ‘军史志’（海南史志网），5.2, app. 2; ‘马红安同志出席海军广州水警区命名大会’（海珠区民政局，23 Jan. 2014）; ‘Goodbye 26th Fast Attack Flotillas, hello Guangzhou Naval District’（China Defense Blog，9 Feb. 2014）; 马浩亮，‘海軍改革舉措凸顯強軍方向’（大公報，22 Apr. 2014）; Dennis J. Blasko，‘The PLA Navy’s Yin and Yang: China’s Advancing Amphibious Force and Missile Craft’，in *China’s Evolving Surface Fleet*，ed. by Peter A Dutton and Ryan D. Martinson（Naval War College Press，2017），p. 3; for the Unit 92143 identification，cf.，e.g.，the author affiliation in 薛子汉，‘增强政工网的吸引力’，政工学刊 2（2008）with his biography in ‘领导班子及分工’（海口市人民政府办公厅，2 Jul. 2020）; for the presumed identity of the old squadron and the new flotilla，see 黄超 et al.，‘绘就伟大梦想新蓝图 开启伟大事业新时代’（解放军报，19 Oct. 2017）; ‘海南新一届全国精神文明建设工作先进名单公示’（海南文明网，8 Sep. 2020）; note references to *Nanjiu 510* in，e.g.，‘2015 年海南省参加普通高考的现役军人子女名单公示’（海南省考试局，9 Jul. 2015）; ‘中国最强潜艇救生船为何转战南海 吸取该国潜艇教训’（乌龙防务评论 via 新浪军事，22 Dec. 2017），on which ship cf. ‘Statement by Pentagon Press Secretary Peter Cook on Incident in South China Sea’（US Department of Defense，16 Dec. 2016）.

⁵³‘省友协秘书长钱红洁会见土耳其 中国经济交流中心主席阿克佛拉特一行’（广东外办，3 Feb. 2010）; ‘法学学子将赴外事大赛 校领导真诚祝福’（广东外语外贸大学，28 Nov. 2011）.

⁵⁴‘黄群’（东莞市人民政府，1 Nov. 2010）. Huang later became a director of a translation company. See ‘黄群’（策马翻译集团）. The role of the second and other ILD bureaus in CCP influence work is discussed in a forthcoming paper by one of the authors.



A.3 Anhui Province

The FAO director also leads the office of the provincial FAWC.⁵⁵ The HKMAO is an FAO nameplate.⁵⁶

Leadership

Yong Chenghan 雍成瀚 is the director of the FAO and HKMAO and secretary of its party group.⁵⁷ It is unclear who chairs the PAFFC. In recent CPAFFC events, Anhui has been represented by the FAO leadership, including its current director.⁵⁸

Organizational changes

The Anhui FAO split from the OCAO at the end of 2018. It was the fourteenth province to implement institutional reform in October 2018.⁵⁹ In the expected budget of Anhui FAO for 2019, the document notes that the budget for Overseas Chinese affairs has been transferred to united front.⁶⁰

A.4 Beijing Municipality

The FAO acts as office of the FAWC and has the HKMAO as a nameplate.⁶¹

Leadership

Xiong Jiulin 熊九玲 is director and party group secretary of the Beijing FAO and HKMAO.⁶²

Comments

The Beijing OCAO already existed in the 2000s.⁶³ Different leadership from the FAO can be seen in, e.g., data from 2014.⁶⁴

The Beijing PAFFC has a separate office, with a distinct leadership, website, and address from the FAO.⁶⁵ However, the institutional link to the FAO remains clear: while the PAFFC leadership includes honorary and ‘non-resident’ appointments, such as that of the writer Mo Yan 莫言, both the current executive deputy chair and her predecessors were previously FAO deputy directors.⁶⁶

⁵⁵ ‘省委外事工作委员会成员单位联席（扩大）会议第一次会议召开’（安徽外办，23 Dec. 2020）.

⁵⁶ ‘省外办党组书记、主任雍成瀚’（安徽外办，7 Nov. 2019）.

⁵⁷ ‘关于调整省外办政务公开领导小组成员的通知’（安徽外办，11 May 2020）；‘省外办党组书记、主任雍成瀚’（安徽外办，7 Nov. 2019）.

⁵⁸ ‘省外办拜会全国对外友协、外交学会和韩国驻华大使馆’（安徽外办，14 Aug. 2020），‘省外办拜会全国对外友协’（安徽省人民政府外事办公室，13 Nov. 2020），‘长三角地区友协会长座谈会在无锡召开’（安徽外办，30 Mar. 2021）.

⁵⁹ ‘安徽省改革方案获批，实施意见获讨论通过’（澎湃新闻 via Sohu，20 Oct. 2018）.

⁶⁰ ‘安徽省外办2019年部门预算’（安徽外办，Feb. 2019）.

⁶¹ ‘北京市人民政府外事办公室2020年财政预算信息’（北京市外办，21 Feb. 2020）.

⁶² ‘省外办领导 熊九玲’（北京市外办），‘市外办召开2021年工作部署会’（北京市外办，10 Feb. 2021）.

⁶³ ‘北京市人民政府侨务办公室’.

⁶⁴ ‘刘春锋任北京市侨务办党组书记、主任李印泽不再担任’（中国经济网，29 May 2014）；储信艳，‘北京东京将合作治理 PM2.5’（新京报，27 Apr. 2014）.

⁶⁵ ‘市对外友协简介’（北京友协）；‘协会领导’（北京友协）.

⁶⁶ Ibid.（北京友协）；‘北京国际民间友好论坛召开 莫言致辞倡创新’（中国新闻网，14 Nov. 2013）；‘北京-东京线上经济交流会成功举办’（新华网，28 Nov. 2020）；‘北京人民政府外事办副主任：百姓参与是后盾’（新浪教育，29 Mar. 2010）；‘欢动北京，盛大开幕！’（北京市外办，12 Aug. 2018）；‘北京市委发布田’



Figure 5: Chongqing FAO delegation led by deputy director Tang Wen 唐文 meets Myanmar Consul-General Htun Aung Kyaw ထွန်းအောင်ကျော်⁶⁷ in Kunming, Mar. 2021. Source: 重庆外事.

A.5 Chongqing Municipality

The FAO hosts the FAWC office and has HKMAO and PAFFC nameplates.⁶⁸

Leadership

Zhang Yongwu 章勇武 is the director and party group secretary at the Chongqing FAO and HKMAO.⁶⁹ He also chairs the PAFFC.⁷⁰

Organizational changes

The Chongqing FAO completely split from the OCAO by June 2019.⁷¹

A.6 Fujian Province

The Fujian FAO / FAWC office runs the PAFFC's daily operations through one of its divisions.⁷²

Leadership

Wang Tianming 王天明 is party group secretary and director of the FAO, and chair of the PAFFC.⁷³

雁等3人任前公示' (人民网, 21 feb. 2014); '北京公示张保民、张谦、杨新光、邓志荣、周秀惠等13人' (中国经济网, 17 Dec. 2018).

⁶⁷ Cf. 'ယူနန်ပြည်နယ် ပြည်သူ့ပြည်ပချစ်ကြည်ရေးအသင်းက ရန်ကုန်တိုင်းဒေသကြီးသို့ Medical Vehicle တစ်စီးနှင့် Ventilator တစ်လုံး ပေးအပ်လှူဒါန်း' (Myanmar National Portal, 27 Nov. 2020).

⁶⁸ '重庆市人民政府外事办公室2019年度部门决算情况说明' (重庆市外办, 24 Aug. 2020).

⁶⁹ '章勇武' (重庆市外办); '长江之滨重庆 & 湄公河畔老挝占巴塞“云”端对话，共商地方友好交流合作' (重庆市外办, 30 Mar. 2021).

⁷⁰ '市政府外办主任、市对外友协会长章勇武拜会全国对外友协会长林松添' (重庆市外办, 29 Sep. 2020).

⁷¹ '重庆市人民政府外事办公室2019年度部门决算情况说明', op. cit.

⁷² '机构职能' (福建外办); '友协办公室' (福建外办).

⁷³ '驻大阪总领事何振良出席福建对外友协向京都万福寺捐款线上交接仪式' (外交部, 4 Nov. 2020); '福建省人民对外友好协会理事会成立' (中国新闻网, 7 Dec. 2020).



Organizational changes

The HKMAO likely split from the FAO in Fujian in or before December 2018.⁷⁴ The Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao Affairs Office of the Fujian Provincial Government (福建省人民政府台港澳事务办公室) shares an office with the corresponding party organ, the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao Affairs Committee (福建省委台港澳工作办公室).⁷⁵ The Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao Affairs Office in Fujian has a different website, office address, and leadership from the Fujian FAO.⁷⁶

Comments

The OCAO had a distinct address and website from the FAO before the reform.⁷⁷ The offices were separate as early as 2016.⁷⁸

A.7 Gansu Province

The FAWC Office / FAO has the HKMAO nameplate and its director also presides over the PAFFC.⁷⁹

Leadership

Zhang Baojun 张宝军 is the FAO / HKMAO director and party group secretary.⁸⁰ He is also chairperson of the PAFFC.⁸¹

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in Gansu at the end of 2018, as indicated by the change in titles of the leadership.⁸² Subsequently, the FAO's accounting report for 2019 cited the transfer of the OCAO as a reason for the decrease in expenditure and revenue.⁸³

⁷⁴ ‘福建省人民政府外事办公室’ (archived 20 Nov. 2018); ‘福建省人民政府外事办公室’ (archived 24 Dec. 2018).

⁷⁵ ‘福建省人民政府台港澳事务办公室’ (福建台办).

⁷⁶ ‘领导介绍’.

⁷⁷ ‘福建省人民政府侨务办公室’.

⁷⁸ ‘《福建省全民健身实施计划（2016-2020年）》出台’ (东南网 via 人民网, 19 Oct. 2016).

⁷⁹ ‘甘肃省人民政府外事办公室’ (甘肃外办); ‘引领民间外交，构筑友谊之“桥”——第五届甘肃省对外友好协会理事会会议在兰州召开’ (中国日报网, 24 Jun. 2020).

⁸⁰ ‘张宝军’ (甘肃外办, 15 Dec. 2019); ‘加拿大甘肃总商会等社团举办2021网上新春晚会’ (中国新闻网, 24 Feb. 2021).

⁸¹ ‘引领民间外交...’, op. cit.

⁸² ‘甘肃省人民政府发布一批干部任免’ (人民网, 9 Nov. 2018).

⁸³ ‘2019年度省政府外事部门决算’ (甘肃外办, 19 Aug. 2020).



Figure 6: New Guangxi FAO and FAWC nameplates, November 2018. Source: 华声晨报 via Guangxi FAO.

A.8 Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region

The FAO / FAWC Office has the same leadership as the HKMAO and the PAFFC is a unit under its management (管理单位).⁸⁴

Leadership

Shi Donglong 石东龙 is the party leader group and director of the FAO and HKMAO.⁸⁵ It is unclear who heads the Guangxi PAFFC. Nonetheless, Shi Donglong has met the CPAFFC leadership.⁸⁶

Organizational changes

A separate Guangxi FAO was established in November 2018, when it unveiled the office nameplates.⁸⁷ It was previously combined with the OCAO.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ ‘中国共产党广西壮族自治区委员会外事工作委员会办公室、广西壮族自治区外事办公室挂牌成立’ (华声晨报 via 广西壮族自治区外办, 16 Nov. 2018); ‘香港特区政府政制及内地事务局聂德权率团访问我区并考察桂港合作重点项目’ (广西外办, 29 Jul. 2019); ‘广西壮族自治区外事办公室2019年部门预算’ (广西外办, 20 Feb. 2019); ‘广西壮族自治区人民政府办公厅关于印发广西壮族自治区外事侨务办公室主要职责内设机构和人员编制规定的通知 (桂政办发〔2017〕170号)’ (广西壮族自治区人民政府, 11 Dec. 2017).

⁸⁵ ‘石东龙 – 党组书记、主任’ (广西外办, 20 Oct. 2017); ‘香港特区政府政制及内地事务局聂德权率团访问我区并考察桂港合作重点项目’, op. cit., ‘自治区外事办主任石东龙会见老挝驻南宁新任总领事维拉萨·宋蓬’ (广西外办, 15 Jul. 2020).

⁸⁶ ‘自治区副主席周红波率队拜访中央外办、外交部’ (广西外办, 13 Jun. 2020).

⁸⁷ ‘中国共产党广西壮族自治区委员会外事工作委员会办公室、广西壮族自治区外事办公室挂牌成立’, op. cit.

⁸⁸ ‘广西壮族自治区外事办公室2019年部门预算’, op. cit.



A.9 Guizhou Province

The FAO / FAWC Office uses the HKMAO nameplate.⁸⁹ The PAFFC is a subordinate unit (下属单位) to the FAO.⁹⁰

Leadership

Chen Li 陈力 the party group secretary and director of the FAO and HKMAO.⁹¹ Jiang Hong 蒋红, a member of the FAO party group, is the full-time deputy chair of the PAFFC.⁹²

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in Guizhou in November 2018, according to the expected budget for 2019. Overseas Chinese Affairs and its associated duties were transferred to the UFWD.⁹³ Chen Li's appointment as director was announced in November 2018 along with the Guizhou Institutional Reform Plan (贵州省机构改革方案).⁹⁴

A.10 Hainan Province

The FAWC Office / FAO has a division with a PAFFC portfolio.⁹⁵

Leadership

Wang Sheng 王胜 is the FAO's party group secretary and director and chairs the PAFFC.⁹⁶

Organizational changes

Hainan was at the “vanguard” of the 2018 province-level institutional reform.⁹⁷ There were two changes in September 2018. First, the OCAO split from the FAO. The FAO

⁸⁹ ‘关于我们’ (贵州省外事办, 3 May 2018).

⁹⁰ ‘省外事办下属单位’ (贵州省外事办, 29 Oct. 2018).

⁹¹ ‘领导之窗’ (贵州省外事办); ‘陈德海秘书长同贵州省外事办主任陈力工作交流’ (中国—东盟中心, 24 Mar. 2021).

⁹² ‘贵州省人民对外友好协会与贵州财经大学外语学院签署合作协议’ (贵州外办, 28 Mar. 2019); ‘中国贵州省与厄瓜多尔皮钦查省各取所长开展务实合作’ (中国新闻网, 24 Mar. 2021).

⁹³ ‘省外事办2019年度部门预算及“三公”经费预算公开说明 (机构改革预算调正单位)’ (贵州外办).

⁹⁴ ‘贵州省人民代表大会常务委员会关于省人民政府机构改革人事任免事项的公告’ (贵州日报, 9 Nov. 2018).

⁹⁵ ‘机构介绍’ (海南外办).

⁹⁶ ‘海南省外事办主任王胜一行来黔调研交流’ (海南外办, 27 Jul. 2020); ‘领导信息’ (海南外办). Illustrating the (typically non-executive) cross-system appointments often seen in united front organizations, Wang's other concurrent positions have included a vice chairmanship of the Hainan Western Returned Scholars Association (WRSA, 海南欧美同学会), held as early as 2013 and was still listed as current in his FAO bio after the FAO's loss of the diaspora affairs portfolio (*ibid.*; ‘习近平在欧美同学会成立100周年庆祝大会上发表讲话 李渝凤院长作为海南省欧美同学会代表应邀出席’ (海南外国语职业学院, 24 Oct. 2013)). The WRSA is a UFWD-controlled organ that liaises with students and scholars abroad, with a prominent role in technology transfer activity. See ‘中共中央办公厅印发《关于加强欧美同学会 (留学人员联谊会) 建设的意见》’ (新华, 3 Aug. 2016); ‘Antipodica 0’ (Jichang Lulu blog, 26 Feb. 2018); Joske, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 sqq., 36; *id.*, ‘Hunting the phoenix: The Chinese Communist Party's global search for technology and talent’, *ASPI Policy Brief* 35 (2020), pp. 18 sq., 23; Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 22 n. 111.

⁹⁷ ‘当好改革“排头兵” 助力海南自贸区 (港) 建设——海南省级机构改革迈出实质性步伐’ (新华社, 30 Sep. 2018); ‘海南成为首个机构改革省份新厅局集中挂牌’ (中国新闻网, 29 Sep. 2018).



nameplate was unveiled in September 2018.⁹⁸ The final accounting reports of 2018 and 2019 also show a split in the offices.⁹⁹

Second, the HKMAO split from the FAO, and transferred to the UFWD. This split is evident from comparing the final accounting reports for 2018 and 2019, as well as the organizational description of the FAO from 2020.¹⁰⁰ The Hainan UFWD also manages Taiwan affairs.¹⁰¹

A.11 Hebei Province

The Hebei FAWC Office and FAO uses an HKMAO nameplate.¹⁰² The PAFFC Secretariat is an FAO subordinate unit.¹⁰³

Leadership

Wang Lizhong 王立忠 leads the FAO and HKMAO as director and party group secretary, as well as the PAFFC as chair.¹⁰⁴

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO by 2019, becoming an UFWD nameplate.¹⁰⁵

A.12 Heilongjiang Province

While the FAWC Office / FAO appears to maintain a Hong Kong and Macao affairs portfolio, it is unclear if it retains a HKMAO nameplate.

Leadership

Wu Wenge 吴文革 leads the FAO as party group secretary and director.¹⁰⁶

Although the precise current leadership structure of the PAFFC is unclear, the most recent available data still straightforwardly link it to the FAO. An undated FAO webpage

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ ‘海南省外事侨务办公室部门2018年度部门决算’ (海南外办, 2 Sep. 2019); ‘中共海南省委外事工作委员会办公室2019年度部门决算’ (海南外办, 26 Aug. 2020).

¹⁰⁰ Opp. cit., n. 99 supra; ‘机构介绍’, op. cit. The final accounting report for 2019 classifies the organizational responsibilities of the office as secret due to the recent institutional reform.

¹⁰¹ 彭青林, ‘海南省级55个党政机构实现组建运行’ (海南日报 via 人民网, 12 Oct. 2018).

¹⁰² ‘办领导’ (河北外办, 28 Jun. 2019). For a recent use of the HKMAO name, see ‘省港澳办与香港特别行政区驻天津联络处举办视频工作会议’ (河北外办, 4 Mar. 2021).

¹⁰³ ‘直属事业单位’ (河北外办, 28 Jun. 2019).

¹⁰⁴ ‘办领导’, op. cit.; ‘河北省友协会长王立忠向理事发送新春慰问信’ (河北外办, 10 Feb. 2021); ‘河北省人民对外友好协会第二届理事会会议召开’ (中国人民对外友好协会, 7 Jul. 2020); ‘河北省对外友协第二届理事会常务理事会议’ (河北友协, 1 Apr. 2021).

¹⁰⁵ ‘河北省人民政府侨务办公室2019年政府信息公开工作年度报告’ (河北省人民政府外事办). For the OCAO as a former FAO nameplate, see ‘河北省政府任免工作人员’ (河北日报 via 新华网, 30 Apr. 2017).

¹⁰⁶ ‘吴文革’ (黑龙江省外办); ‘Представитель провинции Хэйлунцзян поблагодарил Якутию за оказание помощи в борьбе с коронавирусом’ (Официальный информационный портал Республики Саха (Якутия), 4 Sep. 2020); ‘黑龙江省外办主任吴文革率工作组来我办调研’ (吉林外办, 15 Mar. 2021).



Figure 7: Heilongjiang FAO director Wu Wenge during a videoconference with Yakutian officials, Sep. 2020. Source: Якутское-Саха Информационное Агентство.

shows the PAFFC chair as vacant, with Wang Haijun 王海军, the previous FAO director, as executive vice chair.¹⁰⁷ An account of a 2020 visit to a united front group in Thailand identifies an FAO official as PAFFC deputy secretary.¹⁰⁸

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the Heilongjiang FAO in 2018.¹⁰⁹

Comments

Hong Kong and Macao affairs and the PAFFC, featured in the FAO's 2018 final accounting report, are conspicuously absent in the one for 2019, which more generally documents staff cuts.¹¹⁰ However, both portfolios appear to have remained with the FAO, even in the apparent absence of dedicated units. In recent FAO interactions with Hong Kong visitors, the FAO's Asia Division was involved, suggesting it also manages that portfolio.¹¹¹ FAO officials have also liaised with friendship associations and used the PAFFC nameplate after the reform.¹¹² A concurrent position documented in 2019 suggests the functions of the PAFFC office (in other FAOs often a nameplate of an

¹⁰⁷ '友协工作' (黑龙江省外办); cf. '黑龙江任免孙宇、吴文革、于飞、王海军职务' (中国经济网, 19 Jun. 2020). The other three PAFFC deputy chairs listed on that page have also worked at the FAO. See '省外办副主任王英春率工作组访问韩国' (黑龙江省外办, 30. Oct. 2015); '宋明文' (黑龙江省外办, 4 Apr. 2019); '黑龙江省人民政府外事办公室简史' (黑龙江省外办).

¹⁰⁸ '黑龙江省对外友好协会代表团到访泰国统促会' (泰国泰宝集团, 16 Jan. 2020); cf. '先进党组 (党委)、先进单位、先进机关党委、先进基层党组织和优秀机关党委专职副书记、优秀基层党组织书记名单' (中共黑龙江省直属机关工作委员会办公室, 9 Jun. 2020), p. 56.

¹⁰⁹ '黑龙江省人民政府外事办公室简史', op. cit.

¹¹⁰ '黑龙江省人民政府外事办公室 2018 年部门决算及有关情况说明' (黑龙江省外办); '黑龙江省人民政府外事办公室 2019 年部门决算及有关情况说明' (黑龙江省外办).

¹¹¹ '香港特别行政区政府驻辽宁联络处来访我省' (黑龙江省外办, 15 Oct. 2020); '香港北区工商联会长肖凯一行来访我省' (黑龙江省外办, 11 Dec. 2020).

¹¹² '省外办参加中国阿拉伯友好协会第四届理事会第一次全体会议' (黑龙江省外办, 29 Jul. 2019); '黑龙江省对外友好协会代表团到访泰国统促会', op. cit.



FAO division) may be performed by the FAO passport center, a unit included in the 2019 report.¹¹³

A.13 Henan Province

The Henan FAO / FAWC Office also has the HKMAO nameplate.¹¹⁴ The PAFFC is a subordinate unit of the FAO and is chaired by the FAO director.¹¹⁵

Leadership

Fu Jing 付静 leads the FAO as director and party group secretary. is Secretary of the Leading Party Members' Group and Director-General of the Henan FAO.¹¹⁶ She is also chairperson of the PAFFC.¹¹⁷

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO between 2018 and 2019. The 2018 accounting report states that the FAO was formerly combined with the OCAO.¹¹⁸ The 2019 accounting report states institutional reform as the reason for discrepancy between the projected and final accounts.¹¹⁹ The split is also evident in Fu Jing's biography: she was appointed as director of the Foreign Affairs and Overseas Chinese Affairs (Hong Kong and Macao Affairs) Office in January 2018,¹²⁰ but is now only director of the FAO. The evidence above for the split outweighs how the Henan website continued to list public information for a Foreign Affairs and OCAO.¹²¹

¹¹³ '2019年度省直档案系列中级职称评审通过人员名单' (黑龙江档案馆, 20 Jan. 2020); '黑龙江省人民政府外事办公室2019年部门决算及有关情况说明', op. cit.

¹¹⁴ '省人民政府外事办公室主要职能' (河南外办, 7 Mar. 2021).

¹¹⁵ '机构职能' (河南外办); '丹青画盛世翰墨续友情——第十五届河南省·庆尚北道书画艺术交流展在鹤壁市成功举办' (河南外办, 29 Oct. 2019).

¹¹⁶ '领导简介' (河南外办); '中共河南省委外办主任付静携代表团访问我院' (上海国际问题研究院, 9 Mar. 2021).

¹¹⁷ '丹青画盛世翰墨续友情——第十五届河南省·庆尚北道书画艺术交流展在鹤壁市成功举办', op. cit; cf. 冯雷, '河南省政府新任免一批干部任命付静为河南省港澳办主任' (大公网, 20 Apr. 2018).

¹¹⁸ '2018年度中共河南省委外事工作委员会办公室 (原河南人民政府外事侨务办公室)' (河南外办, Aug. 2019). Cf., e.g., '省外侨办来卢实地考察范里、东明两镇3所小学教学楼项目' (Root in Henan, 27 Nov. 2014).

¹¹⁹ '2019年度中共河南省委外事工作委员会办公室' (河南外办, Sep. 2020).

¹²⁰ '河南任免吴浩、阚全程、付静、裴志扬、李广胜、宋丽萍职务' (中国经济网, 22 Jan. 2018).

¹²¹ '河南省外事侨务办公室政府信息公开指南' (河南外办).



A.14 Hubei Province

The FAWC Office uses the FAO and HKMAO nameplates, with a Hong Kong and Macao affairs division.¹²² The FAO manages the PAFFC, has a PAFFC Division, and has the same leadership as the Association.¹²³

Leadership

Tai Yu 秦宇 is party group secretary and director of the FAO and HKMAO, as well as chairperson of the PAFFC.¹²⁴

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the Hubei FAO in 2019. The FAWC Office's 2019 accounting report explains that the final accounts were lower than expected because the OCAO left after the institutional reform, and expenditures on receiving guests greatly decreased.¹²⁵

A.15 Hunan Province

The FAWC Office / FAO has HKMAO as a nameplate and a Hong Kong and Macao Division, as well as another subunit serving as PAFFC office.¹²⁶

Leadership

Xu Zhengxian 徐正宪 leads the FAO / HKMAO as director and party group secretary.¹²⁷ He also chairs the PAFFC.¹²⁸

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO by 2019. The 2019 final accounting report attributes the lower expenditure for the year to the departure of the OCAO.¹²⁹

¹²²‘中共湖北省委外事工作委员会办公室发布2019年度部门决算主要数据及情况说明’ (湖北外办, 16 Sep. 2020).

¹²³*Ibid.*, ‘机构设置’ (湖北外办); ‘“团结奉献, 共抗疫情” 中法志愿者视频连线活动成功举办’ (人民网, 18 Jun. 2020).

¹²⁴‘领导简介’ (湖北外办); ‘“团结奉献, 共抗疫情”...’, *op. cit.*; ‘“中国湖北省-美国亚拉巴马州合作洽谈视频会” 成功举行’ (湖北省对外友好服务中心, 19 Mar. 2021).

¹²⁵‘中共湖北省委外事工作委员会办公室发布2019年度部门决算主要数据及情况说明’, *op. cit.*

¹²⁶‘徐正宪’ (湖南外办, 11 Sep. 2017); ‘内设机构’ (湖南外办).

¹²⁷‘徐正宪’, *op. cit.*; ‘驻武汉办主任到访湖南省长沙市’ (香港特别行政区政府驻武汉经济贸易办事处, 18 Sep. 2020); ‘徐正宪主任与日本驻华新闻文化公使贵岛善子一行会谈’ (湖南外办, 22 Mar. 2021).

¹²⁸‘我省参加第三届中国-东盟民间友好组织领导人线上会晤’ (湖南外办, 27 Oct. 2020).

¹²⁹‘中共湖南省委外事工作委员会办公室2019年度部门决算公开’ (湖南外办, 27 Aug. 2020).



A.16 Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

The FAO (ᠭᠡᠢᠨᠮᠣᠩᠭᠡᠯᠢ ᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠨᠠᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ) serves as FAWC Office (ᠭᠡᠢᠨᠮᠣᠩᠭᠡᠯᠢ ᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ) and HKMAO (ᠬᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠮᠠᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ) and HKMAO (ᠬᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠮᠠᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ).¹³⁰ Hong Kong and Macao Affairs is a division.¹³¹ The PAFFC (ᠭᠡᠢᠨᠮᠣᠩᠭᠡᠯᠢ ᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ) is included in the FAO's accounts and its office is an FAO division.¹³²

Leadership

Bo Yongchun 傅永春 is the director of the FAO / HKMAO and secretary of its party group.¹³³

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO by 2019. A description on its website, dated May 2018, still referred to the IMAR OCAO and FAO.¹³⁴ The 2019 final accounting report, however, attributes lower expenditure in a section to institutional reform and the movement of employees to another office.¹³⁵

Comments

It is unclear who leads the IMAR PAFFC, especially since the Association appears to have been inactive in the past year. A deputy chair as of mid-2019, **Bao Guanglin 包广林**, was arrested in 2020 as part of a corruption investigation.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ '内蒙古自治区人民政府外事办公室' (内蒙古外办).

¹³¹ '内设机构' (内蒙古外办).

¹³² Ibid.; '内蒙古自治区外事办公室2019年度决算公开报告' (内蒙古外办, 28 Aug. 2020). The Mongolian form given for the PAFFC is our translation of the Chinese name, based on attested names of similar organizations: cf., e.g., 'Далан агшин-далан түүх (зургаа)' (Солонго, 19 Aug. 2019); 'ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ' (news.mn, 17 Mar. 2021).

¹³³ '外办领导' (内蒙古外办); 喬輝, '港澳各界青年代表團訪問內蒙古側記' (文匯網, 30 Sep. 2019).

¹³⁴ '内蒙古自治区外事办公室机构职能简介' (内蒙古外办, 26 May 2018).

¹³⁵ '内蒙古自治区外事办公室2019年度决算公开报告', op. cit. The OCAO corresponds to a UFWD division: '机构设置' (内蒙古统战部, 15 May 2020).

¹³⁶ '邢海明大使同内蒙古自治区友协副会长包广林进行工作交流' (驻蒙古国大使馆, 3 Jul. 2019), cf. 'Элчин сайд Шин Хаймин ӨМӨЗО-ны ГНН-ийн дэд дарга Бао Гуанлиньтай уулзав' (БНХАУ Монгол Улсад суугаа Элчин Сайдын Яам, 19 Nov. 2019). The investigation on Bao was announced in late 2019. He was arrested and expelled from the CCP in February 2020 and formally charged in June. See '内蒙古自治区党委原副秘书长、办公厅主任包广林接受纪律审查和监察调查' (中央纪委, 12 Oct. 2019); '内蒙古检察机关依法对包广林决定逮捕' (最高人民检察院, 14 Feb. 2020); '内蒙古自治区包头市政协原主席张世明等3人被处分' (中央纪委, 15 Feb. 2020); '内蒙古检察机关依法对包广林涉嫌受贿案提起公诉' (最高人民检察院, 1 Jun. 2020).



A.17 Jiangxi Province

The FAO / FAWC Office also has the Hong Kong and Macao portfolio and has the same leadership as the PAFFC.

Leadership

Zhao Hui 赵慧 leads the FAO as party group secretary and director and the PAFFC as chair.¹³⁷

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in Jiangsu by 2019. The 2019 final accounting report notes lower expenditure as a result of the OCAO's transfer to the UFWD.¹³⁸

A.18 Jilin Province

The FAO / FAWC Office also serves as the HKMAO and leads the PAFFC through its director.¹³⁹

Leadership

Jiang Yanhui 蒋延辉 is party group secretary and director of the FAO and the HKMAO and chairs the PAFFC.¹⁴⁰

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO by 2019. The final accounting report cites the institutional reform and the transplant of the OCAO to the UFWD as the reason for lowered expenditure.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ ‘领导介绍’ (江西外办); ‘赵慧赴浙江调研并签署两省外事工作交流合作机制备忘录’ (江西外办, 15 Mar. 2021); ‘中国韩国人总联合会会长河政秀访问省友协’ (江西友协, 9 Mar. 2021).

¹³⁸ ‘江西省人民政府外事办公室2019年度部门决算’ (江西外办, 20 Aug. 2020).

¹³⁹ ‘机构职能’ (吉林外办).

¹⁴⁰ ‘蒋延辉’ (吉林外办); ‘吉林省友协蒋延辉会长赴北京拜会中国人民对外友好协会林松添会长’ (吉林外办, 18 Aug. 2020); ‘深化交流, 推动合作’ (吉林外办, 30 Mar. 2021).

¹⁴¹ ‘2019年度吉林省外事办公室部门决算’ (吉林外办, 28 Aug. 2020).



Figure 8: Left: The former residence of Wan Fulin, now used by the Liaoning PAFFC, in 2009. Source: 东北虎 (Sina blog). Right: The entrance to the PAFFC building in 2020. Source: 盛京老于 via 腾讯视频.

A.19 Liaoning Province

The FAO / FAWC Office has the HKMAO as a nameplate.¹⁴² It also manages (代管) the PAFFC.¹⁴³

Leadership

Ying Zhongyuan 应中元 is party group secretary and director of the FAO / HKMAO and party group secretary and chair of the PAFFC.¹⁴⁴ A FAO deputy director acts as HKMAO director.¹⁴⁵

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in November 2018, as reflected in the loss of the diaspora portfolio in the new name of the director's position and the office's new nameplates.¹⁴⁶

Comments

The PAFFC has separate facilities from the FAO, in the former residence of the Republican Era general Wan Fulin 万福麟.¹⁴⁷

The Liaoning PAFFC's bestowal of an appointment on Gai Lin 盖琳, the initiator and secretary-general of a now suspended friendship group in the European Parliament, illustrates the involvement of subnational foreign affairs agencies in external influence work.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² 刘桐, '省委外办、省政府外办(港澳办)挂牌成立' (华商晨报 via 新浪, 7 Nov. 2018).

¹⁴³ '辽宁省人民对外友好协会第三届理事会工作报告' (辽宁友协, 12 Aug. 2020).

¹⁴⁴ '领导简介' (辽宁外办); '辽宁省人民对外友好协会领导、内设机构与职能' (辽宁友协); '省政府外办组织召开优化外事营商环境工作推进会' (辽宁外办, 1 Apr. 2021).

¹⁴⁵ '港澳事务辽宁召开对港澳地区交流合作座谈会' (辽宁外办, 27 Mar. 2019); '辽宁省政府港澳办刘天雨主任到《侨园》杂志社调研并参加“辽宁与湾区”栏目座谈会' (辽宁外办, 23 Jul. 2020).

¹⁴⁶ '领导简介', op. cit.; 刘桐, op. cit.

¹⁴⁷ '联系方式'; 王鹤 and 张润家, '近代沈阳奉系官邸建筑装饰艺术研究', 沈阳建筑大学学报(社会科学版) 20:4 (Aug. 2018). The FAO is located in the Liaoning government compound ('关于我们' (辽宁外办); '各市政府、省政府各部门和有关单位政府信息公开工作机构及联系方式' (辽宁省人民政府, 2008)).

¹⁴⁸ Lulu, 'Repurposing democracy...', p. 23; hearing of the Committee on Foreign Interference in all Democratic Processes in the European Union, including Disinformation (European Parliament Multimedia Centre, 25 Jan. 2021), 15:21:40 – 15:24:41.



A.20 Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region

The FAWC Office / FAO calls the PAFFC its ‘subordinate association’.¹⁴⁹

Leadership

Li Chen 李琛 leads the FAO as party group secretary and director.¹⁵⁰

An FAO deputy director, Bai Yuzhen 白玉珍, is a deputy chair of the PAFFC.¹⁵¹

Organizational changes

Both Overseas Chinese Affairs and Hong Kong and Macao Affairs were transferred from the FAO to the UFWD by 2019, according to the 2019 final accounting report.¹⁵²

Ningxia established a new office of Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan Affairs.¹⁵³

A.21 Qinghai Province

The FAWC Office / FAO holds the Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan affairs portfolios. It also appears to manage the PAFFC.

Leadership

Zhu Xiangfeng 朱向峰 is the new party group secretary and director of the FAO and director of the Taiwan and Hong Kong and Macao affairs offices.¹⁵⁴

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in Qinghai by 2019. The 2019 final accounting report notes that the office’s revenues are lower because of the institutional reform that transferred the budget to the UFWD.¹⁵⁵

Comments

It appears likely that the Qinghai Provincial PAFFC shares an office with the FAO, although a lack of recent data prevents an identification of its current leadership. The Qinghai foreign affairs website has continued to report PAFFC activities.¹⁵⁶ Previously

¹⁴⁹ ‘宁夏人民对外友好协会’ (宁夏外办, 30 Oct. 2020).

¹⁵⁰ ‘李琛’ (宁夏外办); ‘自治区外事办公室召开2021年度工作务虚会’ (宁夏外办, 28 Jan. 2021).

¹⁵¹ ‘宁夏人民对外友好协会组织召开宁夏民间外交工作座谈会’ (宁夏外办, 11 Sep. 2020).

¹⁵² ‘2019年度宁夏回族自治区人民政府外事办公室部门决算’ (宁夏外办).

¹⁵³ ‘宁夏再挂牌一新组建部门!’ (宁夏日报 via 澎湃新闻, 17 Nov. 2018).

¹⁵⁴ Zhu’s TAO / HKMAO and FAO director appointments were publicized asynchronously in March 2021, with the non-FAO ones datable to February (‘青海省人民政府任免朱向峰等13名同志职务’ (新华网, 3 Mar. 2021); ‘王定邦任青海省人民政府秘书长 朱向峰任青海省外事办公室主任’ (海北新闻网, 31 Mar. 2021)). The FAO website had identified Zhu as FAO party group secretary before these announcements (‘外事办领导’ (青海外办, 7 Feb. 2021); ‘新春送祝福 慰问暖人心—省外事办党组成员开展新春慰问’ (青海外办, 10 Feb. 2021)). Before his elevation to the FAO directorship, Zhu held propaganda and united front positions. See 青海年鉴 (2012), p. 95; Limusishiden (李得春) and Ha Mingzong 哈明宗, ‘The Fourth Qinghai Provincial Tu (Monguor) Literature Forum’, in *Mapping the Monguor*, ed. by Gerald Roche and CK Stuart, *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 36 (2015), p. 25; ‘朱向峰’ (青海省人民政府网, 30 Mar. 2020).

¹⁵⁵ ‘青海省外事办公室2019年度部门决算’ (青海外办).

¹⁵⁶ ‘青海省人民对外友好协会荣获“匠心筑梦—中国脱贫攻坚民间艺术作品展”优秀组织奖’ (青海外办, 30 Dec. 2020).



known PAFFC leaders were FAO cadre.¹⁵⁷ In 2019, an FAO deputy director represented the PAFFC at an event.¹⁵⁸ A Qinghai government announcement in 2020 identified PAFFC translator jobs as FAO civil service positions.¹⁵⁹

A.22 Shaanxi Province

The FAO / FAWC Office uses the HKMAO nameplate.¹⁶⁰ The PAFFC is included in the FAO's 2019 final accounting report.¹⁶¹

Leadership

Yao Hongjuan 姚红娟 is party group secretary and director of the FAO and the HKMAO.¹⁶² While a vice governor chairs the PAFFC, Yao is its executive deputy chair.¹⁶³

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO by 2019. The 2019 final accounting report explains that their budget was lower than the previous year because Overseas Chinese Affairs was transferred to the UFWD.¹⁶⁴

A.23 Shandong Province

The FAO / FAWC Office has the same leader as the PAFFC.¹⁶⁵

Leadership

Cai Xianjin 蔡先金 is the FAO's party group secretary and director and the PAFFC's chair.¹⁶⁶

Organizational changes

Overseas Chinese, Hong Kong and Macao Affairs transferred out from the FAO in October 2018.¹⁶⁷ While the UFWD took over the OCAO nameplate, Shandong estab-

¹⁵⁷ '日本小島沖圧工業株式会社社長小島洋一郎一行来青访问' (青海外办, 4 Nov. 2015); cf. '领导介绍' (中国台湾网, 11 Oct. 2017); '外事办领导' (青海外办, 6 May 2020).

¹⁵⁸ '2019年第八届青海日本文化交流会圆满落幕' (青海省小島文化教育發展基地, 26 Nov. 2019).

¹⁵⁹ '关于报考2020年青海省外事办公室一级主任科员及相当职级层次以下公务员资格审查的通知' (青海省人事考试中心, 13 Jul. 2020).

¹⁶⁰ '陕西省人民政府外事(港澳事务)办公室主任姚红娟一行调研香港陕西商会' (海联在线, 21 Oct. 2020).

¹⁶¹ '中共陕西省委外事工作委员会办公室2019年部门决算' (陕西外办), p. 5.

¹⁶² '姚红娟主任一行走访省友协理事单位' (陕西外办, 3 Sep. 2020); '陕西省人民政府外事(港澳事务)办公室主任姚红娟一行调研香港陕西商会', op. cit.; '李兴旺赴省委外事办对接高质量外事合作' (西北农林科技大学, 11 Mar. 2021).

¹⁶³ '魏增军简历' (人民网, Jan. 2020); '陕西省外办主任姚红娟一行来校慰问外籍专家和留学生' (西安交通大学, 9 Feb. 2021).

¹⁶⁴ '中共陕西省委外事工作委员会办公室2019年部门决算', op. cit. (陕西外办), p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ The PAFFC's constitution recognizes the FAWC's leadership ('山东省人民对外友好协会章程' (山东外办, 11 Sep. 2019).

¹⁶⁶ '蔡先金任山东省外办党组书记、提名主任' (中国经济网 via 新华网, 9 Apr. 2019); '山东省人民对外友好协会理事会会议在济南召开 蔡先金任第四届理事会会长' (央广网, 11 Sep. 2019);

¹⁶⁷ '新厅局亮相、地市机构改革启动! 山东机构改革改了啥' (齐鲁网 via 人民网, 31 Dec. 2018); '蔡先金会见团省委刘天东一行' (山东外办, 1 Apr. 2021).



lished a new Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao Affairs Office, led by a former FAO director.¹⁶⁸

A.24 Shanghai Municipality

The FAO / FAWC Office uses the HKMAO nameplate.¹⁶⁹ It “manages” and leads the work of the PAFFC.¹⁷⁰

Leadership

Zhang Xiaosong 张小松 is party group secretary and director of the FAO and HKMAO.¹⁷¹ While the PAFFC’s chair is not an FAO cadre, FAO Director Zhao is its executive deputy chair.¹⁷²

Comments

The OCAO and FAO were separate long before the reform.¹⁷³

A.25 Shanxi Province

The Shanxi FAO / FAWC Office lists the PAFFC as a subordinate unit.¹⁷⁴

Leadership

Wu Shaozhong 武绍忠 is party group secretary and director of the FAO.¹⁷⁵

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in Shanxi in 2018 and was transferred to the UWFD, while the TAO took over Hong Kong and Macao affairs.¹⁷⁶ The TAO and HKMAO appear to have continued to be used as separate nameplates of the same office.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁸ ‘新厅局亮相、地市机构改革启动！’, op. cit.; ‘山东省台港澳办主任刘渊一行考察天鹅湖未来科学城’ (嘉兴市委, 29 Sep. 2020); ‘刘渊任山东省委政法委副书记’ (中国经济网 via 中国新闻网, 12 Aug. 2015); ‘刘渊会见香港贸发局内地总代表钟永喜’ (山东台办, 24 Mar. 2021); ‘山东省统战部副部长孙传尚一行走访中新社山东分社’ (中国新闻网, 9 Mar. 2021).

¹⁶⁹ ‘市政府港澳办领导看望在沪港澳学生’ (上海外办, 21 Feb. 2020).

¹⁷⁰ ‘上海市人民政府外事办公室’ (上海人民政府); ‘友协概况’ (上海外办, 21 Aug. 2019).

¹⁷¹ ‘领导名单’ (上海外办); ‘上海市外办主任张小松一行来皖调研’ (安徽外办, 12 Mar. 2021).

¹⁷² ‘张小松’ (上海外办, 24 Sep. 2018). The PAFFC’s chair, Sha Hailin 沙海林, has held senior party and government posts in Shanghai, including those of UFWD head and deputy chair of the city’s People’s Congress (‘沙海林辞去上海市人大常委会副主任职务’ (中国经济网, 26 Jan. 2021); ‘杨会长会见上海友协会会长沙海林和上海市外办主任张小松’ (上海国际战略问题研究会, 6 Mar. 2021)). He was also ambassador to Ireland. Cf. ‘Chinese Ambassador pays tribute to UCD’s strong links with China’ (University College Dublin, Oct. 2005); ‘Text of the introductory address delivered by Dr Michael Murphy, President, University College Cork, on 3 June 2011, in University College Cork, on the occasion of the conferring of the Degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, on Sha Hailin’ (National University of Ireland).

¹⁷³ Cf., e.g., their separate leaders as of 1998, or as of 2010: ‘周明伟’ (复旦大学); ‘市侨办是市政府一个职能部门...’ (上海侨办, Jul. 1998); 李淑平, ‘60岁上海外事办主任李铭俊出任中欧国际工商学院院长’ (澎湃新闻, 17 Mar. 2015); ‘上海市人民政府侨务办公室’ (国侨办, 4 Mar. 2010).

¹⁷⁴ ‘组织机构’ (山西外事网).

¹⁷⁵ ‘武绍忠在吕梁市调研’ (山西外事网, 5 Jun. 2020); ‘英国驻华使馆参赞一行访晋’ (山西外事网, 26 Mar. 2021).

¹⁷⁶ ‘省外事工作会议召开, 去年“朋友圈”再扩大——新增友好城市7对友好合作伙伴38对’ (山西日报 via 孝义市人民政府, 18 Apr. 2019).

¹⁷⁷ ‘山西省台办、山西省港澳办致在晋港澳台同胞的公开信’ (山西晚报 via Sohu, 4 Feb. 2020).



Comments

While the PAFFC is subordinate to the FAO, their known leaders appear to have full-time PAFFC positions without other concurrent roles within the FAO.¹⁷⁸

A.26 Sichuan Province



Figure 9: Czech communist leader Vojtěch Filip and presidential advisor Jan Kohout arrive in Chengdu, to be received at the airport by FAO deputy director Zhang Yechu 张业初, Jan. 2019.¹⁷⁹ Source: 四川外办.

The FAWC Office / FAO also has an HKMAO nameplate.¹⁸⁰

Leadership

Cui Zhiwei 崔志伟 is the party group secretary and director of the FAO and the HKMAO.¹⁸¹

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in late 2018, officially hanging its nameplate at the UFWD in December.¹⁸² The 2019 final accounting report of the FAO confirms the change is effective by 2019.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ ‘山西省人民对外友好协会’ (山西外事网, 10 Nov. 2020). The PAFFC secretary-general, previously posted to diplomatic missions in Russia and Belarus, is described in two Russian sources as Shanxi FAO staff (‘Состоялись переговоры руководства МПГУ и членов правительства китайской провинции Шань-си’ (Московский педагогический государственный университет, 28 Aug. 2015); Николай Фильшин, ‘Кяхта и Пинъяо: от исторических связей — к деловым’, *Россия и Китай* 25 (2019), p. 21; cf. ‘驻白俄罗斯使馆举行中国留学生代表座谈会’ (驻白俄罗斯共和国大使馆, 5 Dec. 2007); ‘Владивостокскую биеннале поддержали иностранные дипломаты’ (PrimaMedia, 18 Sep. 2009)).

¹⁷⁹ On the circumstances of the visit, see Sinopsis & Jichang Lulu, ‘The importance of friendly contacts: The New Comintern to Huawei’s rescue’ (Sinopsis, 24 Jan. 2019).

¹⁸⁰ ‘四川省委外事工作委员会办公室挂牌’ (四川日报 via 新华网, 2 Dec. 2018).

¹⁸¹ ‘领导班子’ (四川外办); ‘四川省委外办崔志伟主任一行赴集团调研工作’ (四川省商业投资集团, 24 Mar. 2021).

¹⁸² ‘四川省侨务办公室正式挂牌文魁任四川省侨务办主任’ (国侨办, 3 Dec. 2018).

¹⁸³ ‘中共四川省委外事工作委员会办公室2019年部门决算编制的说明’ (四川外办, 2 Sep. 2020).



Comments

While the PAFFC maintains separate leadership from the FAO, it is housed at the same address.¹⁸⁴ Personnel connections also exist. The PAFFC's current full-time deputy chair's previous position was as the FAO.¹⁸⁵

A.27 Tianjin Municipality

The FAWC Office / FAO uses the HKMAO nameplate and manages the PAFFC.¹⁸⁶

Leadership

Luan Jianzhang 栾建章 is party group secretary and director of the FAO and the HKMAO.¹⁸⁷ While the PAFFC's last listed chair is a non-FAO city official, FAO Director Luan is its deputy chair.¹⁸⁸

Comments

The OCAO was separate from the FAO in Tianjin long before 2018.¹⁸⁹

A.28 Tibet Autonomous Region

The FAO (ཕྱི་དོན་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་) and FAWC Office (ཕྱི་འབྲེལ་ལས་དོན་ཁྱུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་གི་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་) might have preserved at least a nominal Hong Kong and Macao affairs portfolio even after the UFWD took over that nameplate in late 2018.

Leadership

Pema Yangdzom པལ་གཡང་འཛོམས་ 白曼央宗 is the FAO party group secretary and director.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴‘四川省人民对外友好协会组织机构’ (四川友协); ‘联系我们’ (四川外办, 20 Jul. 2015); ‘关于举行四川外事微信公众号服务供应商比选的公告’ (四川外办, 6 Jan. 2021).

¹⁸⁵‘四川省人民对外友好协会组织机构’, op. cit.; ‘四川13名干部任前公示: 周元军拟任省委巡视办专职副主任’ (四川在线, 2 Sep. 2016).

¹⁸⁶‘天津市人民政府外事办公室’ (天津外办); 魏彧 and 于春洋, ‘天津市委外事工作委员会: 服务外交工作大局建设开放合作高地’ (天津日报 via 人民网, 18 Mar. 2020); ‘天津市人民对外友好协会简介’ (天津外办).

¹⁸⁷‘栾建章任天津市外办主任李旭炎不再担任’ (中国经济网, 2 Dec. 2020); ‘领导信息’ (天津外办).

¹⁸⁸Ibid.; ‘天津市人民对外友好协会简介’ op. cit.; ‘金湘军任天津市委常委’ (中国经济网, 19 Jan. 2021).

¹⁸⁹Cf., e.g., its different directors as of 2001: ‘组织沿革’ (天津外办); 孙志民, ‘天津侨办主任张福林: 突出重点建设载体为侨服务’ (中新社 via 国侨办, 1 Feb. 2001).

¹⁹⁰‘外事办领导’ (西藏外办); ‘ཁོད་རང་སྤྱོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་འཐུས་ཚོགས་རྒྱུན་ལས་ཁྱུ་ཡོན་ཁྱུ་ཡོན་གྱི་བསྐོས་འཐེན་མིང་གི་ (མི་དམངས་ཁྲ་བ་, 2 Mar. 2017); ‘2021年全区外事工作会议在拉萨召开 自治区外办党组书记、主任白曼央宗作全区外事工作报告’ (西藏外办, 24 Feb. 2021).



Organizational changes

In November 2018, the TAR UFWD added OCAO (ཕྱི་ཕྱོད་རང་མིའི་ལས་དོན་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་) and HKMTAO (གང་ཁང་ཨའོ་མིན་ཐའི་ཕྱན་ལས་དོན་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་) nameplates.¹⁹¹ A comparison of the FAO's 2018 and 2019 final accounting reports points to the disappearance of the divisions for Overseas Chinese Affairs and the PAFFC. Overseas Chinese Affairs was also scrapped from the title of the office.¹⁹² On the other hand, the 2019 accounting report and parts of the FAO website updated after the reform still refer to the existence of an FAO Hong Kong and Macao division and portfolio.¹⁹³



Figure 10: TAR UFWD head Tenkho བཟུན་ཁོ་ 旦科 unveils HKMTAO nameplate, Nov. 2018. Source: 西藏日报 via 西藏统战部.¹⁹⁴

Comments

Before the reform, the FAO director represented the PAFFC (མི་དམངས་ཕྱི་ཕྱོགས་མཐའ་མཐུན་མཐུན་ཚོགས་) at an event in 2018.¹⁹⁵ It is unclear what has happened to the Association since.

¹⁹¹ ‘自治区宗教事務局 自治区侨務辦公室 自治区港澳台事務辦公室在拉萨挂牌’ (西藏日报 via 西藏统战部, 20 Nov. 2018).

¹⁹² ‘西藏自治区外事办公室2018年度部门决算’ (西藏自治区外事办公室, 21 Oct. 2019); ‘西藏自治区外事办公室2019年度部门决算’ (西藏自治区外事办公室, 9 Sep. 2020).

¹⁹³ Ibid.; ‘外事办内设机构’ (西藏外办, 11 Dec. 2018); ‘外事办简介’ (西藏外办, 22 Feb. 2021).

¹⁹⁴ For the identification of the official, cf., e.g., ‘བཟུན་ཁོ་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ཕྱི་ཕྱོགས་ཁྲི་ཁྲུག་ཞིག་ཞེས་པར་གསལ་བ་གདམ་བྱས་པ།’ (མི་དམངས་བླ་བ་, 16 Jan. 2017).

¹⁹⁵ ‘首届环喜马拉雅“一带一路”论坛活动成功举办’ (林芝市外办, 8 Oct. 2018); cf. ‘རྟི་མ་ལ་ཡ་སྐོར་བའི་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་ལས་གཅིག་མཉམ་ལས་བསྐྱོད་སྐབས་དང་ཕོ་ཉིང་ཁྱིམ་ནང་དུ་ཕྱི་ལ་བ།’ (མི་དམངས་བླ་བ་, 12 Sep. 2018); ‘尼泊尔中国喜马拉雅友好协会代表团访藏’ (西藏外办, 14 Sep. 2018).



A.29 Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

The FAO (تاشقى ئىشلار ئىشخانىسى) acts as FAWC Office and has Hong Kong and Macao affairs within its scope of responsibilities.¹⁹⁶

Leadership

Yao Jing 姚敬 is the FAO director, appointed in January 2021.¹⁹⁷ A deputy director, Chen Yishi 陈毅士, remained listed as party group secretary on the FAO website at the time of writing.¹⁹⁸

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in Xinjiang at the end of 2018. The FAO was formally established after institutional reform in November 2018.¹⁹⁹

Comments

While the PAFFC is described on an old page on the FAO website, it has shown little activity since 2018 and it is unclear who its current leaders are.²⁰⁰ A previous FAO director, Muzepper Mijit 穆扎帕尔·米吉提 served concurrently as PAFFC chair.²⁰¹

A.30 Yunnan Province

The FAWC Office / FAO has the HKMAO as a nameplate and manages the PAFFC.²⁰²

Leadership

The previous FAO / HKMAO party group secretary and director and PAFFC chair, Pu Hong 浦虹, left her post in February 2021.²⁰³ A replacement was not listed on the FAO's website at the time of writing.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁶ '新疆维吾尔自治区人民政府外事办公室2019年度部门决算公开' (新疆外办, 13 Oct. 2020); '港澳工作' (新疆外办).

¹⁹⁷ '姚敬任新疆外办主任' (中国经济网, 20 Jan. 2021). Eli Ablimit 艾力·阿不力米提 was director of the FOCAO as of early 2018. شىنجاڭ ئۇيغۇر ئاپتونوم رايونلۇق خەلق قۇرۇلتىيى دائىمىي كومىتېتىنىڭ (خەلق تورى, 30 Mar. 2015); '新疆外 (侨) 办主任: 做好新疆籍少数民族侨社团结工作' (中国侨网, 1. Feb. 2018). The FAO directorship may have been vacant for some time before Yao's appointment.

¹⁹⁸ '陈毅士' (新疆外办).

¹⁹⁹ '自治区自然资源厅等9个新组建部门挂牌' (天山网, 1 Dec. 2018); 'ناپتونوم رايونلۇق تەبىئىي بايلىق' (خەلق تورى, 3 Dec. 2018).

²⁰⁰ '新疆维吾尔自治区人民对外友好协会简介' (新疆外办, 13 Jun. 2008); '重走古丝路 奏响大合唱' 特别活动第四站: 丝路驿站·古道在乌鲁木齐市举办' (中国人民对外友好协会, 4 Sep. 2018).

²⁰¹ '穆扎帕尔·米吉提会长会见日本友人' (新疆外办, 30 Jul. 2013); for the Uyghur name, cf. ئۇيغۇر رايونىدىكى ھالقىما تەرەققىيات قۇرۇلۇش پىلانىنىڭ نەتىجىسى ھەققىدە مۇلاھىزە (RFA, 26 Jul. 2010).

²⁰² '云南省人民政府外事办公室' (云南外办).

²⁰³ '浦虹当选丽江市市长' (中国经济网, 6 Feb. 2021); '领导成员' (云南外办, archived 10 Nov. 2020).

²⁰⁴ '领导成员' (云南外办, archived 5 Apr. 2021).



Figure 11: Yunnan FAWC Office, FAO, HKMAO, Regional Cooperation Office (区域合作办公室)²⁰⁵ and PAFFC nameplates. Source: [Yunnan FAO](#).

Comments

The OCAO and FAO were separate long before 2018.²⁰⁶

A.31 Zhejiang Province

The FAO / FAWC Office uses the HKMAO nameplate, with Hong Kong and Macao affairs as a division.²⁰⁷ The FAO and PAFFC operate as a joint office (合署办公).²⁰⁸

Leadership

Jin Yonghui 金永辉 is the party group secretary and director of the FAO and HKMAO.²⁰⁹ A member of the FAO party group serves as the PAFFC's full-time deputy chair.²¹⁰

Organizational changes

The OCAO split from the FAO in Zhejiang by 2019. The 2019 final accounting report explains that expenditure and revenue are lower due to the transfer of diaspora affairs to the UFWD.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ On the Regional Cooperation Office, another FAO nameplate, see ‘[外办简介](#)’ (云南外办).

²⁰⁶ Cf., e.g., their leaders in the early 2010s: ‘[老挝政府向原云南省外办主任、云南省友协会长周红颁授老挝“友谊勋章”](#)’ (云南外办 via 景洪市人民政府, 20 Apr. 2019); ‘[王敏正任云南省农业厅厅长 李极明任省外办主任](#)’ (中国经济网, 30 Sep. 2016); ‘[云南省人民政府侨务办公室](#)’ (国侨办, 4 Mar. 2010).

²⁰⁷ ‘[港澳处](#)’ (浙江外办, 1 Jul. 2020).

²⁰⁸ ‘[浙江省人民对外友好协会简介](#)’ (浙江外办, 30 Jun. 2020).

²⁰⁹ ‘[金永辉](#)’ (浙江省人民政府外事办公室, 19 Jun. 2020); ‘[我办赴浙江省外办调研](#)’ (安徽外办, 23 Mar. 2021).

²¹⁰ ‘[连线静冈——浙江省友协与静冈县日中友好协议会举行视频会议](#)’ (浙江外办, 1 Apr. 2021); ‘[陈艳勤](#)’ (浙江省人民政府办公厅, 12 Jun. 2020).

²¹¹ ‘[2019年度浙江省人民政府外事办公室部门决算](#)’ (浙江外办, 31 Aug. 2020).