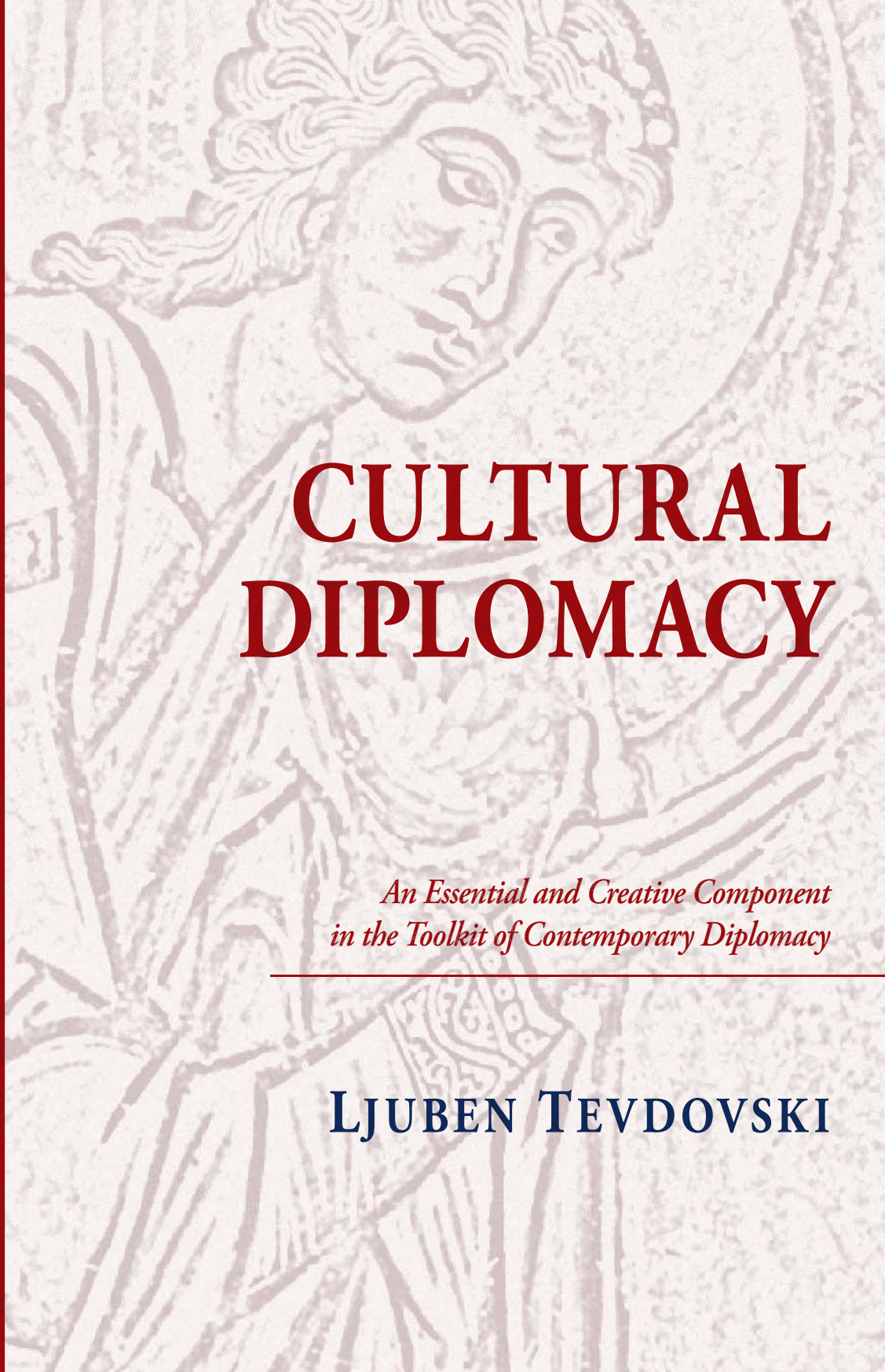
LJUBEN TEVDOVSKI • CULTURAL DIPLOMACY



CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

An Essential and Creative Component in the Toolkit of Contemporary Diplomacy

LJUBEN TEVDOVSKI

Ljuben Tevdovski

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Macedonian Information Centre

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An Essential and Creative Component in the Toolkit of Contemporary Diplomacy
Theoretical and comparative study with a special focus on Macedonia

Published by the Macedonian Information Centre
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CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

An Essential and Creative Component in the Toolkit of Contemporary Diplomacy

– Theoretical and comparative study with a special focus on Macedonia –

Ljuben Tevdovski, MA

Skopje,
December 2009

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Preface

The volume "Cultural Diplomacy" is a work by a Macedonian author, unparalleled on a global scale. It has been created over a period of two years, based on a vast bibliographical material of over a hundred and fifty most relevant world sources in the respective field.

This edition is only the first stage, which in the future, we believe, is going to become an ambassador of the Macedonian cultural thought through its numerous renditions into the world languages.

The strength of this volume rests with its blend of the theoretical postulates and the conceptual dimensions of the cultural diplomacy, its history and top achievements, the analyses of the national doctrines of countries of diverse profile and the attempts and strategies of the Republic of Macedonia that correspond to the principles of this world-prominent diplomatic tool.

In the volume's prelude, Mr. Tevdovski presents the highly dramatic and cyclic relationship between diplomacy and culture, approaching with his analyses the very frontiers of the philosophical, never losing, however, the rhythm of the exact and analytical method. This is only an introduction to the serious, theoretical analysis of the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy, viewed from various standpoints and perspectives and broken down to the finest conceptual and geo-political contours, as though prepared not for an anatomical undertaking but a process of utilization in stages.

Perhaps the most eminent aspect of this volume is its comparative analysis where the author's broad knowledge, scholarly criticism and narration gift become united in the most singular way and where, with laser precision and uniform confidence, Mr. Tevdovski's analyses shed light to the national contexts and the doctrines of the traditional Western super powers, the USA, France and the United Kingdom, the rediscovered on the international stage, Russia, China and India, the medium big, Brazil, Australia and Japan, as well as the smaller and smallest ones, such as South Korea, New Zealand, Singapore and many others.

Finally, in the last chapters of his volume, without any complex, extensively and strictly scholarly, Mr. Tevdovski discloses the cultural diplomacy of and in Macedonia. Regarding the Macedonian cultural diplomacy as being institutionally

in an early stage and still in the making, the author focuses chiefly on first-class individual accomplishments, the contribution of the cultural sector and the influence on the foreign policy and social development. He incorporates the conclusion of this segment of the volume into concrete analyses and recommendations, pointing out the remarkable capacity of the Macedonian society, which, with its immense cultural potentials, is being afforded a special opportunity to develop an authentic cultural diplomacy.

MIC has recognized in Mr. Tevdovski a highly educated and knowledgeable intellectual from Macedonia in the field of the most contemporary currents and theories of international relations and we consider the publication of his unprecedented analyses and works before the Macedonian and world public to be a unique contribution to the social debate, scholarly thought, cultural education and diplomatic practice.

The volume "Cultural Diplomacy" is a mini encyclopedia of a prominent cultural and political branch and with its publication MIC decided to promote further the work, analyses and extensive knowledge of this distinguished young intellectual from Macedonia, whose scholarly achievements are going to take Macedonia's scholarly thought to areas in which it has thus far been under-represented or absent.

December 2009

Dragan Antonov
Director,
Macedonian Information Centre

Introduction

'The goddess Athena, and her symbol, the olive tree, were the ultimate protectors of the ancient city of Athens, the strong rocky micro state on the edges of the Mediterranean Sea. The symbolic enemy of the goddess was Poseidon, the God of the sea, with its strong waves, that was bringing sea storms. This God was symbolizing the huge Mediterranean Sea, but also the Mediterranean region, strongly multicultural and interconnected, and once the only known global reality. The heroic fight was between the olive tree and the strong waves of the big Poseidon see.'

It seems that today, more than ever before, the olive trees[1] of the contemporary nations and states are stoutly fighting, against the strong waves of the globalizing sea. Their unique cultural values and traditions are maybe old trees on the rock, but they are the only guarantee that nations won't_be washed away by the new global cultural flood.

The new globalizing reality is constantly changing human knowledge, education, expressive culture and values. Thus, it threatens all forms of local and national cultures and identities, creating new cultural complexity and opening large space for cultural clashes around the world.

In reaction to these developments, many nations and states have decided to invest much in the preservation and development of their culture. They endeavor to present and propose their values, identity and aspirations, but in the same time to approach to the ideas, ideals and values of the others.

Therefore, culture today represents an inevitable aspect of contemporary international relations, while cultural diplomacy has become one of the most respected tools in the contemporary diplomatic strategies.

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[1] Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Farrar Straus Gioux, New York, 1999, 26-34. This mythological allusion is inspired by the theories of Thomas Friedman, who claims that most of the contemporary states today have built flexible models that constantly adjust 'between the forces of tradition and identity, represented by the olive tree and the drive 'for sustenance, improvement, prosperity and modernization' represented by the Lexus – the luxurious Japanese car.

These global developments were not unnoticed by the scientific community. Instead, many researchers have been exploring the vital importance of culture in different areas of society. Similarly, the role of culture in contemporary international relations, and especially cultural diplomacy, has been the topic of focused research in the past several decades. However, we are still lacking balanced studies that will try to connect the theory, comparative research and relevant case studies.

Therefore, the research question of this study is divided in three logical and methodological parts: theory of cultural diplomacy, a comparative study of contemporary cultural diplomacy and a case study of the Republic of Macedonia.

The first part aims to profoundly understand cultural diplomacy and extensively analyze the nature and potential of this diplomatic strategy. What is the relationship between culture and diplomacy? What are the diverse definitions of cultural diplomacy, their ranges and overlaps? If and why does it have an ambiguous character? Is it based in national or common interests of states? And how relevant is this strategy in different historical, social and political circumstances?

The next part of this thesis gives a comparative analysis of selected cases of national institutional structure regarding cultural diplomacy. It provides answers to the questions: why different states and governments have different understanding of the place that cultural diplomacy should take in their overall policy? How they choose their specific institutional approaches and the tools that make them operational? The approach taken is one of a cyclical interdependence: how policy defines institutional structure and *vice versa* how structure influences policy.

Finally, the paper explores the case study of Macedonia: how and why it can use culture as a successful tool in public diplomacy? Which should be its building blocks? What errors were made so far? What is the most adequate institutional approach taking into account the size, wealth, international position and specifics of the country? This part of the thesis analyzes the developments in a small country, with limited resources, that is in the beginning of the process of understanding the importance of cultural diplomacy and setting up institutions that should professionally work in this field. Therefore, I consider that this is an ideal example that conveys important conclusion and universally applicable solutions.

The importance of the research questions is portrayed throughout each part of the study. By proving the importance of cultural diplomacy the study seeks to support the claim that in the world of contemporary diplomacy culture is taking priority over the "traditional" diplomatic instruments. Thus, this thesis provides

substantial arguments for the importance and capacities of the strategies of 'soft power', suggesting them as relevant alternative in global politics. At the same time, introducing the experiences and policies of the Republic of Macedonia, this study might be looked upon as encouragement for many small and less developed states to urge efforts in the field of cultural diplomacy.

Part I. Theory of Cultural Diplomacy

1. CULTURE AS VEHICLE OF GLOBAL DIALOG

"Above all else is culture"

Zhuge Liang, famous Chinese Military advisor [2]

Culture is the absolute imperative of our lives, the lives of our communities, and the relations we have with the others. This thesis stresses the vital role that culture plays in contemporary international relations.

This first chapter, titled 'Culture a vehicle of global dialogue', aims to evoke some particular characteristics that reveal culture's importance in human interaction. Furthermore, this chapter gives a glance to the some particular dimensions, trends and aspects of culture that are of primary importance for the general topic of this thesis.

Finally, this chapter points out some of the important characteristics of culture that emphasize its importance for contemporary global relations, thus approaching towards more in dept discussion of the unique advantages of cultural diplomacy.

[2] Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, *Cultural Diplomacy The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy,* (U.S. Department of State, 2005), p.22.

1.1 Understanding Culture

> *"It is in the cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented."*[3]
>
> Report of the U.S. Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy

All people, nations, states and civilizations on this planet are linked with the word culture. This makes culture one of the most important and most universal words, symbolizing the mankind. This word, with its ambiguity and wide range, expresses, often at the same time, the over-all life of a social entity (community, nation, state, etc.) and the high-lights and universal values that such a society is producing and projecting.

While in the past, in many societies the main focus was placed on so-called 'high culture', closely related to the 'elites', contemporary trends and international standards based on the equality and basic human rights reinforce the notion of culture as basic right of all people.

Thus, today no one doubts that the development of art, drama, poetry, sculpture, theatre, music and many creative and scientific inventions, owes much to the privileged sponsors and rulers from the past, as do many contemporary nations and civilization itself. Neither geometry, nor the pyramids would be born without the pharaohs, nor could Christian art blossom through Europe without Charlemagne, nor would the ingenious art and science of Leonardo da Vinci, be the same without the support of the French king Francois I.

Yet, these recognized highlights of particular cultures are no longer the only legitimate representation and representatives of the culture of a particular society. Today, the wider anthropological understanding of culture incorporates a broad range of religious, ethnic, political, and creative practices, characteristic of the life of the wider community, or a society. These involve the life and interaction of the people in the community, their diverse personal beliefs and identities, as well as their social status, region, class and gender. Thus, for contemporary anthropologists and ethnologists the 'pottery culture' of the people of Ancient Greece and Egypt, their art, trade, or burial customs, is as engaging, subtle and complex as the temples and sphinxes of their rulers.

The frames of such understanding of culture are reflected in the United Nations' 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its' Article 27(1) states that:

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[3] Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, *Cultural Diplomacy The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy,* (U.S. Department of State, 2005), p.1.

"Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits."[4]

These and similar definitions have stretched even more the term and understanding of 'culture', towards the sociological construct 'culture of living'. Thus, the paradigm 'culture of living' today occupies the diverse social layers, such as science, religion, sports, and popular culture, as well as with the more traditional fields of culture, such as: the performing and visual arts or heritage.

Another strong ambiguity connected with the phenomenon of culture, and its nature, is related to the nationalistic and globalizing tendencies in this field.

While the phenomenon of 'national culture' represented dominating component and powerful interface of culture in the ninetieth and twentieth century, the new globalizing trends have massive socio-cultural implications, that impose new criteria and boundaries in analyzing all contemporary cultural occurrences in national and international contexts.

Thus, while nationalists, cultural or philosophical, ideological or political, are still claiming that the nations and so-called national cultures are deeply rooted fundaments of the world and their origin can be traced in the indefinite past,[5] the critics and skeptics of the concept of national culture are accusing that this concept is overvalued, outmoded and unneeded.

Despite their differences in understanding of national culture, most analysts agree that cultural globalization is seriously challenging national cultures. According to such analyses, the cultural globalization, together with the international norms and regulations, and the global mass and popular culture are seriously overarching the national states and their policies. Therefore, today, the national culture supported strongly via the regulatory and the socializing institutions of the national-states, in particular, the law, the education system and the media,[6] has to compete with the strong concurrence of the protagonists of globalization, like the global mass media, international corporations or big universities.

Finally, the newest developments in the increasingly vibrant and complex societies, with varying and interconnected social strata are breaking through borders and barriers of elite and popular, national and international culture, thus making these historical polarities outmoded and many times irrelevant in the contemporary context. The democratization of the societies, and the artistic space, the mass media and mass culture, have brought so much overlap and complexity, that very few scholars, analysts, or critics dare to draw sharp borders between

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4 Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p.16.

5 John R. Gillis, ed. *Commemorations, The politics of national identity*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994).

6 Ibid.

cultural categories, such as: 'folk' or 'elite', 'high' or 'popular', and even between stereotypes, such as 'national' and 'universal'.

Therefore, the 'culture of living' in many societies today represents a vivid mixture of livelihood, institutionalized, virtual and digitalized creative experiences, involving established and popular culture, heritage and modern trends, and their perception through personalized and collective mindsets. Reflecting upon these new realities, "United Nations declarations and UNESCO accords memorialize this modern sense of 'culture' as a multifaceted reflection of a nation's character."[7]

1.2 Culture as vehicle for global dialogue

> *"Artists are the world's most expressive people… These are the people – who think, who feel for all of us who are less articulate, who speak for the millions and millions of people and for their feelings and for their thoughts. So we desperately need to harness the energy of these people and to get them to address the serious, horrible issues that are facing us as a people and the peoples of the world in general."*[8]
>
> Bill Gilcher, Director of Electronic Media Projects for the Goethe-Institut locations in North America

In the process of constantly increasing global interaction and communication, the conserved values of local, national or other cultures are many times perceived as destructions for the global interaction or reasons behind global mistrust, misunderstandings, clashes and conflicts. Many have tried to avoid them, some suggested that people forget them and others liked the idea to replace them with the artificial cosmopolitan theory.

Nevertheless, conventions and values, beliefs and ideas of nations and people have proven to be stronger than any temporary interaction, new challenges or developments. All these processes actively influence, transform and merge cultures, but they cannot reject or forget them.

Instead, the colorful background of cultures, that has shaped societies, institutions, states and mindsets, is the personal and collective identity that all nations and people carry with them in any form of interaction. Embedded in the

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[7] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p.2.

[8] Report of a panel discussion, May 17, 2004, *Art as Diplomacy: 21st Century Challenges*, (U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC).

laws and morality upon which people live, culture shapes the communication and becomes its very pattern. It is through their learned manners and morality that people listen, judge, and converse. This cultural matrix is the essence of 'who people are', their first tool for self-representation, and the unique message and energy that they are passing to the others.

Furthermore, all cultures are products of long-lasting internal dialogue and mutual compromises inside particular communities and groups. As such they are more rooted in dialogue than in conflict. Thus its very nature bears the characteristics of previous and actual social interactions and compromises, and therefore has capacities to embrace and promote the international dialogue as well. It represents creative and democratic force and capacity that should not be avoided, but rather shared. Energy, with which we can inspire each other and create new, shared values and identities.

Secondly, the presence and exposure of culture, understood in a narrower artistic connotation, both 'high' and 'popular', is usually connected to aesthetic experiences of senses and mind. This interpersonal link between a painter, performer or musician and the audience-person transmits emotions equally with ideas. The author converses through the personal equilibrium of beliefs in values, symbols and identities, and doubts, in the personal identity, stands, class and society. The arts and other expressive layers of culture are not preaching, but engaging. They represent an open heart, and open system, asking for opinion, help, compassion and companionship from the audience they approach. This is why, interaction and dialogue through culture, is unique tool for de-stigmatization, de-stereotyped understanding and appraisal and deeper and long-term appreciation. Altogether, culture represents a unique and assembling medium for exposition and explanation, for dialogue and debate.

Therefore, people that understand and embrace the real democratic, multifaceted, dynamic, and integrative nature of culture, suggest that in any context it might, instead of a problem, represent the solution itself.

Finally, such broad understanding of culture, its sharing, and common enjoying and employing of the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills, that reflect the culture of individuals, groups and communities, promotes the global respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. Therefore, the cultivation of such multilayer interaction among people and nations that embraces and compliments their diverse identities, and specific responses in relation to environment, nature and history, has the capacity to promote and sustain sincere and profound global dialogue.

2. INTRODUCING CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

The second chapter of this thesis aims to draw all the necessary lines, borders and sketches in order to best define and visualize the cultural diplomacy. Nonetheless, this chapter does not just list the nomenclatures and verbal constructs, as characteristic for the defining procedure, but rather introduces the concept, through elaborating its diverse aspects and the related areas.

This part of the thesis involves an extensive overview of the developing relations between culture and diplomacy, following the highlights and processes. It also presents the terms, activities, goals and strategies characteristic for the cultural diplomacy.

Additionally, the chapter opens two of the most important issues for the future of cultural diplomacy. Through comparing it with the related Public diplomacy, the essay presents the strongest points, characteristics and uniqueness that make cultural diplomacy an irreplaceable tool of contemporary diplomacy.

Finally, the chapter argues the impacts and importance of the cultural diplomacy for the national interests of the contemporary nations, thus entering in the challenging discussion it this tool of national interests can equally and simultaneously serve for the common interest and benefit of different nations.

2.1 Culture and Diplomacy

> *"The practice of cultural relations has traditionally been close to diplomacy, although is clearly distinct from it, but recent developments in both fields now reveal considerable overlap between the two concepts."*[9]
>
> Jan Melissen

Culture and diplomacy have a long and lasting line of coexistence and collaboration. These two phenomena are based in dialog and they represent the need of people and nations to understand each other. Furthermore, both culture and diplomacy have ability and tradition to represent people and nations, as well as their interests, appearances, attitudes, and the languages they speak. Therefore, history presents many cases of overlaps and interrelations in these fields.

[9] Jan Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, (Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, The Hague, May 2005), p.19

All their Yesterdays…..

Culture has been inevitably present and played active role from the very beginnings of the interaction among the nations and states. The mutual gifts among the ancient rulers, statuettes or shiny medals, books or other rare artifacts, were gestures of respect and appreciation. In the same time, they represented deliberate exposure of the culture of states and rules, speaking about their wealth and values. Through history, from votive offerings to the Delphi Oracle, to the mutual gifts among the British royalties and the Chinese dignitaries[10], arts and other forms of expressive culture represented crucial component in maintaining foreign relations of the states.

The mixed marriages among the royal families of neighboring and different states, in the ancient and medieval period, were practices of building strong and lasting trust and good relations. In many cases, the foreign queens were among the first institutionalized lobbyists and cultural ambassadors of their nations.

Thus, Olympia, the mother of Alexander the Great, princess of ancient Epirus and queen of ancient Macedonia, helped the amazing spreading of the cults and beliefs of her native nation in Macedonia. As a direct result of that effort, she managed to transform the nature of relations between the two ancient states, from temporary political coalition to centuries-lasting alliance of the two nations. Later in history, Catherine the Great, one of most prominent queens of Russia, originally being German princess, has westernized and Europeanized Russia and the Russian society more than anyone in the history.

Artists, musicians, scientists and intellectual, were influencing their societies though history, but also helped and supported their states in presentation and speeding of their culture, as well as influence and concrete political interests. Many of them were unofficial lobbyist, while others have chosen to act as official envoys and diplomats. Aristotle, one of the greatest philosophers of all times, was lobbyist of the Macedonian interests in Athens, while Rubens, one of the shiniest names in the art history, was court artist and one of the most important and influential ambassadors of the Holy See.

On the other hand, with the further development and institutionalization of diplomacy in the seventeen and eighteen centuries, the first professional diplomats, themselves, were people of art and culture, people with knowledge of culture, languages and manners, and people intermingling in the artists' and intellectuals' circles.

[10] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p.22

All other todays…

Later on in history, the democratization and decentralization processes in the societies and states, and on global level, brought multilayer and much more complex relationships both in the field of culture and the in diplomacy, as well.

Thus, the democratization processes in the societies and politics, lead towards wider representation of people through municipal and regional authorities, co-governed public institutions, powerful companies, and diverse forms of civic organization. In the same time, the culture itself has become tremendously complex. Driven by the vivid nature of modern societies, not just arts and folklore, but also urbanism and design, fashion and cuisine, and all aspects of human existence have become extremely artistic and expressive.

In addition, the diplomacy itself has modernized and decentralized. These days, diplomacy is done through diverse ministerial cabinets, professional diplomats collaborate closely with professionals in other fields, and the business and civic sector, academia and media, are equal and respected partners.

The nations and states, their culture and aspirations, are represented by all these factors, and their sometimes coherent and other times disperse relations.

At the present moment, the cyber space, global television channels, music and sports are the most important avenues of culture and dialogue. This virtual universe shapes both perceptions and dreams of people and decision makers. This is why, experts suggest that culture should not be perceived as subordinate[11] or constructive element of diplomacy, but rather as its' basic operating context[12].

Today, the new rulers of the world are the people themselves. Through their governments, city councils, professional institutions of culture, local and national museums and galleries, but also through foundations, NGOs, as well as in their professional and business environment, they exchange their symbols, energy, believes, experiences and enjoyments.

Therefore, in the urge to represent this complexity of peoples' interests and aspirations, governments, think-tanks, businesses and media, support each other. The presentation of the energy and particular messages of different nations, are equally carried by political leader, diplomats and cultural attachés, and corporations' social and image strategies, ideological movements and religious leaders. The new interconnected world is full with the diversities of cultures, values and energies of nations and people.

Finally, this new complex nations are still urging to present and propose their values, identity and aspirations, but in the same time to approach to the ideas, ideals and values of the others. Sometimes they enter in dialogues and debates, other

[11] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p.20.

[12] Ibid.

times, they just inspire each other. But, there are times when they misunderstand and misinterpret each-others' messages and clash badly. This is why, culture and diplomacy have crucial role in these relations, their work and many times common efforts carry great responsibility for the future of all nations and people in the world.

2.2 Defining Cultural Diplomacy

> *Diplomacy is gardening*[13]*—"You get the weeds out when they are small. You also build confidence and understanding. Then, when a crisis arises, you have a solid base from which to work".*[14]
>
> *"The role of cultural diplomacy is to plant seeds—ideas and ideals; aesthetic strategies and devices; philosophical and political arguments; spiritual perceptions; ways of looking at the world—which may flourish in foreign soils."*[15]

Culture represents an essential tool of contemporary diplomacy and an inevitable aspect of international relations. This fact is recognized and appreciated by the huge majority of states, today much more than ever before.

Nonetheless, very few states have managed to master effective, coherent and lasting public policies in this field. The fact that Cultural Diplomacy has always been in the middle way between culture and diplomacy, between public and private, and between promotion and abuse of culture, has made the efforts diffused, hesitant and accidental and results less tangible.

Cultural diplomacy was strongly developed in the ninetieth century by the imperial powers, mostly involving artistic and cultural exchanges with the elites in the colonies, with aim and capacity for influence and soft acculturation. Later on, with the development of the technologies for mass communication, and the faster and more intensive interaction among masses, the Cultural Diplomacy found its place as important facet of wider field of activities and strategies, cold Public Diplomacy.

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[13] Speech of Secretary of State George P. Shultz, quoted in the Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, *Cultural Diplomacy The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy,* (U.S. Dep. of State, 2005), p.7.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, *Cultural Diplomacy The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy,* (U.S. Dep. of State, 2005), p.7

In such constellation Cultural diplomacy was defined as, cultural and educational aspect of public diplomacy, with emphases on "exchanges of persons and ideas that directly involve a relatively small number of people and are concerned with promoting long-term mutual understanding between peoples."[16] This, in comparison with information diplomacy, the second component of the Public Diplomacy, that involved more immediate reactions and responses on policies, and information spreading to mass population.

This position of Cultural diplomacy in the diplomatic practice of some states has coined the stereotyped and "conventional definition" from the Cold war period, as, "government-sponsored broadcasting, educational exchanges, cultural programming, and information or knowledge flow."[17]

Today, the powers and processes of globalization have gave now glance and importance to the phenomenon of Cultural diplomacy. The massive proliferation of popular and mass culture and the global cultural flow and impact through the mass media, made the definition of Cultural diplomacy, as involving elites or small numbers of people, totally outmoded and unacceptable. In the same manner, the active role that corporations and non-for-profit organizations play today in promoting and projecting the values, images and perceptions of a state, has broaden the understanding of both cultural interactions and cultural diplomacy. The new commercial needs, for branding of the massive cultural exports, as well as the strength and capacity of the national philanthropic and civic movements, has transformed the traditional government-sponsored activities as small facet of the New Cultural diplomacy.

Finally, some more current and accurate definitions tend to represent the place and role of cultural diplomacy in contemporary conduct of international relations, reflecting also upon the wide-ranging activities and capacities, as well as the multi-layer structure of actors, and shared responsibilities.

In those and such understandings, "Cultural diplomacy is a domain of diplomacy concerned with establishing, developing and sustaining relations with foreign states by way of culture, art and education. It is also a proactive process of external projection in which a nation's institutions, value system and unique cultural personality are promoted at a bilateral and multilateral level."[18]

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[16] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p.1.

[17] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), Overview.

[18] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p.1.

This New Cultural diplomacy have important role for the cultural, political and strategic interests of the states aiming to "to produce understanding that goes beyond stereotyped images and to mold perceptions in a favorable way."[19]

2.3 Cultural versus Public

> *"Rather than pushing a message out . . . you can't tell people how good you are; you have to show them."*[20]
>
> Paul de Quincey, Director of British Council-Paris

Defining Cultural Diplomacy has shown to be difficult and complex process. Academic researches and analyses in the field are rather descriptive, with very few having prescriptive or visionary character. It looks like the needs for and practices of cultural diplomacy, and its importance in global relations, are quicker than their theoretical and conceptual framing.

Nevertheless, understanding and clearing of the 'unique way' and approach of cultural diplomacy and the kinds of measures that it implies, is unquestionably needed and it will considerably help the everyday work of practitioners and the wider diplomatic system. Furthermore, without having comprehensible methodologies, targets and scope, practitioners will end up doing a little bit of everything, and not having any measurable and tangible effects or results.

One way forward in this needed fine-tuning and understanding of Cultural diplomacy is though drawing visible borders between this creative concept and the related terms and fields. Thus, clearing the blur borders between cultural and public diplomacy will help the better understanding of each of these concepts, as well as their relation and compatibility.

Generally speaking, public diplomacy is one of the most related, clearly overlapping and usually confused fields with cultural diplomacy. This wide concept was for decades overarching and absorbing the cultural diplomacy, incorporating also strategies in other fields, like informing and information strategies, as well as health care and community and economic development, and other activities beyond the cultural realm.[21]

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[19] Ambassador K.K.S. Rana, quoted by Ambassador *P.S.Sahai, in extracts from the presentation at the India-Singapore Colloquium Feb. 26-27, 2002.*

[20] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, 2007, John Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,(*Demos, London), p.25.

[21] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p.1.

Nonetheless, the massive cultural interaction in expressive life, heritage and values, the wide appeal of commercial culture through mass-media and global markets, and the appearance of intensive and diverse cultural collisions on all levels of communication, have brought the culture in the focus of all international strategies, and all public diplomacy interventions.

As a result of such development, many experts suggest that the "New Public Diplomacy"[22] should be based on culture, and that cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy, in such case, are just different nomenclature for the same practices.

Nonetheless, other experts and analysts today are going further, saying that cultural diplomacy is much more, or even something different from public diplomacy.

Thus, according to such theories, 'public diplomacy' aims to inform and build understanding. On the other hand, the cultural expositions and explanations of the 'cultural diplomacy', are accomplishing those two goals, in the same time providing space for dialogue and debate.[23] This is why, 'cultural diplomacy' does not clash with audiences that understand our values and ideas, but do not cherish them. These profound effects of cultural diplomacy are making it irreplaceable tool for transforming the global cultural clashes into cultural dialogue. Moreover, these effects are further articulated through some novel and distinctive concepts and methodologies that might diverge and diversify cultural form public diplomacy.

Thus, while "Public Diplomacy has narrower focus on projecting the national interests, as perceived by the Government of the Day,"[24] Cultural Diplomacy projects the diverse culture of the whole nation. Thus, Cultural diplomacy promotes the spirit, ideas and ideal of the nation, in the same time promoting openness and diversity. The audience is given opportunity, to entirely disagree with the policies of a state, and still appreciate, cherish or enjoy segments of its culture.

Furthermore, the cultural appeals of cultural diplomacy are randomly affecting large masses of people. Audiences trawl in the cultural diversity exposed and the diversity trawls for them. This open concept is much more integrative and powerful in contemporary realities, than the approach of public diplomacy that targets groups and decision makers, trying to impose viewpoints.

In addition, the common cultural experiences supported through cultural exchanges and other aspects of Cultural diplomacy, endow friendship, dialog and mutuality, thus building long-lasting bridges among nations and among concrete people.

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[22] Jan Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, (Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, The Hague, May 2005), p.25.

[23] Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007.

[24] P. S. Sahai, Globalization, *Cultural Diplomacy and the Indian Ocean: An Indian Perspective*, (Presented -Intern. Conference of Indian Ocean Research Group, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2002), p.9.

Finally, if the aim of 'soft power'[25] is about 'winning hearts and minds'[26] it looks like that public diplomacy has been more focused on the minds and Cultural Diplomacy has found its domain in people's hearts[27].

Maybe in reaction of these developments the inventor of the concept of 'soft power' Joseph Nye will declare that: *"Cultural diplomacy is a prime example of "soft power" or the ability to persuade through culture, value, and ideas… "*[28]

Concluding upon this broad comparison, one can state that Cultural and Public diplomacy are related, they are evolving continuously from each other, and are still overlapping in different points. Nonetheless, Cultural Diplomacy brings many remarkably original and novel understandings, strategies and methodologies, thus representing unique and irreplaceable asset in contemporary diplomatic toolkit.

2.4 Common or National Interest

> Cultural diplomacy, is aptly described as "*the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding*"[29],
>
> explains the prominent US expert in the field, Milton C. Cummings.

This form of mutuality is strongly supported point by many theorists and practitioners of cultural diplomacy. In addition, the contemporary trends and trendy words, like intercultural dialog, connected with multiculturalism and cosmopolitism, are catchy for people of culture, and especially for those strongly exposed to international experience.

Furthermore, the mutuality, practiced through numerous exchanges of young people, art and other professionals, intellectuals, scientists and academics was and remains in the core of the work of cultural diplomacy. In the same time, it represents a proven model that fosters profound and lasting relations among

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[25] Joseph S. Nye, concept elaborated in "Soft Power" Foreign Policy, autumn 1990.

[26] Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 19, also used as common phrase in other analyses on 'soft power' cultural diplomacy, and related…

[27] P. S. Sahai, Globalization, *Cultural Diplomacy and the Indian Ocean: An Indian Perspective*, Presented -Intern. Conference of Indian Ocean Research Group, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2002.

[28] Joseph S. Nye, concept elaborated in "Soft Power" Foreign Policy, autumn 1990 and Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004).

[29] Milton C. Cummings, Jr. Ph.D., *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey*. Center for Arts and Culture, 2003.

nations and people. This model provides, in long range, results for the nations practicing cultural diplomacy, as well as results in fostering global understanding, peace and security.

Nevertheless, while professionals in the field are proud of their successful initiatives, breakthroughs and cultural interventions, many laymen, politicians, and, in many cases, governmental representatives, are wondering what the overall cost-benefit of this concept is.

Thus, one of the pillars of US and global security, the former US Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, very sharply, openly and honestly stated that "he did not understand the concept of 'soft power'".[30] Thus, he strongly challenged all those that actively work and contribute in the fields like, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, as well as those working on public relations and national branding.

This proven professional and many other serious and responsible politicians have reasonable doubts. They are asking if American, British or Indian tax-payers should spill over big amounts from their nation wealth, to foster understanding, or to make unsuccessful attempts for it, with fifty or one hundred ninety two states, and even more nations around the world.

Furthermore, they are seriously questioning, if this model, that spends serious amounts from the public founds, is effective and sustainable in the vivid, and frequently and rapidly changing global realities. Consequently, inquiring if such activities and strategies are seriously rooted in the national interests of their countries.

As a result of this thinking discourse, theorists and supporters of the concept of cultural diplomacy, but even more, the practitioners, diplomats, artists and public and private institutions, were obliged to give some relevant answers. Namely, they had to explain, if they ask for public money, resources and attention for altruistic and subjective goals of world peace and understanding, or they are loyal professionals and public servants, working for the national interest of their countries.

Answers to such challenge have appeared to be numerous, deeply rooted in theory and practice and strongly supported by the recent developments. Reacting in support of the concept of cultural diplomacy, its effectiveness, as well as defending the concept from budgetary and personal reductions, many professionals and academics have strongly stressed and extensively exposed the importance of cultural diplomacy for the national interests of the country.

Thus, international relations scholar Rajan Menon stresses that: "*Few Americans appreciate the degree to which knowledge about American culture, whether acquired*

[30] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, 2007,John Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London), pp.15-16.

by participating in our exchange programmes, attending our cultural presentations, or simply listening to the Voice of America, contributed to the death of communism."[31]

Of course, this picture is not complete, if we do not stress that the extremely competent work of the United States Information Agency (USIA), was seriously supported, especially in the fifties, by the work of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in this and related fields.[32]

These convincing arguments are strongly speaking that, apart from the vivid political conversations about the role of 'soft power'[33] and cultural diplomacy, these concepts have proven to be great asset for the states' interests, especially through hard times.

Apart from the direct and largely exposed benefits to the political goals and strategies, cultural diplomacy has proven to be key asset in the wider overall development of the states, societies and national economies. Thus, according to the political analysts, but also many statistical and economic experts, cultural diplomacy and well governed international relations in the field of culture, promote the general image of the country, attract foreign direct investments, tourists and student, and sell the products, especially cultural ones that are, alone, not a minor business nowadays.

Finally, understanding and appreciating the benefits that cultural diplomacy makes for the state and its national interest, we are confronting with the issue of its real nature. Questions arise if it is another doctrine for reaching one-sided national goals and aspiration, or it is tool for mutuality, understanding and common interest.

Probably the most authentic and optimistic answer to such reservations is one observation of the big US statesman, Thomas Jefferson. In his prophetic letter, written in Paris more than two hundred years ago, he finds not just the balance of national and common interests, but also their compatible and aligning nature.

He says: "*You see I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object is to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile to them the respect of the world and procure them its praise."*[34]

In conclusion, we can just say that cultural diplomacy involves and works for both national and mutual interest of states. Its practice in different countries, times and circumstances, is predetermined both by its agents and their contributors, and as such it makes different balances between national and common. Nonetheless, the

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[31] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 30.

[32] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 6.

[33] Joseph S. Nye, concept elaborated in "Soft Power" Foreign Policy, autumn 1990.

[34] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J.Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p. 15.

involvement of culture, and the 'ways of culture', makes the global communication more honest and more human, more near to the hearts of people, and thus more near to all of their dreams and aspiration.

3. THE HISTORY AND OPERATIONAL CONTEXT

This final chapter of the First part of this thesis aims to give a lucid overview of the history and operational context of cultural diplomacy. This chapter offers the most realistic, down-to-earth, image of cultural diplomacy through its understanding and practice in concrete historical and social circumstances.

The aim is to build a more profound understanding of the position of cultural diplomacy and its relation to the general political developments. As we can see below, cultural diplomacy, as known and practiced in the twentieth century, is a phenomenon mainly inspired but the traditions of Western societies, and a tradition that inspires them for their future relations and development. Finally, the chapter spreads light of the future cultural diplomacy, which has to embrace the diverse traditions, heritage and developments around the globe, if it aims to remain relevant for the global future.

3.1 The Dawns

The root of cultural diplomacy can be tracked far back in history and found in different forms and appearances of cultural exchanges and cultural relations. Nonetheless, the most relevant pre-determining factors for the strong development and importance of cultural diplomacy in the twentieth century are entrenched in the political realities, values, ideas, practices and needs of the societies in that period.

In this context, the bounding elements of the twentieth century cultural diplomacy should be tracked in the existing practices and doctrines of the imperial powers, and the intensive cross-cultural communications of people and societies in the beginning phases of globalization.

The cultural diplomacy, as known and used by the imperial powers, United Kingdom and especially France, was organized through cultural, artistic and educational exchanges between the colonizers and the colonized.

Certainly, the basic motives of such activities served to the needs of the empires, aiming to create their cultural realms, and elites that have shared values and ideals, sense of loyalty, and maybe even servile behavior.

Nonetheless, many of the methods and practices have shown to have exceptionally positive impacts, on the two sides, in development of the societies and personal development of their people. Thus, through the educational programs, many people from the colonized lands were educated in the most prominent school in the empires, and many of them have come back to build their

counties and societies. On the other hand, through these efforts, many scholars and academics from France, Great Britain and other imperial powers, were given great opportunities to travel through continents. Thus, they have enlarged and deepen substantially their research, and made scientific discoveries and breakthroughs of great important for the global civilization.

Finally, these cultural exchanges have changed many traditional values and understandings, and influenced the culture of living, and the arts. The massive cultural exchange and presence of new and unknown cultures had equally strong impact to the European societies, as it had in the colonized lands. The European culture, art and modernity, as well as many philosophical thoughts, were strongly influenced by creative impulses from the cultures of 'the new lands'.

The second branch, of the cultural diplomacy traditions, is the vivid private and civil life of many Europeans and Americans, during the end of ninetieth and beginnings of the twentieth century. The international engagement of the fraternal organizations, inspired and humanistic intellectuals and religious missions and missionaries, together with the independent projects of the universities and museums, were transforming the civil life in these societies, into vivid international and cross-cultural experience. Additionally, the business embraced the global opportunities, from cultural touring, visits and trips, to new working posts abroad, both in creative and other sectors.

Consequently, this whole corpus of private and civil engagements, out of the reach of governmental policies, was suggesting another layer and possibility, embedded in the strength of people to people contacts. All these international engagements of the people, gave a new aspect of the exposure and projection of the religious and secular traditions[35], national and local values of their native states.

Finally, this amalgam of the best traditions of the imperial cultural diplomacy, combined with the vigorous civil engagement of the privileged and independent citizens, was the formula used to invent the twentieth century Cultural diplomacy. This was their culture and their strength that many of the western societies wanted to share with the world, and they reached for them when it was most needed.

3.2 Culture and Freedom

These traditions of the western societies, upon which cultural diplomacy was created, were very diverse and even diverge in their tendencies and interests. They had independent paths of development, different motives and separates sources

[35] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002).

of funding. Nonetheless, in a certain point of history they have found common understanding and great need to unite and merge their efforts.

This point that have urged the unity was the strong weapon that has threatened both the dominant position of the old emperies, the United Kingdom and France, and even free nations like the USA, and the liberty of their citizens. It was called propaganda.

Represented by the 'great Goebbels Enlightenment' and Stalin's 'educational' Agitprop, the propaganda was the ultimate weapon of the German aggressive policy and the new Soviet revolutionary empire. It was an effective tool that was influencing the world and the West needed an adequate respond.

This respond of the Western societies was logically based on their strengths and traditions. Thus, the new, repacked and reinvented, Cultural Diplomacy was build upon the concepts and strategies of the existing cultural exchanges and vivid civil interactions. The wining components of such strategy, strongly emphasized by its protagonist, were the virtues of freedom and truth.

The role of the new Cultural diplomacy was, through the contacts, faces, actions, aspirations and dreams of the free artists, intellectuals, students and other citizens to present another face of the trough, and deconstruct the values of the totalitarian, and state-controlling societies. This is clearly stated in some of the mission-statements of the implementing agencies, established in this period, like 'The Truth will Triumph'.

This concept of Cultural Diplomacy was piloted before the Second World War, by the British and the Americans. In that period, the UK Government has establishment the independent governmental agency British Council, with offices around Europe and wider, while the US Department of State has established the Division of Cultural Relations[36], which initiated extensive exchanges with Latin American countries.

Furthermore, this same and verified concept was mastered and extensively exploited during the Cold War. Known, as cultural diplomacy, or cultural and educational aspects of the public diplomacy, this strategy was crucial element in the 'war for the hearts and minds'[37] on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

The typical activities of the Cold War Cultural diplomacy included cultural exchange programs, establishing libraries and cultural centers, radio broadcastings and exchanges of students, professional and citizens[38]. All this extensive activities were aiming to present to people the values on which the 'free world' was based.

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[36] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 5.

[37] Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 19, also used as common phrase in other analyses on 'soft power' cultural diplomacy, and related…

[38] Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007.

Thus, on the Soviet re-opening of the State Opera in East Berlin, the US government answered with the informal concept of "America House",[39] while on the glorious perfection of Bolshoi theater and Kirov ballet, the Americans answered with the music, known for its free improvisations and diverse rhythms – the African-American Jazz and Blues.

Finally in 'Free world' the free and independent Cultural diplomacy was confronted with relevant internal battles. From the period of the Second World War and the unsuccessful intentions to integrate the British Council to the Ministry of Information[40], responsible for propaganda, through the CIA sponsorships of Cultural exchanges, to the closing of the main agent of US Public and Cultural diplomacy, USIA, in the late nineties. It was a battle of the Cultural diplomacy theorists, professionals and agents, to explain that through serving the needs of daily politics they will lost their credibility, needed for their main goal of building long-term lasting relationships.

3.3 War of Ideas

The triumph of the West in the Cold War was celebrated as triumph of the Free world. This very fact tells much for the importance of the cultural and public diplomacy, as main promoters of the concepts of freedom and democracy.

Nonetheless, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the concept of cultural diplomacy was dropped too. Many scholars, and the developments themselves, suggested that in the united and globalizing world cultural diplomacy, and state interventions in cultural relations, were not required.

As a result of this thinking, many states from the western hemisphere have made serious administration reform, which included reduction of budgets and staff in the governmental departments and agencies for cultural diplomacy, or even their minimizing and ceasing. Their work as providers of free access to information, culture and knowledge spreading, was taken over by the global media, new information technology and cyber space. Thus, while the West won the Cold war, inside the Western societies the business sector won the war with the government in the field of culture.

Nonetheless, in a very short period everyone understood that this shift of agents in cultural relations was unsuccessful and even contra-effective strategy. The profit-oriented nature of the business sector has managed to alter the concept of exchange and mutuality, with the one-sided process of sale and profits.

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[39] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 5.

[40] British Council, history, http://www.britishcouncil.org/history, (accessed April 1, 2008).

These developments have produced a situation of cultural clashes and rejections, especially in countries with less competitive and state-subsidized business sector. Furthermore, the wide spreading misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the popular and mass culture are easily transformed into stereotypes, stigmatizing the whole complex of values, ideas and ideals coming from one nation. Thus, this popular libertarian understanding of the global cultural flow, has shown also its bad face and capacity to produce massive political clashes and long lasting cultural schisms that can seriously damage the relations among states and the wellbeing of their citizens.

Finally, it is clear today that, even the new multifaceted and proactive cultural relations between nations and people, have to be strategically moderated by the governments and cultivated in directions of mutuality and dialogue. This had lead to a process of re-actualization and rethinking of the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy in many countries around the world.

Part II. Comparative overview of Cultural diplomacy

1. CONTEMPORARY TRENDS THROUGH TERMS AND FRAMES

This first chapter of the Comparative part aims to broaden the understanding of cultural diplomacy, through comparisons of the terminology and institutional organization in different national contexts.

Its initial premise is that verbal and institutional framing exposes most accurately the concept and understanding of cultural diplomacy by different states and governments. This first chapter examines and exposes how different countries regard and refer to this phenomenon, but also what kind of institutional approach they have taken and which program tools are most present.

The text proposes that, the wording and verbal framing tell us a lot for the contemporary understanding and employing of the concept of cultural diplomacy. It also suggests that the strong presence of the very term in different countries and realities supports the thesis that the role and importance of cultural diplomacy has increased dramatically in the last decade.

On the other hand, through the assessment of the very practice of cultural diplomacy in different countries, the text identifies how institutional frames affect the shape of cultural diplomacy in national context, but it also speaks for the basic goals and aspirations of different nations, and the resources they use in the implementation of such strategies.

Finally, while the chapter provides significant comparative analyses in the field, it serves also as an introduction to the next chapters that provide substantial information on the cultural diplomacy of different groups of states, states and societies.

1.1 Definition of the terms - Cultural Diplomacy through national terminology and nomenclatures

Cultural diplomacy is known to the analysts and the scientific community around the world. Nonetheless, the official terminology of countries practicing cultural diplomacy varies drastically both in using of terms and in understanding the terms and their scope.

Thus, while many countries in different continents have developed and deepen comprehensive strategies in this field, only few use the exact term cultural diplomacy. In particular, the largest official use of the term cultural diplomacy can be followed in the practice of the French government.[41] It can be also tracked in the dossier and efforts of the US governments, but it has a narrower and different scope.[42]

On the other hand, many other governments use different nomenclature like, 'international cultural relations', 'international cultural policy', or just 'cultural exchanges'.[43] Thus one can generally claim that the term international cultural relations is much more wide spread,[44] and endorsed by numerous countries in different continents. As such, some analysts suggest that in a global and especially in a comparative context it is more appropriate to use this term.[45]

These different national nomenclatures, for more or less common philosophy and practices, are the result of the historical traditions, institutional frames and contemporary policies and priorities of the counties. Thus, the terminology tells us a lot a lot about the traditions in this field, but even more about the contemporary understanding, role, and priorities of cultural diplomacy in different national contexts.

For example, France has not much reformed the strong and successful concept of cultural diplomacy from the ninetieth century. A typical example for that is the Alliance Française, established in the ninetieth century, which still functions with full capacity and attentive and active support from the French government.

Thus, in the French context, 'cultural diplomacy' is unquestionably the only existing and clearly distinguished nomenclature that covers this field of governmental interventions. It is regarded as a corpus of activities and strategies that are integral and strongly linked part of the foreign policy, practiced by the diplomatic network, and serving the national interest. Strongly supported by the

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41 Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 9.

42 Ibid.

43 Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 9.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

institutions, done through the institutions, and financed by the government, in the French context cultural diplomacy represents diplomacy through culture.

On the other hand, the British concept of cultural diplomacy tends to represent a "stark contrast" to that developed by France[46]. The UK employs a decentralized model with strong and exceedingly independent cultural institutions and agencies. This model, entitled 'International cultural relations',[47] aims to accomplish strong global presence and interconnection with the others, thus imposing the values and ideas of the society it represents. This model, or at least the title, is followed by many counties in the former British realm, like Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Singapore, and partly in India[48]. Yet, the title 'cultural diplomacy' is still present in the nomenclature of analysts, professionals and the wider public in these countries, used simultaneously, or in explanation of the international cultural initiatives.

Some counties use the term 'International Cultural Policy'.[49] This noun represents the middle solution between cultural diplomacy and cultural relations. While it does not refer to the phenomenon as part of the diplomatic strategies, it clearly states that it represents a concrete, planed and financially supported public policy.

Additionally, if we follow the geographic outreach of such nomenclature, we can see that this term is usually used by EU countries, like Austria, Sweden or Netherlands.[50] This is connected, especially nowadays, with the new political realities in Europe. In the frames of European Union, where counties speak of common foreign and security policy and other forms of interaction in foreign policies.

Thus, the cultural field and cultural cooperation that is strongly developed in European dimensions, is not perceived as an entirely independent national agenda. In contrary, there are many European common programs and institutional frames that support the intercultural cooperation and exchanges on European level, and even there are people speaking of European cultural diplomacy[51]. In this context, different European nations are projecting their own policies in culture and cultural exchange that are connected and cooperating in the general frame.

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46 Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p. 63.

47 Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 9.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Sebastian Körber, J. Roth, Detlef Thelen, *Culture Report, Progress Europe*, Stuttgart, 2008, Edited by Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa) and Robert Bosch Stiftung, in cooperation with British Council Germany, Schweizer Kulturstiftung, Pro Helvetia and Stiftung für Deutsch-Polnische Zusammenarbeit.

In the same time, in different national contexts the term and frames of cultural diplomacy overlaps with another one - cultural exchange.[52] Thus, Japan extensively uses the terminology 'cultural exchange',[53] referring to the much wider field that covers different aspects and practices of cultural diplomacy.[54] While, in this context the formulation 'cultural exchange' has widely extended meaning far out of its conventional scope, in the U.S. case the phrase 'cultural diplomacy' is frequently used to explain the narrower field of cultural exchanges[55]. Some roots of such U.S. terminology can be traced in the active position of the business and civic sector in the international cultural relations of this country.[56] Thus, the additional interventions of the administration for focused support of exchanges of persons, is perceived as diplomatic strategy, and governmental facet of this wide-ranging field.

Finally, we should mention the changing trends in the terminology of cultural diplomacy. In the Cold war period, many scientists were making sharp distinctions between international cultural relations and cultural and educational aspects of public diplomacy.[57] Cultural diplomacy strategies and activities were framed in these two fields, but in many countries and contexts they were not united under one clear philosophy or the name cultural diplomacy.

In contrast to that, the new global realities have brought the "cultural problems"[58] in the focus of international relations and many analysts and practitioners have emphasized the role of a strongly profiled and substantially supported model of cultural diplomacy.

As a consequence, even the nomenclature shows these policy shifts, and countries that have different traditions are increasingly speaking in the terms of cultural diplomacy, emphasizing its importance in foreign policy and diplomatic strategies. For example, the House of Lords in the UK, had extensive debate on the strategies of cultural diplomacy[59], and many experts in U.S., are strongly emphasizing the concept, and even the U.S. administration, under the President George W. Bush, has come up with a lot of efforts and policies under the frame

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[52] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 9.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 9.

[56] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002.

[57] Jan Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, The Hague, May 2005.

[58] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 1.

[59] Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy on the agenda*, report from the Debate in the House of Lords, 7th March 2007.

and name of cultural diplomacy[60]. Additionally this discussion is wide opened in different continents and as a result the Council of Europe, has introduced the term Cultural diplomacy, concurrently to the more traditional nomenclature in this institution of International cultural relations[61]. As the quest for the real concept of cultural diplomacy continues, the naming and nomenclatures will continue to vary, thus revealing strongly these important policy shifts.

1.2 Institutional framework

The strategies and approaches of different states and governments, towards cultural diplomacy, are clearly shown through their institutional framing, organizing and coordination.

The authorities of the concrete institutions and ministries over these strategies and activities give concrete, updated and reality-based classification of cultural diplomacy in the overall planning and managing of the public policies of every state.

For the beginning, it is practical to open the basic question that many times bothers the analysts and practitioners, of whose domain cultural diplomacy really is. Is it an aspect of diplomatic strategies and practice, or it represents a subcategory of the overall governmental policies in the field of culture. The answer is somewhere in between, and maybe the best answer in based in the practices of different nations.

Thus, in a great majority of states cultural diplomacy, together with related fields and strategies, are part of the foreign policy, and is managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the appropriates Foreign policy Department of the national administration. While this model is wide spread, some of the most characteristic national cases presenting this situation are France and Austria[62].

In particular, in these two national realities the main institutions responsible for cultural diplomacy are the Foreign Ministries, and in Austria it is usually referred to as 'foreign cultural relations'[63]. While Austrian Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a main partner in collaboration with other federal departments,

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[60] U.S. Department of State, Mrs. *Laura Bush Launches "Global Cultural Initiative" to Enhance U.S. Cultural Diplomacy,* Media Note of the Office of the Spokesman, Washington, DC, September 25, 2006, http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/73078.htm, (accessed April 15, 2008) or Michael Z. Wise, *U.S. Writers Do Cultural Battle Around the Globe*, The New York Times, 2002.

[61] Compendium: Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, Council of Europe, www.culturalpolicies.net.

[62] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 11.

[63] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 11.

the French Foreign Affairs Ministry is even more exclusive. It integrates into its structure the Department for Cultural Cooperation and the French language (CCF).[64]

On the other hand, in most of the counties there is a strong cooperation in this field, between the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Culture[65]. This shared responsibility usually means that the Ministry for Foreign Relations is the main holder of official interstate communication in the field of culture, and even more on a multilateral level, while the Ministry for Culture takes charge both of cultural strategies and day-to-day cooperation.

However, even this very general frame is not a universal one, as in many countries the Cultural ministries have primacy in this field. This is the case in Hungary, where cultural diplomacy is managed mostly through the cultural ministry, except for the cultural attachés,[66] and also in Greece after the reforms in the year 2000.[67]

In conclusion of these disparities, it is adequate to claim that, despite of the many variations and different balances, the most generally spread and utilized model for managing cultural diplomacy is through collaboration of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs and Ministries of Culture.

Furthermore, this collaboration effort in many countries is strongly structurally supported by coordinative and cross-ministerial committees, like the Council of Swedish Promotion Abroad,[68] or the Australian International Cultural Council[69], as well as through non-ministerial independent and government-founded agencies, such as, the British Council, Alliance Française, or Dante Alighieri Society.

Even more, this presented complexity of actors and governmental stakeholders in the field of cultural diplomacy is not the full institutional and philosophical scope of this vivid concept. Thus, for instance, in the states where the Departments for Foreign relations are more closely related with economic and Foreign Trade departments, it is evident that the goals and strategies of cultural diplomacy are closely related to promotion of national products and support of export strategies. This involves overall branding strategies, and concrete strategies for promotion of cultural products of the particular country.

Cases like these are seen, for example, in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia and Department of Foreign Affairs and International

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64 Ibid., Appendix France, p. 2.

65 Ibid, p. 11.

66 *Compendium: Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, Council of Europe, www.culturalpolicies.net, http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/hungary.php?aid=1.

67 Ibid., http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/greece.php?aid=1.

68 Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, Ohio State University, 2003, Appendix Sweden, p. 3.

69 Ibid, p. 11.

Trade of Canada.[70] This kind of institutional arrangements loudly speaks for the overall priorities and understanding of foreign relations, and also implies some different emphases in the field of cultural diplomacy. Thus, in the Australian case the stated goals of cultural diplomacy are diplomatic and economic interests, with respectful emphases of promotion of Australian cultural products.[71] Similarly, in the case of Canada the economic interests are, together with global peace and security, among the main priorities, articulated as "prosperity and employment of Canadians".[72] Moreover, the trade focus and business interests would also be essential and inevitable standard for any serious analysis of the cultural diplomacy of United States,[73] United Kingdom[74] and many other counties.

More to the point, it is important to mention that in strong democracies based of the values of free-markets, it is not just that economic goals are stated in the overall concept, but also this imposes partnership and many times primacy of the business sector in the preparation and implementation of the cultural diplomacy strategies.

On the other hand, the national focuses and strategies in the field of culture and cultural policies are also strongly affecting the cultural diplomacy of many states. This is especially important in states where the cultural ministries are the main coordinator or creator of cultural diplomacy.

In these national contexts, important impacts and focuses are seen when culture is under jurisdiction of Ministry that covers also other fields like sport, youth, education or religion. Such cases, for example, are present in the governmental structures of Japan and Norway. In Japan, culture falls under Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology,[75] which makes educational and cultural aspects of exchanges, important, well coordinated, and extensively used aspect of the Japanese cultural diplomacy. In the case of Norway where the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs[76] cares major responsibilities, the religious aspects are present and playing active role in the overall Track II diplomacy of the country.

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70 Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, Ohio State University, 2003.

71 Ibid, p. 11.

72 Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, Ohio State University, 2003, p. 10.

73 *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002.

74 Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007.

75 Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, Ohio State University, 2003, p. 11.

76 Compendium: Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, Council of Europe, www.culturalpolicies.net, http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/norway.php?aid=1.

Finally, the cooperation with the civic sector is evident in many national realities. The presence of non-governmental organizations is evident, from the consultancy of highly-esteemed think-tanks, to the participatory approach through cooperation with professional organizations and independent and private cultural institutions, and the integration of ideas and approaches of small and informal groups. Many governments are forming mixed governmental –non-governmental bodies, co-opting prominent intellectuals and artists on the board, and some of the countries have operational strategies where the whole concept of cultural diplomacy is much independent of direct governmental influence, but rather cooperates with the government in partnership relation.

2. RE-EMERGING TRADITIONS-THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF THE WEST

> *"If Western governments are to move beyond propaganda, they must meet four challenges: understanding the target audience, confronting hostility toward Western culture, engaging people emotionally, and proving their own relevance to the public concerned."*[77]
>
> Mark Leonard,
> Director of the European Council on Foreign Relations

The westerns societies are the ones that have invented the cultural diplomacy in its twentieth century form. This form of cultural diplomacy breathed with the spirit, values and understandings of these societies, and represented important aspect of the western influence and position in the twentieth century world.

Invented as part of the imperial strategies of United Kingdom and France and mastered by the United States in the Cold War, cultural diplomacy still represents one of the most superior assets in the foreign policy arsenal of the west.

Nonetheless, if the foreign policy strategies of the west aspire to remain relevant and effective, they have to anticipate the new realities. The renegotiation of the global relations of the western powers with the new-emerging ones, the fight with the anti-western global perceptions and attitudes, and the struggle with the new destructive ideologies feed by the global terrorism and crime, are the key challenges that all western strategies have to meet.

Therefore, this chapter gives particular attention the representative examples of the British, French and American cultural diplomacy. The aim of this study is not to expose all the capacities and greatness of these national cultural diplomacies concepts. In contrary, through examining the contemporary profile of these national realities, this chapter's analyses are focusing on the strategies and infrastructure in these countries that are prepared to face the actual and future global challenges.

[77] Mark Leonard, *"Diplomacy by Other Means",* in: Foreign Policy (132), 2002, pp. 48-56.

2.1 Cultural diplomacy in the U.S.A.

> *"The image of our country (USA) is a montage of our foreign policy, the brands we market, and the entertainment we export. It could be referred to as a cocktail of 'Rummy' [Secretary Rumsfeld] and Coke, with Madonna on the side."*[78]
>
> Keith Reinhard, chairman, DDB Worldwide, and president, Business for Diplomatic Action[79]

This creative allusion brilliantly summarizes the contemporary image and some major national interests of the United States of America, as well as their foreign policy priorities. But most of all, it explains in the most simple words the wide and complex form of contemporary cultural diplomacy that the United States are practicing today.

This complex concept mainly articulated as "propagation of American culture and ideals around the world",[80] is managed through a vivid and maximally decentralized system that tends to integrate the interests, energy and capacities of the diverse and strongly developed layers of the American society.

Thus, American cultural diplomacy today is represented by the efforts of the different governmental departments and government-funded agencies, considerably balanced with the continuously escalating influence of many U.S. corporations and non-governmental organizations, and the numerous cultural messages that they are conveying to the world. Furthermore, it is evident that the strategies and actions of the American private-sector, functioning beyond the sphere of governmental policies, in various fields, like movies, music, or recording and broadcasting industry, are major transmitters of the U.S. images, symbols and ideas abroad, and have significant impact on the international attitudes towards the country.

At the same time, the cultural products, as well as their marketing and branding, are involving interests of esteemed and highly profitable US industries,

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78 *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 1.
Originally published in Hearing on the 9/11 Commission Recommendations on Public Diplomacy: Defending Ideals and Defining the Message, *Reinhard's testimony before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations,*August 23, 2004.

79 *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 1.

80 Ibid, Introduction.

and as such they represent significant element of US foreign interest and they are integrated in all foreign policy strategies.

Furthermore, the high competitiveness of these products and brands, together with the capacities of US global corporations and media are perceived as an important aspect of the American leadership in the world.

This well-regarded tradition of "propagation of American culture and ideals around the world"[81] has its roots in the American cultural diplomacy from the Cold War period. Becoming world super-power in this period, and leader of the North-Atlantic Alliance, U.S. had to master the cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy strategies, as important tools in the war over people's "minds".[82]

In the Cold War period the U.S. were investing much in the development of original strategies in cultural diplomacy, that were extensively exploited, and supported by large bureaucracy in Washington, and wide network all over the world.

Thus, institutions and initiatives like "America House"[83] centers, American Corners, American studies, and libraries were exposing and sharing the American values abroad, and especially within the partner countries. At the same time, the critical forums of artist and intellectuals and the jazz and blues music transmitted through Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, brought hopes and dreams for many dissident leaders in the Eastern Bloc.[84]

Additionally, and particularly successful, were the programs that provided cultural and educational exchanges. The different visits from and to U.S., of journalists, doctors, scientists, musicians, singers and performers, but also students, sportsmen and politicians, were rare and irreplaceable human and cultural links, aiming to present the vibrant and expressive life of the American democracy. These exchanges have created future leaders that were developing further the cooperation among the western democracies, and those that have embraced the change after the 'Fall of the Berlin Wall'.

This foreign policy of U.S., that triumphed in the Cold War, and the important emphases in the cultural diplomacy field are still highly valued among many foreign policy professionals and strategists and can be clearly illustrated with the Yale Richmond's words, in his book Cultural Exchange and the Cold War:

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81 Introduction to *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002).

82 Ibid, p. 7.

83 *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 5.

84 Ibid, p. 1.

"Some fifty thousand Soviets visited the United States under various exchange programs between 1958 and 1988… They came, they saw, (and) they were conquered…"[85]

Nonetheless, after the end of the Cold War the U.S, cultural diplomacy has gone through some major shifts and reforms. The public policies and governmental funds in this field were dramatically reduced. This meant closing of many programs abroad, and discharging many professional staff and implementing agents with high excellence. The process finally led to closing of the United States Information Agency (USIA), the only public body, with capacity and mandate for central coordination of the public policies in the fields of public and cultural diplomacy.

The American cultural diplomacy in the decades after the Cold War has moved strongly towards the positions of free and globalised exchange of ideas and goods. The idea behind these reforms was based on the general notion in the Western societies, that the concepts of democracy and free-markets have become universal values and system of global interaction. In this circumstances, the developed and competitive business sector have taken the lead, followed by the civic sector that was strongly advocating for the American ideas and ideals around the world.

Nonetheless, while this new overenthusiastic concept has brought short-term economic results, and supported the interests of the U.S. companies and citizens, in the longer term it brought serious mistrust, and dramatic backlashes.

Unfortunately, in the dawn of the new millennium, The United States have faced aggressive opposition in the world and on their soil. The new hostile and extremely violent Muslim ideologies have challenged and even threatened not just the national interests of U.S., but rather all perceptions, beliefs and ideas of their citizens.

Furthermore, in the urge to unite the democratic world in order to answer to the global threat of terrorism, in the last decade, U.S. had to confront with the fact that, somewhere on the road of change, it had lost the enthusiasm of many of its allies. The strong anti-Americanism in public opinion of some European and South American states, together with the long-lasting mistrust *of* the less democratic powers Russia and China, led to wide-spread opposition in the world. And at the same time it was a real wake up call for the U.S. government.

Many analysts have tried to trace this negative image to the aggressive attitudes of US products and businesses, and some unpopular and unilateral policies of US, as part of their mandate and responsibility for global leadership in the period after

[85] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, (The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002), p. 7.

the Cold War. Nonetheless, there is no clear evidence that any of these factors led to the emergence of the new challenges.

But it is a fact that the human face of The United States has faded dramatically, and their decent cultural presence was almost erased from the personal and many times collective memory of many people around the world. The massive, too expressive, and commercially-oriented culture of the companies and aggressive lobbying of the civic groups have become a stereotype for whole U.S. society. The one-sided, lucrative, self-concerned and many times selfish motives of these and such organizations have seriously damaged the image of U.S. abroad and the credibility of U.S. global leadership.

This is why, the Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, of the U.S. Department of State, asks Americans to reveal again their soul,[86] to restart the human two-sided communication among individuals and share with people across borders the ideas that they really "hold dear"[87], values that are honest, personal and human, like: family, education or faith.

In the new American cultural diplomacy, the U.S. will have to reinvent the wheel. The state and public policies have to step in again, and moderate and cultivate the free-flow of American ideas and products, matching it with streams of human touch and mutuality. This is why, in the last years there is a modest increase in the number of cultural diplomacy professionals and funds for cultural programming, as well as search for former and actual good practices in the government-funded policies in this field. On every passing day, more American cultural diplomats are returning to the field, and together with the business and civic representatives, they seek to cultivate new contacts and promote the American values and culture[88].

Finally, the 'mighty America', which once triumphed in the 'war of ideas', understood that it has to return to the table for debate in order to challenge the new aggressive cultural onslaughts and ideologies of the enraged. In the same time, U.S. is challenged to 'regain the love' of all those who once believed in the Land of Freedom and 'Who Loved America'[89].

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[86] Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, *Cultural Diplomacy The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy,* U.S. Dep. of State, 2005, p. 7.

[87] Ibid, p. 5.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid, p. 6.

2.2 Cultural Diplomacy in UK

"The UK has lost its primacy in manufacturing, sport and politics, but is still among world leaders in terms of culture."

Cultural Diplomacy, DEMOS – British think-tank[90]

Culture is perceived as one of strongest points of the British general reputation and leadership in the contemporary world. The changing realities, emergence of new powers and processes is challenging all layers of British society, urging new policy responses on national level and especially in foreign relations.

Nevertheless, cultural diplomacy, with deep roots in the British traditions remains, one of the most precious tools in the foreign policy of the United Kingdom (UK).The strong traditions in this field have built strong infrastructure and clear understanding for the strategic benefits of this model.

The frames of British cultural diplomacy are wide and the system is decentralized. The main institution in the field is the British Council, independent charity, established by the government in the year 1934. Nonetheless, the infrastructure spreads through different governmental departments starting with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), and stretching as far as the UK Trade and Industry. Strong support and sovereign branch of this model are the esteemed, credible, independent and internationally known British cultural institutions. Some of these partner institutions are the British Library, British Museum, Victoria & Albert Museum, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, the Royal Opera House[91], and many others.

This cultural diplomacy network spreads also to smaller regional 'memory' and 'performing' institutions and amateur organization and programs. Additionally, UK remains world leading educational and training center in the field of culture.[92] Thus, it attracts many young artists and scholars from around the world.

The main and overall goal of such significant investment of the whole British society in this field, is to maintain the "global cultural standing"[93] of the United Kingdom and "capitalize"[94] additional political benefits from its unique traditions and competencies in this field.

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90 Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 18
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid. p. 13.
94 Ibid.

However, the UK position as important cultural leader is under constant pressure from the competitive global reality, new approaches of other states, and especially the huge material and human resources of the emerging powers. This is why, the British government and society is making substantial efforts to constantly update the system of cultural diplomacy and its image in the world.

Thus, in 1990, the British government implemented large campaign for renewed national image and global presentation under the label 'Cool Britannia'.[95] The concept was emphasizing the innovative and creative nature of the British culture and society, using the music, art and fashion. Later on in 2006, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) undertook the goal to "make Britain the world's creative hub".[96]

Yet, while many campaigns were undertaken, many institutions and artists involved and huge budgets spent on updating the contemporary British identity, it looks like Britain is not ready, nor willing, to give up on the 'Olde Englishness'.[97] In the new globalizing reality the unique traditions of the country, once a mighty empire, remain as value, heritage and inspiration for the future.

Finally, while the British traditions and the famous decentralized model of cultural diplomacy represent pathway for many countries that are less experienced in this field, the UK system is constantly urging to make improvements. Thus, just in the last few years, we can see important developments, such as: the newly established Public Diplomacy Board, the strategy for the Performing arts published by "the UK Trade and Industry (UKTI)", or the recently added and emphasized priority of "international"[98] cooperation of the Arts Council England (ACE).

[95] Ibid, p. 26.
[96] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p. 25.
[97] Ibid, p. 79.
[98] Ibid, p. 17.

2.3 Cultural diplomacy of France

"France has a longstanding commitment to the promotion of French culture abroad, as a major element of its foreign policy."[99]

French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE)
Ministère des Affaires Étrangères

The French cultural diplomacy is the oldest and strongest in Europe. In the same time, this country remains the global leader in the practice of cultural diplomacy, and in investing and conducting of international cultural activities.

These diverse cultural diplomacy traditions involve activities like: exchanges of individuals, investment in infrastructure, social sciences, research and educational activities, and international archeological projects, but their real focus is French language and high culture.

France hasn't much reformed its cultural diplomacy model since its heydays in the ninetieth century. It remains a very centralized and strictly state-financed model. The biggest and maybe the only relevant support for the French cultural diplomacy comes from the government, with over ninety percents of the finances coming from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The French citizens are paying for extremely large global network that involves: 154 services for cultural activities in the embassies, 436 cultural institutes and language centers, Radio France Intérnationale (RFI), and many smaller and localized initiatives. For example, in Egypt alone, France supports a cultural institute with over 30 archaeological digs and its own scholarly press[100]. This situation is possible because the French citizen pays four times more than any citizen in the world for cultural diplomacy.

The centralized model, strictly dependent on governmental policies in the field, is coordinated primarily through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) –Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, mostly through its Department for Cultural Cooperation and the French Language (CCF), while the Ministry of Culture and Communications (MCC)[101] also provides some minor support to the overall concept.

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[99] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 5.

[100] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London), p. 44.

[101] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), Appendix France, p. 2.

This system is based on strong networks of professional state-financed agencies like l'Association Française d'Action Artistique (AFAA), that aim to promote French culture, the Alliance Française, another cultural agency focused primarily on the language, the French Cultural Centers and the cultural councilors in the French embassies.[102]

France explicitly uses its high quality performances in culture and cultural diplomacy for strengthening relations with partners around the world. Among such large French cultural initiatives are the Saisons Culturels.[103] As part of this French tradition, each year is dedicated to one country, which is presented in France through series of exhibitions and events in different artistic fields. At the same time, French culture is also presented in the appropriate country. This is a brilliant cultural diplomacy strategy that creates meaningful and long-lasting relationships between different cultures and countries.

In France, 'La culture, c'est la politique' (Culture is politics).[104] Although criticized as unreformed, and overly controlling of cultural institutions and non-governmental actors, the French conservative model is also commended for enabling coherent cultural collaboration that benefits the country's image and objectives.

[102] Ibid.
[103] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p. 74.
[104] Ibid., p. 62.

3. THE BRIC GLOBAL CULTURAL INTRODUCTION

"BRIC unites the major economic growth centres with more than half the world's population, the role of which in international affairs will grow."[105]

Russia's foreign ministry

3.1. Prologue

This chapter argues that the new global space for cultural contests is rapidly changing, spreading widely, and acquiring new stake-holders. It presents a short overview and some relevant analyses for the capacities and developments of the cultural diplomacy in the countries from the so-called 'BRIC group', Brazil, Russia, India and China. The relevant explorations in the following sections suggest that the new-emerging powers, like the BRIC group countries, are becoming relevant challengers of the West both on the political and the cultural field.

The BRIC

Born in the analyses of the large corporations and western intellectuals, this grouping is becoming increasingly visible in the global relations. The pro-active foreign policies, mutual and global initiatives, and vast presence in different aspects of international relations of the four BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), are strongly supporting the theses of many analysts and foreign policy strategists, suggesting that these countries are increasingly seeking to convert their growing economic power into greater, strategic[106] and long-lasting "geopolitical clout".[107]

Additionally, the growing resources inside the societies and the geostrategic importance of the BRIC countries, as well as the amounts they dedicate in the

[105] Carl Mortished, World Business Editor, "Russia shows its political clout by hosting Bric summit", *The Times*, TimesOnline, May 16, 2008, http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/markets/russia/article3941462.ece, (accessed May 28, 2008).
The above statement illustrates the vision and hopes of the Russian government, which has hosted the first official meeting of the foreign ministers of the BRIC countries in the Russian city of Yekaterinburg. The meeting was aiming to envision stronger economic and political cooperation or alliance of economically booming societies.

[106] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007

[107] Carl Mortished, World Business Editor, "Russia shows its political clout by hosting Bric summit", *The Times*, TimesOnline, May 16, 2008, http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/markets/russia/article3941462.ece, (accessed May 28, 2008).

field of cultural diplomacy, are changing the contours of their global relations, making the cultural dialogue between the traditionally recognized western powers and the new emerging ones more relevant than ever before.

The ambitious character and serious approach in the cultural diplomacy strategies of these countries is already undoubted. Being different in their performances, internal social relations and political systems, these countries are united in their efforts to express themselves and their huge potentials to the world. While, these endeavors are transforming the global politics into puzzled and uncertain reality, in the field of culture, they represent new boost full with potential and vivid intercultural streams and creative expressions.

3.2 Brazil's Cultural Focus

Brazil values highly its cultural potentials, desires to be recognized through culture, and invests increasingly in international cultural promotion and exchange.

In the strategies of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry –'The Itamaraty', culture is ranked among the main priorities, closely attached to all aspects of Brazilian foreign policy.[108] Functioning as an important contributor to the close contacts with other nations and countries,[109] cultural diplomacy plays active role in publicizing Brazilian culture abroad, the 'Brazilian' Portuguese language,[110] and the positions of Brazil in diverse bilateral settings. Additionally, Brazil is exceptionally active in multilateral institutions and initiatives in the fields of culture and cultural diplomacy.[111]

Yet, experts say that, while Brazil is among the most "strongly branded"[112] countries in the world, associated with a homogeneous and coherent set of positive and appealing values[113], these achievements are still not adequately followed, or utilized, by its industry, tourism and the overall business sector[114].

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[108] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 2.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Centre for Intercultural Learning, *County insights: Ministry of External Relations - Government of Brazil*, Canadian Foreign Service Institute, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada, 2006.

[112] Simon Anholt, *Branding the developing world Impact*, IFC, the World Bank, Fall 1999, p. 11, http://www.earthspeak.com/IFC-World%20Bank%20Impact%20article.pdf, (accessed April 1, 2008).

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid.

Most of the initiatives and projects of the Brazilian cultural diplomacy initiatives are carried out by the central large Cultural Department[115] of the foreign ministry. This department has three Divisions: the Cultural Diffusion Operations Division, the Cultural Diffusion Programmes Division and the Agreements and Multilateral Affairs Division[116].

In addition, Brazil has initiated and works on many cultural diplomacy programs, as part of regional or bilateral initiatives with different partners. In the last year 2008, for instance, the serious bilateral initiative 'Brazil-Japan Year of Exchange'[117] was programmed to boost and deepen the relation with Japan. This 'Year of Exchange' aims to provide an opportunity for closer human ties and increased mutual awareness between both societies.[118] It involves multiple events in both countries, such as 'symposiums, art exhibitions, film festivals, theater presentations, concerts and sporting events'.[119]

3.3 New Russian Charm

In the last years, many emerging powers have invested vastly in burnishing their image abroad[120]. Russia, which is slowly overcoming its grave social and economic devastation of the nineties, has also started to promote this development abroad. The Russian new 'soft' campaigns include professional "Web sites, newspaper advertisements abroad and foundations that promote Russian language and culture".[121]

Additionally, a new infrastructure, preparing to support this huge endeavor is already in place. The more traditional governmental actors in cultural diplomacy, like the Foreign Ministry, the Board for Inter-regional and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries within the Russian President's Administration, and the Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications[122], are strengthened with new established quasi-governmental bodies and agencies, like the Russian Centre for

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[115] Centre for Intercultural Learning, *County insights: Ministry of External Relations - Government of Brazil*, Canadian Foreign Service Institute, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada, 2006

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ministry of External Relations, Press Office, Press Release nr 21: *Brazil-Japan Year of Exchange,* Palácio Itamaraty, Brasília–DF, http://www.mre.gov.br/ingles/imprensa/nota_detalhe3.asp?ID_RELEASE=5079, (accessed April 5, 2008).

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Peter Finn, "Russia Pumps Tens of Millions Into Burnishing Image Abroad", *The Washington Post*, March 6, 2008 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/03/05/AR2008030503539.html, (accessed April 5, 2008).

[121] Ibid

[122] Compendium: Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, Council of Europe, www.culturalpolicies.net

International Scientific and Cultural Co-operation, established in 2002[123], or the news channel Russia Today, set up in April 2005, that is broadcasting in English and Arabic[124].

Finally, Russia invests vastly, in particular, for the extension of its new "Charm Offensive"[125] in the priority regions of its foreign policy. Thus, the EU-Russian Permanent Partnership Council on Culture, establish on October 2007[126], aims to adopt plans of cultural collaboration, export Russian culture and arts in European Union countries, manages international cultural events in Russia and organizes cultural exchanges.[127] In the same time, the recently established Council for Humanitarian Co-operation[128], intended to provide framework for "multilateral projects in the fields of culture, education, science",[129] and strongly supported by the Russian Federation, aims to re-extend Russian political and cultural influence in the ex-soviet realm.

Yet, cultural diplomacy is not omnipotent key of foreign relations. Thus, many analysts, governments and not-for-profit organizations from the West are skeptical about the results of the Russian global cultural effort. Many of them are convinced that no amount of image-buffing can reverse, or even temper, deep-rooted concerns of the foreign governments and audiences about the centralization of power under Putin, the withering of political competition, and the lack democratic institutions and procedures in the Federation.

In this context, Michael A. McFaul, a Russia scholar at Stanford University and the Hoover Institution in USA, rightfully reminds the Russian Federation's leaders: "If you had the PR account to improve Russia's image in the West, then your first recommendation would be: not to arrest Garry Kasparov, and allow Mikhail Kasyanov to participate in the presidential vote."[130]

Therefore, in order to win the 'hearts and minds'[131] of the West, and maybe also globally, Russia has to fight its stereotyped image from the Cold War. Even without this struggle, the new massive global presence of Russia will be able to touch the 'hearts and minds' of the world. But instead of charm and culture, it will touch them through fear and concern.

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123 Ibid.

124 Peter Finn, *Russia Pumps Tens of Millions Into Burnishing Image Abroad*, The Washington Post, March 6, 2008

125 Ibid., Related graphic: A Russian Charm Offensive

126 Compendium: Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, Council of Europe, www.culturalpolicies.net.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid.

130 Peter Finn, *Russia Pumps Tens of Millions Into Burnishing Image Abroad*, The Washington Post, March 6, 2008.

131 Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 19, also used as common phrase in other analyses on 'soft power' cultural diplomacy, and related…

3.4 Cultural Diplomacy of India

> *"The Indian influence across much of Asia has been one of culture, language, religion, ideas and values, not of bloody conquest. We have always been respected for our traditional export, knowledge. Does that not also make India a "global superpower", though not in the traditional sense? Can this not be the power we seek in the next century?"*[132]
>
> Manmohan Singh, Prime minister of India

India has traditionally placed strong emphases in the field of culture, both on national level and in the international communication. Nevertheless, today this antic free diffusion of Indian values and culture is additionally complemented by organized and strategic foreign cultural policy of the government of this increasingly important emerging power.

Contemporary India asserts that "the arts can derive their sustenance only from people"[133], while cultural diplomacy, in that context, represents "responsibility" for the "democratic regime" to maintain and develop this people's culture.[134] Nonetheless, western analysts still emphasize the extensive government control of Indian cultural diplomacy.

The main structure and frames of the Indian cultural diplomacy system can be conceived through the major position of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) on policy level, and the central operational responsibilities dedicated to the independent Statutory Body of the Government, the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR).[135]

Though politically young, India has developed large administrative structure for cultural diplomacy. Thus, Indian government, mainly through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, operates eighteen Cultural Centers[136] around the world, in Europe, North and South America, Africa and Asia.[137] This globally

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[132] Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 56.

[133] Segments from statement of India's Education Minister Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, taken from *Globalization, Cultural Diplomacy and the Indian Ocean: An Indian Perspective*, P. S. Sahai, (Presented -Intern. Conference of Indian Ocean Research Group, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2002), p. 11.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] P. S. Sahai, Globalization, *Cultural Diplomacy and the Indian Ocean: An Indian Perspective*, (Presented -Intern. Conference of Indian Ocean Research Group, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2002), p. 12.

spread structure is also supported by a network of Indian visiting and stationary professors and lectors, and 'Indian Studies' educational programs, and even stronger and more diverse programming in the Indian Ocean Region.[138]

Finally, while this structure can be characterized as conservative, the new global cultural initiatives of the Indian government are more than original, creative, proactive and modern. The initiatives like, the main show at the Davos World Economic Forum in 2006, the successful and extravagant public relations campaign 'India Everywhere', and the position of focus country on the Bonn Biennale and the four-month festival of culture at the Palais des Beaux Arts in Brussels[139], have acknowledged to the world the huge capacities of Indian cultural diplomacy.

3.5 Chinese Cultural Diplomacy

> *Confucianism was at the heart of what made China the soft-power powerhouse of Asia for centuries. China was mostly unable to physically conquer its neighbors —Japan, Korea and Vietnam. But these nations willingly adopted Confucian culture, as well as Chinese forms of government, art and literature.*[140]
>
> National Public Radio (NPR), USA

In the last decade, China has shown to appreciate highly the values of culture in its foreign policies, making strategies based on cultural presentation and committing significant resources in this field. Despite all political differences, and the bitter contentions and problems in political relations, China is opening to the world, through its rich cultural heritage and the living culture of the Chinese people around the world.

Cultural diplomacy has shown to be a useful and maybe irreplaceable tool in the development of Chinese international relations. It has provided an alternative meeting point for partnership and long-term relations with many countries around the globe, and especially with the West.

Furthermore, this aspect of foreign relations seems to overarch the contemporary controversies in the political relations with the western governments.

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[138] Ibid, p. 12.

[139] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 57.

[140] Anthony Kuhn, *China Tries to Export Culture as Influence Increases*, National Public Radio (NPR), United States of America , April 2, 2008, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=89306145, (accessed May 1, 2008).

Furthermore, this idyllic picture of the ancient rooted, rich and 'peaceful'[141] civilization is the image that Chinese government seeks for present to the foreigners, potential investors, tourists or other visitors[142].

Thus, while the administrative system of the Chinese cultural diplomacy can be criticized as centralized, and its strategies are based on one-sided communication, its programming is vast, diverse and highly appealing. Namely, the Chinese cultural centers abroad, entitled as 'Confucius Institutes', were invented just in 2004,[143] and their network projected to one hundred cities around the world is already much bigger than that of many traditional systems. The high-ranking, state-run Palace Museum has widely opened its collections to the world, describing itself as "the cultural business card of China".[144]

The massive exposure of Chinese culture and heritage across the European metropolises, like the six-months focus of all French cultural institutions on China, in 2001[145], and the exhibitions China: The Three Emperors, 1662–1795, in 2005 and The First Emperor: China's Terracotta Army, in 2007, held in London[146], have managed to take the attention of the wide European public, newspapers and artists, and provoked positive reception from the high political leadership.

Finally, the cultural diplomacy and cultural presence became important aspects of foreign policy strategies of China, the huge and powerful country with booming economic growth and reemerging global political ambitions. Yet, despite the goodwill for cultural sharing and enthusiasm for the Chinese heritage, many analysts, and especially those from the West, are skeptical and cautious in their judgments for the actual trends and future development[147]. They rightfully remind of the attitudes and technologies, used by the communist government, that lie behind this idyllic picture, and the general imprisonment of the cultural liberty and diversity in contemporary People's China.

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[141] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 87..
[142] Ibid, p. 58.
[143] Ibid, p. 87.
[144] Ibid, p. 87.
[145] Ibid, p. 74.
[146] Ibid, p. 53.
[147] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007.

4. MEDIUM-SIZED POWERS AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY NEWCOMERS

4.1 Prologue

This chapter exposes and examines the cultural contributions of the medium-sized powers and diverse novel cultural diplomacy initiatives, coming from countries with modest experience and less significant traditions in this field. Analyzing the nature and approach to cultural diplomacy in these national contexts, the chapter highlights important new developments and players, which are pluralizing and reviving the contemporary global cultural dynamics.

The first focus of this chapter emphasizes the significant cultural inputs of numerous medium-sized states, most of them vivid democracies, their understanding of cultural diplomacy, their strong investments in this field and the original programming approaches. These democratic nations are important global force which creates a wider multicultural milieu that prevents narrow-minded, results oriented cultural competition, and instead produces a long-lasting and vivid dialogue of cultures.

Additionally, the chapter summarizes particular cases of cultural diplomacy endeavors of countries which are newcomers on the global cultural arena. This part of the analysis presents national cultural diplomacies with weaker institutional and social infrastructure, but strong, vital and novel cultural potential. These diplomacies are often notably creative, innovative and effective.

Some of these initiatives, presented in this chapter, are strategically and steadily envisioned, others are full of unique creative potential, but all of them reveal significant paths for the future of cultural diplomacy.

Therefore, any comparative overview or theoretical analysis of contemporary cultural diplomacy would be partial and even ignorant, if it did not apprehend these novel and important global trends.

4.2 Medium-Sized Democracies

> *"In building trust among peoples and among countries from a long-term perspective, we must endeavor to find common values and forge a path towards mutual understanding, while maintaining a deep respect for the cultures and histories developed by other peoples and for our differences. Abundant cultural contact serves as the driving force in the construction of a peaceful and dynamic human society."*
>
> Yohei Kono, Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs[148]

The global cultural dialogue would not be the same without the presence and programming of numerous medium-size states, most of them vivid democracies, that strongly invest in cultural diplomacy and cultural exchange.

Thus, Canada dedicates same amount of public funds to cultural diplomacy as does UK[149], and it is one of the most active states in this field, both on bilateral and on multilateral level. Cultural diplomacy in Canada is clearly defined as one of the three main pillars of the foreign policy, alongside with politics and economics[150], and it operates through many governmental departments and independent agents.

The goals and operational capacities of Canadian cultural diplomacy are bold and diverse. They extend from the promotion of the country and its values and capacities, to global issues, like peace and security, and the affirmation of the specific economic and cultural interests of Canadian citizens.[151]

Equally engaged partners and contributors in cultural diplomacy are Australia and Japan. The creative and multifaceted strategies of these countries, their complex institutional structures that cover bilateral and multilateral cultural cooperation, and the serious attention and amounts dedicated in the field, are significant capacities that provide meaningful support for the position of these two countries in the contemporary global realities.

In the case of Australia, the government, in close cooperation and interaction with many producers, artists and other businesses and partners abroad, has invested serious amounts of funds and efforts to project a globally visible and recognizable

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[148] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), Appendix Japan, p. 1.

[149] Ibid, p. 24.

[150] Ibid, p. 9.

[151] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 10.

brand, that differs dramatically from the outmoded image of 'European-derivative culture'[152]. This complex new image involves and uses the capacities of the multicultural identity of the contemporary Australian society, and the vibrant economic realities, strongly encouraged by the great natural resources and innovative strategies of many Australian businesses.

With strong emphases on the economic and export interests of its companies, Australia seeks to project this unique image of an open, diverse, innovative and prosperous society, actively supporting the communication of its messages, with promotional material and media in seven languages: Arabic, Chinese, French, Indonesian, Japanese, Spanish and Vietnamese[153]. Investing extensively and creatively in its cultural actors and streams, Australia projects strong global presence, especially in areas of special economic and political interest for the country, like Western Europe, North America, North Asia and Southeast Asia[154].

In the same time, Japan is a country that amazes with its competence and comprehensive strategies in this field, that unite and equally focus on the presentation of the country abroad and the service for the global dialog and mutual trust. Investing serious attention and resources in cultural diplomacy strategies, Japan has emerged as an important regional leader and global partner in the cultural field.

This strong focus on culture is well reflected also in the governmental structures, from the Cultural Affairs Department of the Foreign Ministry, to the strong Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology.[155] The Japanese cultural diplomacy programming, spreads from cultural, educational and youth exchanges, to support for UNESCO schemes and projects, and cultural heritage initiatives around the world[156].

In addition the Japanese government operates the successful The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, which works in the frame of cooperation of four ministries of the government, and provides meaningful links with people from different countries, especially involving young people and local municipalities.[157]

The vivid and creative approach of these and such countries in the field of cultural diplomacy also can be tracked through the decentralized, flexible, contemporary and proactive administrative structures that function in such national contexts.

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[152] Ibid, p. 9.
[153] Ibid, p. 20.
[154] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), Appendix Australia, p. 1.
[155] Ibid, Appendix Japan, p. 1.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid, Appendix Japan, p. 3.

Many of the medium-sized democracies operate their strategies through varying structural arrangements, like inter-ministerial and agency collaborations, cooperative initiatives with the industry and philanthropists, international and bilateral agency coordination, and public-private partnerships. This complex management structure, strongly independent of the governmental dictate and direct influence, speaks loudly for the democratic capacities of these societies, but also maximizes the capacities, through synchronization of the interests of the government and those of the all cultural activists in the country.

Thus, non-ministerial agencies or other independent entities, like the Japan Foundation (JF), the Australian International Cultural Council (AICC), the Australia Council or the Canadian Council for the Arts (CCA), are coordinating and operating some of the major programs in the cultural diplomacy arsenals of the appropriate countries.[158]

In addition, many of these countries have established specialized agencies and institutionalized initiatives for deepen bilateral and regional cooperation, like the Japan-Canada Fund, the Australia-India Council (AIC), the Australia-Korea Foundation or the Australia-Indonesia Institute (AII)[159]. Finally, some of these agencies, like in the case of the Japan's Cultural Grant Aid, give significant support to multilateral cultural initiatives of UNESCO, or cultural development and heritage management projects in less-developed countries.[160]

In conclusion to this chapter we can state that global cultural dialogue and the cultural diplomacy strategies are important asset in renegotiating the relations, interests and balance among the traditional powers and the new emerging ones, and in the same time they provide wide space for the medium-sized states. With their creative and proactive strategies many of these competitors, can reach and maintain their foreign policy goals and interests. This is why many middle-sized states, especially the democratic ones, aware of the huge potential of this crucial mechanism for policies negotiation and inter-human connection, have invested and keep investing serious efforts in the field of cultural diplomacy.

[158] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003).
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid, Appendix Japan, p. 4.

4.3 Cultural Diplomacy Newcomers

> *"These days I see the Mexicans absolutely eager to promote their culture, especially stuff that we don't normally see here, stuff that doesn't fit the stereotype.*
>
> *They understand that arts and culture are the best way to bridge the gap with us. That's the way to make us see them in a different light."*[161]
>
> Alicia Adams, Director of International Programs,
> The Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

In the last decades, many countries with minor experience or less significant traditions in the field of cultural diplomacy have decided to start projects and initiatives in this field. Many of them have invested heavily in such and common foreign policy strategies and some have already benefited tangibly.

While the traditional powers have superior infrastructure, the newcomers are more creative, innovative and effective at concrete diplomatic undertakings, bringing fresh ideas and approaches that invigorate the whole spectrum of global creative exchange.

In the case of Mexico, for example, the endeavor for greater international openness and presentation, launched in the year 2000, was carried out smoothly and professionally, as if the Mexicans were practicing cultural diplomacy continuously from the time of the ancient Mayas and Aztecs. Approaching the developed neighbors USA and Canada through the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America, as well as to Europe and other partners, Mexico urged partnership and appreciation, mostly using the "showcase of it artistic originality"[162] and cultural plurality. The new, vastly presented, image of Mexico was promoted with the "mariachi and Tex-Mex bands, as well as with modern dance companies, jazz ensembles, mime troupes, experimental theaters" and film festivals.[163]

In the last decade, the major Mexican art shows, as well as Mexican music, theater and dance performances of modern and traditional forms, were surging into the United States without one hesitation or interruption.[164] In addition, shows

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[161] Stephen Kinzer, Arts in America; Mexico's Cultural Diplomacy Aims to Win Hearts in U.S., *The New York Times*, (August 1, 2002), http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9E05EEDD1F38F932A3575BC0A9649C8B63, (accessed February 15, 2008)

[162] Ibid.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Ibid.

strongly and creatively promoted as, for instance, "the most comprehensive survey of Aztec culture"[165] at the Royal Academy of Arts, usually coincided in London with events such as the four-month festival that organizers were saying "will introduce British audiences to the latest in Mexican contemporary culture."[166]

The explanation for such significant cultural presence is in the words of the Cultural Minister of the Mexican embassy in US, the recognized film producer Ignacio Durán. "It is not a coincidence", says Mr.Durán, ''It's a concerted effort. It has been under way for some time, but now it's reaching a peak."[167]

This effort is coordinated by the Foreign Ministry, its large network of embassies and consulates, 47 just in USA,[168] large cultural institutes maintained by the government, as well as domestic and foreign relevant and independent cultural agents, artists, filmmakers, writers, intellectuals and all the resources one society can gather.[169]

Finally, the number of actors and protagonists in the field of culture that in the last years were presented with the Order of the Aztec Eagle Award, the highest honor given to foreign citizens by the United Mexican States, speaks loudly about the central position and high appreciation that the Mexican society offers to culture and cultural diplomacy.[170]

Across the Pacific…

Inspiring cases, like the Mexican, and many times examples with even greater political impact, can be traced also on other continents. Going west to the east, analysts of contemporary trends in cultural diplomacy are encountered by another new development, which gives even greater recognition to the place of culture in the modern foreign relations strategies.

Thus, South Korea, the country that, through rapid economic and social development, has mounted to thirteenth place on the world list of economic powers,[171] has chosen cultural diplomacy as a central strategy for projecting its new position in the global relations.[172]

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[165] Stephen Kinzer, Arts in America; Mexico's Cultural Diplomacy Aims to Win Hearts in U.S., *The New York Times*, (August 1, 2002), http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9E05EEDD1F38F932A3575BC0A9649C8B63, (accessed February 15, 2008).

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Louie Gilot, Adair Margo gets Mexico's highest honor for non-citizens: committed to cultural diplomacy, *El Paso Times*, 22.11.2007, also available on http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/cd-consulting/index.php?id=43,101,0,0,1,0 (accessed March 15, 2008)

[171] Mark Tran, South Korea strives for soft power, Newsblog, *guardian.co.uk*, Seoul, June 5, 2008; Available on http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/news/2008/06/south_korea_strives_for_soft_p.html (accessed June 15, 2008)

[172] Ibid.

Preceding this stage of development, in the past decade, the successes of the South Korean companies and their indigenous corporate brand development have already drastically improved the overall image of the country. This was a more than desirable development for South Korea, as county whose image was previously mostly associated, and continuously burdened, by the negative figures of its troubled relations with the neighbor and brother-nation on the north.[173]

Through time, the successful corporate brands of companies like Hyundai, Samsung and LG Electronics, and other prominent Korean businesses, especially in the field of Information Technology, have won over the negative political perceptions.[174] In addition, these appealing and positive brands have become the dominant image of the country, shaping the perceptions and understandings that other nations and people have about South Korea.[175]

Encouraged by these positive image developments, the Seoul authorities were riding the wave of the economic boost for a longer period. Their understanding was that the modern presentation as society of innovative electronic products and cutting edge technologies is a much more powerful image weapon than any of the indigenous and unique traditions of the fifty centuries old Korean culture. In other words, the contemporary trends with focus on Information technology were in the focus of the presentation campaigns of the country, rather than the overall cultural tradition, potential and uniqueness of the country.

Yet, on this new stage of development, when the Tiger wants to stabilize and keep its positions in global relations, its government has comprehended the needs to unlock the whole capacity and diverse spectrum of soft power.[176] The key component of this endeavor of the Seoul authorities is cultural diplomacy. According to the South Korean experts, the pathway to the next steps is in the potential of the 'cultural technology'.[177]

Thus, the country so famous for its Information Technology capacities is prepared to leap in the next stage. South Koreans believe that this new concept, called 'cultural technology', is the "final stop in value-added technology that will continue to influence global markets in the years to come".[178]

This means that the technologically advanced South Korean society will make an attempt to engrave its cultural traditions and messages into the main streams of the global communication, thus striving for soft power and long-lasting influence in the global relations.

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[173] Michael Ha, Samsung Shapes Korea's Image, Nation, *The Korea Times*, July 23, 2008.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Mark Tran, South Korea strives for soft power, Newsblog, *guardian.co.uk*, Seoul, June 5, 2008; Available on http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/news/2008/06/south_korea_strives_for_soft_p.html (accessed June 15, 2008)
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.

Furthermore, the Koreans have unlocked the capacities of the creative industries, and they expect to benefit substantially from this undertake. Thus Kim Joon-han,[179] one of the most influential shapers of South Korean policies in the field, would say: "When we were a developing country, we made our living through manufacture. Now we have to move on and live by the culture industry."[180]

These developments are supported additionally with creative, novel, but also stable and profoundly shaped infrastructure. Thus, the South Koreans have already created their own independent agent of cultural diplomacy, the Korea Culture & Contents Agency (Kocca),[181] set up to promote 'Korean cultural content' abroad, following the examples of Alliance Française and the British Council.[182] Additionally, the modern and proactive governmental agent, the Korean Culture and Information Service (KOIS),[183] has launched its new communication strategy, focused on the Government's official English-language homepage, www.korea.net,[184] and other diverse initiatives, based on the creativeness and cultural inputs of the South Korean society.

Finally, this cultural diplomacy endeavor of the Asian Tiger, South Korea, can be easily summarized with the following: The Korean Cultural and Information Service has changed the nation main promotional slogan Korea - Country of the Morning Calm with a new one, Dynamic Korea,[185] thus switching dramatically its course towards proactive foreign cultural strategies. This shows undoubtedly that the economic giant, number 13, has entered into a dynamic cultural diplomacy phase.

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[179] Mark Tran, South Korea strives for soft power, Newsblog, guardian.co.uk, Seoul, June 5, 2008; Available on http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/news/2008/06/south_korea_strives_for_soft_p.html (accessed June 15, 2008)
Kim Joon-han is one of the executive directors of the Korea Culture & Contents Agency (Kocca),

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Korean Cultural and Information Service, Dynamic Korea, Greetings from Director, Available on www.kois.go.kr

[184] Korean Cultural and Information Service, Dynamic Korea, Greetings from Director, Available on www.kois.go.kr and www.korea.net (accessed June 1, 2008)

[185] Ibid.

5. THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SMALL

Many small and undeveloped countries find themselves out of the game in the global cultural diplomacy contest. Their leaders, politicians and diplomats, confess that their limited resources often impose reductions and rigorous prioritising even in the basic areas for the maintenance of the international relations. Therefore, cultural diplomacy and other strategies that require serious amounts of money, and promise long-term and sometimes immeasurable results, are perceived as almost unfeasible, unrealistic, or inappropriate approach in their operational context.

In addition, many scholars and professionals also admit that cultural diplomacy and related strategies require a minimum empowering environment, and certain general standards in the society. In this context, many of them are justifying the ignorant and neglecting policies, towards these alternative approaches of supporting the national interests, of many of the 'the smallest', or the so called microstates.

On the other hand, the wider rankings and different categorisations of states, place at least half of the member states of UN on different lists of 'smalls' and 'smallness'. Some of these categories are involving countries with less than ten million population, other countries with certain limitations, disadvantages and vulnerabilities, like social, economic, political or security problems.

It is more than clear that all these states would be seriously disadvantaged, if they did not marshal and deploy specific cultural diplomacy strategies. Even more, it is highly recommended for many of these countries to use these unique strategies that have shown to serve with high success the strategic interests of the big and medium-sized states, and especially to deploy them in overcoming the limitations and disadvantaged positions in international relations.

Furthermore, in the new actively communicating and interconnected world, full of overwhelming cultural and political offers mostly from the big powers and bigger and wealthier states, the risk for small nations to be forgotten or sidelined[186] is bigger than ever. This is why many small states have chosen to employ all available capacities in the endeavour to participate in the global cultural competition.

Thus, many states that qualify in the small-states categorizations are already performing actively and bravely in the international cultural relations. Their cultural diplomacy strategies are measurable equivalent of those of the medium-sized and even the big powers, and the gains they win are immeasurably bigger from their investment.

[186] Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, *Culture and Diplomacy -Thirty-first Report to the Government*, the Hague, 1987

5.1 The Nordic Cultural Giants

> *"Culture is a provocative force in all societies, and has a great intrinsic value. International cultural cooperation is a means of creating meeting places for the exchange of ideas, dialogue and new networks. Our cultural efforts make Norway more interesting as a cooperation partner and enhance its image abroad,"*[187]
>
> Jonas Gahr Støre, Norwegian Foreign Minister

The Nordic countries are real examples of triumph over the limitations of geographic remoteness and small population. In particular, Sweden and Norway, but also Denmark and lately Finland, have developed strategies that are helping them to punch highly above their weight in the global political arena.

Norway, with its population of less than five million, and being a much younger nation than its neighbors and many European competitors, has managed to push hard on its image of leader in the global quest for peace and dialogue, and one of the strongest and most serious supporters of such initiatives and projects.

Thus, the integrated strategies of supporting culture, in the wider frames of civic society development, has considerably increased the 'soft power'[188] of this state in the developing world. One the other hand, the modern and well-packaged approaches, like the domain www.norway.org.uk,[189] that integrate the cultural, social and economic uniqueness of this country, continuously and successfully serve as reminder for the developed countries of the high performances and possibilities that this society is offering to people, governments and businesses.

Another shining example from this region is Sweden. With its population of less than ten million, this country is playing in the same cultural diplomacy league as the big countries and traditional powers. Thus, Sweden invests same amounts of public funds in cultural diplomacy as the United Kingdom,[190] and with its proactive approaches, extensive administrative structure, and creative programming, this country is a real giant in the cultural relations.

The strongly decentralized and democratic model of Swedish cultural diplomacy, mainly operated through quasi-governmental bodies and agencies and

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[187] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Boost for Norwegian culture abroad*, Information from the Government and the Ministries, www.government.no, Public diplomacy and cultural cooperation, 05.10.2007.

[188] Joseph S. Nye, concept elaborated in 'Soft Power" Foreign Policy, autumn 1990 and Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004).

[189] Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* (Demos, London, 2007), p. 92.

[190] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 24.

different coordination forums, is successfully uniting the political and economic priorities of the Swedish foreign policy, with the long-term aims to project positive and comprehensible image of the country. The Swedish programming agencies, like the National Council for Cultural Affairs (NCCA) – Statens Kulturråd,[191] and the Swedish Institute (Svenska Institutet),[192] are operating around the world and especially in the priority countries. Their coordination, together with the Swedish Trade Council (STC)[193] and many other service providers, is well managed under the guidance of the Council for Sweden Promotion Abroad (NSU).[194]

Additionally, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)[195] is a key example for large infrastructural investment and support in cultural and other fields in the societies of the developing states. With this strategic approach the 'small' Sweden is providing itself a place for global leader that projects culture and values and enables mutuality and dialogue in the global cultural relations.

5.2 Cultural efforts of other small European Nations

While one can claim that the Nordic examples are specific and incomparable realities, of privileged countries, there are many other small countries with less privileged position that have built much upon the cultural strategies, overcoming the disadvantages of smallness or other limitations.

One of the most appropriate examples in this context is definitely Ireland, successful despite its small population, geographic remoteness in European context, and its recent economic, social and even political burdens. Although there is no substantial evidence that cultural diplomacy had serious impact on the economic and social boom of the 'Celtic Tiger', it is more than evident that serious cultural diplomacy initiatives and structures were developed in the last years to complement the impressive economic upswing and provide sustainable growth and wealth.

Thus, Culture Ireland, an independent agency founded by the government in 2005,[196] has already managed to unite clear massages and strong strategies

[191] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), Appendix Sweden, p. 2.

[192] Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, *Culture and Diplomacy -Thirty-first Report to the Government*, the Hague, 1987, p. 18.

[193] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), Appendix Sweden, p. 3.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., et al., *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), Appendix Sweden, p. 3.

[196] Culture Ireland - promoting the arts abroad, *Strategy 2006-2010*, issued March 2006, p. 3, also available on http://www.cultureireland.gov.ie/.

for promotion of all aspects and highlights of Irish society, especially using its aesthetic and expressive values. This new comprehensive platform for expression of Irish values and ides is inspired by the deep missionary[197] and artistic traditions of the Irish society, but also offers the "Irish experiences" from the politically and culturally burdened past, transforming it into contemporary strength, with capacity to support in the collective endeavor "to bear on global cultural challenges".[198]

Like Ireland, Austria also uses its deep and rich cultural traditions *to project* its foreign policy strategies. This country has dramatically repositioned in its international relations and stands in the last decades. This meant that after the rather isolated and disadvantaged position of its 'neutrality' strategies during the Cold War, the country had the privilege to project once again it deep cultural tradition and proud standings in the process of enlargement and uniting of the European continent.

Today, according the strategies of this country, culture represents a major component in Austrian international relations.[199] For the "majority of people, the first contact with Austria is made via culture",[200] the Austrian foreign policy strategists have no doubt that "culture shapes the image of Austria on the world stage".[201]

Furthermore, Austria refers to the priority regions for Austrian foreign policy, the Central European and Balkan counties, as "cultural neighbors".[202] This terminology reveals the serious intentions of Austrian foreign policy to benefit from the traditional cultural influence in these regions and countries, transforming it into future close collaboration and proactive and leadership position of Austria.

5.3 Cultural diplomacy of small non-European Nations

Certainly, successful examples of cultural diplomacy can be tracked also out of Europe. Such internationally significant and unique example is Singapore. This state, with territorial dimensions of a city, has developed a system for cultural diplomacy that may serve as an example for many bigger and much more powerful states.

The strongly developed institutional capacity and large and diverse programming activities are result of the lucid vision of the government of this

[197] Ibid, p. 5.
[198] Ibid, p. 6.
[199] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 4.
[200] Ibid, p. 2.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), p. 9.

county to present Singapore as "international arts hub"[203] and "global city for information, communications and the arts".[204]

Therefore, the governmental department, the Foreign Ministry, Ministry of information, communication and the arts, and the Arts and Heritage Division[205] are collaborating closely with the independent agencies, like the National Arts Council (NAC)[206] and the Singapore International Foundation (SIF).[207] This organized endeavor of the four million society, involve cultural, youth and professional exchanges and cultural activities of promotional format, like festivals, carnivals, broadcasting, film, television, performance and arts.[208]

Additionally, the cross-ministerial strategy of the government of Singapore, entitled as Arts Marketing Task Force, is systematically developing cultural diplomacy strategies, aiming to promote Singapore as "an international arts events hub –including organizing events, arts markets".[209]

Touring around Oz[210]*…*

Another nation, which has recently launched serious cultural diplomacy initiative, is New Zealand. The economically and socially developed society, constituted of only four million citizens, has to constantly work on overcoming the liabilities of its position of extremely remote island country.

The central role that culture has obtained in this society can be understood from the position of Prime Minister of New Zealand, as being simultaneously Minister for Culture and Heritage of the country. For her it seems more than clear that "cultural diplomacy is a powerful way for New Zealand to assert itself to the world as a unique and creative nation".[211]

As a result, the society invests vastly in the field of culture, and together with its proactive international relations in the fields of politics and security, maintains strong cultural ties with many countries of the world.

Yet, the new 'Cultural Diplomacy Programme' introduced in 2004, has brought new vigor and a real boost in this field[212]. The well structured initiative is

[203] Ibid, p. 1.
[204] Ibid, Appendix Singapore, p. 2.
[205] Ibid, p. 2.
[206] Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Ph.D., Ch. Burgess, C.Peila, *International Cultural Relations: A multi-Country Comparison*, (Ohio State University, 2003), Appendix Singapore, p. 2.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid, Appendix Singapore, p. 3.
[209] Ibid, Appendix Singapore, p. 4.
[210] Oz is one of the nicknames for Australia.
[211] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *Cultural Diplomacy International Programme Information Sheet*, Ministry projects, 22 May 2007, Available on www.mch.govt.nz/projects/culture/cultural-diplomacy-factsheet.html, (accessed May 1, 2008).
[212] Helen Clark, *Govt launches new cultural diplomacy programme*, Release, 2 July 2004, www.beehive.govt.nz - the official website of the New Zealand government, (accessed May 1, 2008).

led by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, but unites the effort and policy focuses of many governmental departments, like the Foreign and Trade Ministry, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise office and the Tourism New Zealand agency.[213]

Additionally, cultural organizations and agencies, like the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, the Royal New Zealand Ballet, the internationally prominent touring dancing company, Black Grace, and individuals like Dame Malvina Major,[214] were also active partners in this international cultural push.

The overall expectations of such developed and coordinative effort of the government and the society are strategically planed and clearly exposed. The aim is to reach to the geographically far foreign publics, and present the "distinctive" and unique profile of New Zealand,[215] thus enhancing 'the understanding of and engagement with New Zealand among government and business leaders'[216] in concrete targeted regions.

Focused on the Asian countries in the first years, and opening towards wider target regions,[217] this cultural diplomacy strategy is a great endeavor of a small county, and traces possible paths and solutions for many others.

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[213] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *Cultural Diplomacy International Programme Information Sheet*, Ministry projects, 22 May 2007, Available on www.mch.govt.nz/projects/culture/cultural-diplomacy-factsheet.html (accessed May 1, 2008).

[214] Helen Clark, *Govt launches new cultural diplomacy programme*, Release, 2 July 2004, www.beehive.govt.nz - the official website of the New Zealand government (accessed May 1, 2008).

[215] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *Cultural Diplomacy International Programme Information Sheet*, Ministry projects, 22 May 2007, Available on www.mch.govt.nz/projects/culture/cultural-diplomacy-factsheet.html

[216] Ibid.

[217] Ibid.

Part III. Case-study Macedonia

1. PROLOGUE: THE MACEDONIAN KNOT

"Whoever controls Macedonia, controls the entire Balkan Peninsula."[218]

Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of Germany and one of the greatest Diplomats in the European and world history

Macedonia is a historical crossroad of cultural and political influences, and one of the most prominent fields of the European unilateral, bilateral and multilateral diplomatic games.[219] From a territory, nation and international question which represented a 'Gordian knot'[220] for the most prominent diplomats and diplomatic systems through history,[221] this small country has transformed into an active and important partner in the diplomatic relations[222] and the 'global dialogue'[223] of the modernity.

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[218] Dina Siegel, *CIROC Newsletter,* Free University Amsterdam, the Netherlands, August 2005
(This famous statement of Otto von Bismarck has been quoted by many relevant analyzes of the geo-strategy, stability and international relations of the Balkans and wider region for more than one hundred years and continues to influence recent commentators.)

[219] Brailsford, Henry Noel. *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future*. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1971.

[220] Ambassador Hans Lotar Stepan, *The Macedonian Knot*, Az-Buki, Skopje, 2005.

[221] Thus, for example: 'In 1903, as a reaction to Ottoman repression and to serve their own national interests, Russian Tsar Nicholas II and Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph devised a program whereby Russian and Austrian civil agents would "assist" the Turkish governor of Macedonia. Responsibility for peacekeeping was apportioned among Austria, France, Italy, Russia, and the United Kingdom, which provided officers to command local gendarmes'. The mission was unsuccessful. – source: Julie Kim and Carol Migdalovitz, *"Macedonia" (Skopje) Recognition and Conflict Prevention,* Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1993.

[222] The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, *Remarks by President George W.Bush*, October 26, 2005, also Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz, *Joint Press Conference with Macedonian President Boris Trajkovski*, (U.S. Department of Defense, May 17, 2003), http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=2622, (accessed April 5, 2008).

[223] Henryk J. Sokalski, *Macedonia and the UN: from a case study in preventive diplomacy to an active contributor to global peace and security*, The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS, Skopje, December 2006, also available on http://www.mfa.gov.mk/default1.aspx?ItemID=342&id=2
Henryk J. Sokalski is Former Assistant Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Macedonia (1995-1998).

This newly emerging country, with a population of two million, has chosen to use the capacities of the culture as its key assets, not just in the process of building of its international position, security and stability, but also for overcoming its weaknesses[224] and transforming them into additional resources for its regional leadership and development.

Taken as a case-study of national cultural diplomacy and its strategies, Macedonia provides authentic and original material of exceptional interest for the research of the diplomacy of the small states, and their capacity for implementation of unconventional strategies, but also it provides fascinating material for the general understanding of the capacities and role of cultural diplomacy.

The third part of this thesis explores the development and contemporary trends of the Macedonian cultural diplomacy. It underlines the specific capacities inside the society and the policies taken that have supported and leaded towards certain national advantages in this field.

The exploration in the following chapters revisits and redefines the diverse capacities of cultural diplomacy, following its line of development in the national context of a small state in a troubled region. It also illustrates the general architecture of cultural diplomacy from the aspect of institutional framework and capacities and interactions of various relevant actors in the field.

Finally, some theoretical considerations of the cultural diplomacy are transformed in the chapter into short and concrete recommendation list, which draws a roadmap for a more successful cultural diplomacy model in the particular national context.

[224] Zoran Ilievski, MAE., *Conflict Resolution in Ethnically Divided Societies: The Case of Macedonia*, (MA thesis, University of Graz, 2006).

2. THE HISTORY AND OPERATIONAL CONTEXT

"I understand the world as a field for cultural competition among nations"[225]

Gotze Delcev[226], intellectual, humanist
and leader of the Macedonian liberation movement

2.1 The Foundations of the Macedonian Cultural Diplomacy

The fundamental principles of the Macedonian contemporary cultural diplomacy were laid in the first decades after the Second World War. Up till then, the efforts of the Macedonian organizations, intellectuals and artists, no matter how organized and strategic they were, can be more appropriately characterized as cultural and promotional activities of a national emancipation[227] and liberation movement. The main role of these and similar activities can be highly regarded in terms of nation building, protection of the Macedonian culture and values from the influences[228] and organized educational and cultural propaganda of the neighboring states[229], and promotion of the values and interests of Macedonia and Macedonians[230] around the world.

On the other hand, organized governmental policies in this field can be traced just after the proclamation of the Macedonian republic in 1944. The first cultural and foreign policies of modern Macedonia were articulated on the first National Assembly, which proclaimed Macedonia as national state of the ethnic Macedonians, and the Macedonian language as official language of the

[225] One of the most popular notions of Gotze Delcev, that have inspired the Macedonian liberation movement and still vividly present and used on mayor cultural events and celebrations, and diverse cultural contexts in Macedonia and among the Macedonians.

[226] Gotze Delcev, is the ideologist and leader of the Macedonian liberation movement from the end of ninetieth and beginning of the twentieth century, most respected national hero in Macedonia. He was a teacher, intellectual, diplomat and humanist that inspired many people and in still famous, also in the neighboring Bulgaria.

[227] Krste Petkov Misirkov, *Macedonian Culture,* Sofia - Bulgaria, 1924, (Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Archives 1924).

[228] Andrew Rossos, *'The British Foreign Office and Macedonian National Identity, 1918-41'*, Slavic Review, vol. 53, number 2, The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, University of Illinois, Summer 1994.

[229] George F. Kennan, *The Other Balkan Wars, A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry in Retrospect with a New Introduction and Reflections on the Present Conflict* , The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Macedonian edition published by Kultura AD-Skopje, 1993.

[230] Krste Petkov Misirkov, *On Macedonian Matters,* Sofia - Bulgaria, 1903, edition republished by Dnevnik, Skopje, 01.08.2003.

Macedonian state[231]. The importance of this first Constitutional Assembly is that the principles that it underlines in its modern Constitutional Act[232] and the Declaration of the Basic rights of the Citizens[233], guarantee the civil and human right of all citizens, minority rights of the smaller ethnic communities, as well as the right for confession of faith[234].

These founding documents transformed the multiculturalism, cultural and other freedoms, and the open and vivid society from highly regarded traditions into institutionalized will and clear policy.

Nonetheless, later on, the federated status that Macedonia gained inside the Yugoslav Federation did not leave much space for independent governmental planning of foreign policies and diplomatic strategies. Additionally, the undemocratic relations in the society of the Federation, hindered many traditional international cultural links and internal democratic and cultural strengths of the Macedonian civic society[235].

Therefore, while diplomacy has remained the main domain of the Federal policies till the last days of the Federation[236], after the Second World War, and especially in the 70s' and 80s', the Macedonian Republic has developed strong cultural policies, with great focus on the international exchange. These policies, implemented through relatively independent agents, like diverse international festivals, events and manifestations have once again strengthen the links between Macedonian artists and intellectuals and their colleagues from many countries in the world[237], made new international ties with different societies, and promoted once again the strong links with the huge Macedonian Diaspora through all continents[238].

Thus, the artists and intellectuals that were send on cultural exchanges by the Republic, and worked and performed around the world, became an alternative diplomatic network, and the first state-financed cultural ambassadors of Macedonia. Additionally, the massive presence of foreign artists and intellectuals,

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231 Documents of the First plenary session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia, *Constitutional Act*, State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia, 1944, Article 34.

232 Ibid.

233 *Declaration of the Basic rights of the Citizens,* Documents of the First plenary session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia, State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia, 1944.

234 Ibid.

235 Todor Cepreganov, PhD, editor, *Great Britain and Macedonia – Documents 1945-48*, Second edition, Skopje 1996.

236 *Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,* adopted on February 21, 1974, National Archive of Macedonia, also available of search engine: www.wikipedia.org.

237 Council for Research into South-Eastern Europe of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Focused and interdisciplinary research, *The Macedonian Culture,* Skopje, 2000.

238 Gregory Michaelidis, *Salvation Abroad: Macedonian migration to North America and the Making if modern Macedonia, 1870-1970,* (PhD diss., Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park, 2005), p. 241.

on the international events and manifestations in almost all Macedonian towns, has strongly enriched the democratic character and supported the democratic changes in the Macedonian society.

2.2 Culture and Freedom

> The former Macedonian Ambassador to France, "*Jordan Plevnes was declared Knight of Art and Culture of the French Republic. On behalf of the President, the title was presented in Ohrid by French Ambassador to Macedonia Bernard Valero, who said Plevnes was one of the biggest personalities in the field of culture not only in Macedonia, but also internationally.*
>
> *'This decoration honors not only one of the largest individual of Macedonian culture, but also the deep, intensive, rich ties between the two countries', stressed ambassador Valero."*[239]
>
> Macedonian Information Agency

After the first free and democratic elections in 1990 and the Declaration of Independence in 1991, Macedonia has entered into a new phase in its development. The small, landlocked, and economically weak republic has become one of the newest fully independent countries in Europe. "Its entry onto the global stage as an independent country has been characterized by a number of challenges".[240] It has also, however, been marked by undeniable successes,[241] especially in the field of international relations.

As in many post-communist societies and countries in transition, the intellectuals and artists were the ones that have embraced first the quest for free and democratic society, and the responsibility to build and develop its institutions and its future. These prominent intellectuals, artists and thinkers, were also the ones that have faced one of the most challenging fields after the proclamation of the independence of the country, the international relations.

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[239] News of the Macedonian Information Agency "French Republic Decorated Ambassador Jordan Plevnes with Title Knight of Culture and Art," also transmitted of the cultural portal: www.culture.in.mk, 03.07.2008, Skopje, http://www.culture.in.mk/story.asp?id=24916&rub=40, (accessed July 6, 2008).

[240] Gillian A. Milovanovic, "The United States Perspective on Macedonia", *The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, Skopje, December 2006, p. 22 Ambassador Gillian Arlette Milovanovic is still actual U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia in 2008.

[241] Ibid., p. 22.

Thus, partly as a result of the undeveloped diplomatic system in the first years of independence and the limited number of professional diplomats, and partly as appreciation in the society for the capacities in the field of culture, many of these people were appointed as ambassadors and envoys, becoming a part of the official diplomatic system of the country and representing it in important centers of the international relations.

While these people were neither the most experienced nor the most educated ones in the skills of the classical diplomacy, their main role and success was as cultural and public diplomats. Being prominent professionals in their own fields they already had close ties with their colleagues in the other countries and established much more in the coming years. The main role of Macedonian ambassadors in the first years of the independence was to re-introduce one ancient and important branch of the European culture, now transformed and with a new face of a modern nation[242], both to the elites and the general public in the different states. Academician

Nonetheless, the contemporary challenges of the foreign relations of Macedonia, during the years, have reached far more complex dimensions. Emerging from the deeply troubled and bloody split of the Yugoslav Federation, this two-million central republic in the Balkans has challenged the regional geo-strategic reality with its independence[243], and had to confront with serious security, political and economic threats.

Because of its limited national resources Macedonia, had to produce effective answers to a wide range of issues. Among them, "most acute",[244] especially in the first years, were the policies of direct confrontation, endorsed by some immediate neighbors.[245] Some of these problems, especially those of cultural nature, so characteristic for the Balkan region, were seriously threatening the positions and future development of the new established state.

Thus, "while the Bulgarian and Serbian challenges" and provocations "to Macedonian identity are painfully felt by many Macedonians"[246] and had

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[242] From the personal conversation of the author with the Academician Nikola Kljusev, first Prime Minister of independent Macedonia, Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Skopje, 2006.

[243] Biljana Vankovska-Cvetkovska, PhD., "UNPREDEP in Macedonia: Achievements and Limits of Preventive Diplomacy," (*Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*, March 1999), p. 8, available on http://www.uottawa.ca/associations/balkanpeace/texts/vankovska-unpredep.pdf.

[244] International Crisis Group, *Macedonia's Name: Why the Dispute Matters and How to Resolve It, Executive Summary,* (ICG Balkans Report N° 122, 10 December 2001), p. 1, http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=1688.

[245] Memoirs of Kiro Gligorov, first President of independent Macedonia, *'Macedonia is all we have'*, (Publishing House Tri, Skopje, 2003), and in the Interview for Radio Free Europe, 11.09.2005.

[246] International Crisis Group, *Macedonia's Name: Why the Dispute Matters and How to Resolve It, Exacutive Summary,* (ICG Balkans Report N° 122, 10 December 2001), p. 10, http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=1688.

implications on the internal politics and social cohesion, the issues risen by the southern neighbor, Greece, had much more serious consequences for the foreign policy and international stands of the country.[247] The "denial of international legitimacy to the (Macedonian) constitutional name",[248] by Greece, has become a profound challenge for the multilateral relations and international promotion of Macedonia, and has become a serious and long-lasting burden in the bilateral relations of the two countries.[249]

Additionally, the newly independent state had to struggle with the regional instability and conflicts that were affecting its national "security and confidence",[250] economy and its international reputation. In the same time, the country had to undertake serious and many times painful reforms in the internal transformation of its society, striving to transform towards "democratic and free-market oriented" country.[251]

Therefore, the country has chosen to implement many diverse aspects and Cultural and Public Diplomacy, as its key assets, in its battle for winning the 'hearts and minds'[252] of the countries and citizens around the world. More importantly, Macedonia has used these strategies not just to build its international position, security and stability, but also for overcoming of its weaknesses[253] and transforming them into additional assets for its regional leadership and development. This wide implementation of the concepts and strengths of the 'soft power',[254] resulting with development of "good relations with all neighbors",[255] and internationally known patterns for harmony in the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multicultural society,[256] has transformed the country into creator and promoter of the regional stability in the Balkans.

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[247] Ibid.

[248] Ibid, p. 11.

[249] International Crisis Group, *Macedonia's Name: Why the Dispute Matters and How to Resolve It, Exacutive Summary,* (ICG Balkans Report N° 122, 10 December 2001), http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=1688.

[250] Henryk J. Sokalski, *An Ounce of Prevention: Macedonia and the UN Experience in Preventive Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace, Washington D.C. 2003, and also in, "Macedonia and the UN: from a case study in preventive diplomacy to an active contributor to global peace and security", (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, Skopje, December 2006), p.72.
Henryk J. Sokalski is Former Assistant Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Macedonia (1995-1998).

[251] Gillian A. Milovanovic, "The United States Perspective on Macedonia", (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS,* Skopje, December 2006), p. 19.

[252] Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 19, also used as common phrase in other analyses on 'soft power' cultural diplomacy, and related…

[253] Zoran Ilievski, MAE., *Conflict Resolution in Ethnically Divided Societies: The Case of Macedonia*, (MA thesis, University of Graz, 2006).

[254] Joseph S. Nye, concept elaborated in *'Soft Power"* Foreign Policy, autumn 1990.

[255] Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, "The Euro-Atlantic Integration is the Only Way for South East Europe to Achieve Lasting Security and Stability", *The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, October 2007, p. 111.

[256] Ibid.

The main focus of the Macedonian efforts in the international relations was on creating and promoting of a positive image of the country, and its culture and specific values, abroad. The emphases were placed on the free and democratic character and capacities of Macedonian society, based on the traditions of multiethnic and multi-confessional tolerance and coexistence, and acclaimed widely by the international community.[257] Macedonia endeavors to hold itself up as a pattern to other Balkan countries, and even wider, in its "democratic achievement(s)",[258] high standards of human rights, creative approaches in conflict resolution, and initiatives for peace and regional cooperation.

[257] Hansjoerg Eiff, former NATO Ambassador to Macedonia, "On NATO and Macedonia –A Mission in Skopje 1999-2000", (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, October 2007), p. 85.
[258] Ibid.

3. CULTURE AND NATION BRANDING

Macedonia is a "democratic country with authentic model of multicultural living, historical crossroad of diverse cultures and civilizations, but also a field for their continuous dialogue."[259]

Igor Ilievski, State Secretary, Macedonian MFA

Macedonia has undertaken few successful Nation Branding initiatives in the last two decades after the proclamation of the Independence. The culture, with all its aspects from the heritage to the culture of the modern life, has been in the very center of these initiatives.

The overall aim of these promotional efforts was focused on global projection of image of the county different from the negative perceptions connected with the neighborhood and the Balkan region in general. [260]

The first branding effort of the Republic of Macedonia titles "Macedonia - Oasis of Peace" was one of the highlights of Macedonian diplomacy and among the greatest successes of all Macedonian policies.

The brand was based on the principles of 'culture of peace'[261] and dialogue,[262] deeply rooted in the peaceful[263] and humanist ideas of the Macedonian people and especially intellectuals and thinkers throughout history. The ideas of peaceful coexistence of the Balkan nations proclaimed in the Macedonian 'manifestos'[264] from the end of the ninetieth and beginning of the twentieth century,[265] and the humanistic messages of the literature, and especially the poetry from the interwar

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[259] Statement of Mr. Igor Ilievski, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, from the analytic article: Public Diplomacy for membership in EU, BBC Macedonian. com, October 2006, available on http://www.bbc.co.uk/macedonian/news/story/2006/10/061027_mac_diplomacy.shtml (accessed April 15, 2008).

[260] Dimitar Mircev, *The Macedonian foreign Policy 1991-2006,* Az-Buki, Skopje, 2006, p. 38.

[261] United Nations, Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, October 1999, available on http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/2000.htm, (accessed April 20, 2008).

[262] Hansjoerg Eiff, former NATO Ambassador to Macedonia, *On NATO and Macedonia –A Mission in Skopje 1999-2000,* The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS, October 2007, p. 87.

[263] Sam Vaknin, "The Plight of the Kosovar", article published in *Middle East Times*, September 1998.

[264] *"Let us fuse our souls and hearts and save ourselves, so that we and our children and our children's children might live in peace, work calmly and make progress!...."* Manifesto of the Krushevo Republic, Krushevo 1903, quoted by Erwan Fouere, EU Special Representative and Head of European Commission Delegation to the Republic of Macedonia, in Meeting the Expectations and Fulfilling the Obligations: Macedonia and the EU Enlargement Strategy, The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS, April 2007, p. 195.

[265] Council for Research into South-Eastern Europe of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Focused and interdisciplinary research, *The Macedonian Culture,* Skopje, 2000.

period,[266] were taken and promoted as important 'intangible cultural heritage'[267] of the Macedonian people and basic "value", attitude pattern, model for behavior in internal and external relations and "way of living"[268] of the modern Macedonian nation.

The Foreign Ministry and the Government extended the message into "Macedonia - Oasis of Peace and Democracy", and supported it further, proving serious amount of financial and human resources. Thus, for more than a decade Macedonia was the locus of regional and international efforts for peace, involving international conferences and seminars of peace, tolerance and human rights, but also hosting peace negotiations,[269] refugees,[270] and democratic leaders.[271] The UN Special Representative in Macedonia, Mr. Henryk J. Sokalski, would summarize this diplomatic dynamics in the country, in his memories, in simple words: "Hardly a day would go by without important foreign visitors arriving in Skopje."[272]

Additional messages and campaigns, added as subtitles to this brand, were deployed to explain and advertise the concrete stands and policies of the newly established state. They corresponded and reacted to the political needs and priorities, but kept the spirit and the general frames of the new brand Macedonia.

Thus, Macedonia was emphasizing its determination for lasting peace and regional security through the projected message "Macedonia - The only state detached from Yugoslavia in a peaceful manner - Without a bullet".[273] Later on, the country has focused on promotion of its unique democratic capacities using the Brand "Macedonia - the only functional multiethnic democracy in the Balkan region".

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[266] Ibid.

[267] United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, 17 October 2003, available on http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf.

[268] United Nations, Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, October 1999, available on http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/2000.htm, (accessed April 20, 2008).

[269] BBC News: *Yugoslavs return to Kosovo talks*, World News: Europe, June 8, 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/363270.stm, (accessed April 25, 2008).

[270] Hansjoerg Eiff, former NATO Ambassador to Macedonia, *On NATO and Macedonia –A Mission in Skopje 1999-2000,* The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS, October 2007, p. 83.

[271] Eran Fraenkel and John Marks, European Centre for Common Ground in Brussels –Washington, "Making Peace in Macedonia", (*Yes! Magazine,* Spring 2000), http://www.yesmagazine.org/article.asp?ID=327.

[272] Henryk J. Sokalski, "Macedonia and the UN: from a case study in preventive diplomacy to an active contributor to global peace and security", (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, Skopje, December 2006), p.82.

[273] Memoirs of Kiro Gligorov, first President of independent Macedonia, *'Macedonia is all we have'*, (Publishing House Tri, Skopje, 2003), p. 97.

In addition, under the slogan "Macedonia - Land of Nature, Cradle of Culture",[274] the country has made an effort to put together and popularize all the richness of Macedonian contemporary cultural life and the deep historical layers and traditions. The success of this campaign done in coordination of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Economy, the Sector for Tourism,[275] was in the modern approach that treats the culture as common global good that can be shared, lived and consumed, and managed to avoid the controversies and cultural and historic disputes characteristic for the Balkan realities.

All together, this extremely and "unusually, (for a small state), active foreign policy",[276] developed by Macedonia has became an authentic voice of the country in the international relations, recognized and valued by the international community, as Macedonian unique "quest for peace and stability in the region and internationally."[277]

Finally, the branding initiatives of the Republic of Macedonia, based on the strategies of cultural diplomacy, represented one of the most effective tools of the diplomacy of this young state. Through these strategies, Macedonia has seriously strengthened its foreign policy stands and the relations with its strategic partners.

Thus, Doris Pack, the Chairwoman of the European Parliament's Delegation to Southeastern Europe, in its messages to the Macedonian politicians would say that Macedonia "should be proud of its accomplishments",[278] as it is regarded by the European Union "as an exemplary model of functioning multiethnic society".[279] Even greater recognition of Macedonia's efforts and contribution is given by the American strategists and foreign policy experts that claim that the "democratic and multiethnic Macedonia" is playing a crucial role and "has crucial importance for the stability" and prosperity of this part of Europe.[280]

Yet, while the general ideas in these diplomatic initiatives were lucid and ingenious, and helped seriously the Macedonian foreign policy objectives and the general development of the society, their implementation was rather unstructured,

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[274] Archives of the Ministry of Culture, Government of the Republic of Macedonia (Department of International Cooperation).

[275] Ibid.

[276] Archives of the Ministry of Culture, Government of the Republic of Macedonia (Department of International Cooperation), February 1995.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Doris Pack, "Macedonia and the New European Reality", (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, December 2006), p. 25.

[279] Ibid.

[280] *Macedonia: Prevention Can Work.* Special Report, no. 58 (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, March 27, 2000), http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr000327.html, (accessed April 25, 2008), and the *Quotations of the budgetary debate in the U.S. House of Representatives*, Conference Report on H.R. 4811, Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act 2001, 106th Cong. 2nd sess., October 24, 2000.

spontaneous and vague. Therefore, the only Balkan country with democratic capacity to implementing truly the principles of "culture of dialogue, and the concepts of compromise and power sharing,"[281] did not managed to use all its chances and promote these successes as loud as possible.[282]

[281] Hansjoerg Eiff, former NATO Ambassador to Macedonia, On NATO and Macedonia –A Mission in Skopje 1999-2000, (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, October 2007), p. 87.

[282] Sam Vaknin, *Lucky Macedonia or Macedonia's Serendipity*, Central European Review, July 1999, also in After the Rain, How the West Lost the East, (Skopje Bato & Divajn, 2000), p. 163.

4. THE STRUCTURE AND MAIN ACTORS IN MACEDONIAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

"The movie 'Dust' directed by the most successful Macedonian film director – and newly appointed Cultural Ambassador of Macedonia, Milco Mancevski, will be part of the program of the Kinshasa Film Festival… It is very rear for a film from South-East Europe to play in Africa. "[283]

Nova Makedonija,
biggest and oldest Daily Newspaper in Macedonia

Despite the important results of many of the foreign policy strategies based on the methods of cultural diplomacy, the numerous policies of the Macedonian administration in this field seem much decentralized, and sometimes not sufficiently coordinated.

Thus, the cultural capacities and vivid cultural life of the Macedonian society represent real strength and advancement in the international relations of the country. Yet, the decentralized approach of the government, operating through different departments and implementing agencies, has prevented the formation of more clear, integrated and efficient policy in this field.

Therefore, while some important links and collaborative initiatives between the governmental structure, policies and strategies and the vital cultural actors in the Macedonian society are revealing the great potential of the Macedonian cultural diplomacy, much more should be done in order to employ this tool to its full capacity.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Macedonia has primary responsibility for all forms and aspects of the international relations of the country, which includes also the international cultural relations, and other close fields of the cultural diplomacy. Regardless of this formal hierarchy inside the governmental structure, in the field of cultural diplomacy the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Macedonia collaborates closely with the Ministry of Culture.

Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affair sets just the overall foreign policies and strategies. The cultural diplomacy strategies, are integrated in the work of few departments of the foreign ministry, by the Directorate for

[283] Article "'Dust' in Congo, 'Before the Rain' in the Baltic", *Nova Makedonija*, First Macedonian Daily Newspaper, 19.06.2007, Skopje -Macedonia.

Public Diplomacy[284] is the main domain in the field of cultural and public diplomacy.

On the other hand, under this very general approach and directions of the foreign ministry, that aim to "coordinate and promote",[285] the Ministry of Culture is authorized to articulate more concrete policies in the field of international cultural relations. Through its Sector for International cooperation, European integration, Promotion of the culture and Cultural development,[286] the cultural ministry prepares and implements the main policies in the cultural diplomacy field.

The developed network of departments inside this sector of the cultural ministry and numerous cross-ministerial committees are covering different fields of the international cultural relations. Thus, for example, the Department for bilateral cooperation is focused more on the formalized cultural agreements, which provide a framework for bilateral cultural cooperation of Macedonia with other countries. Macedonia has signed such bilateral cultural agreements, with cultural cooperation action-plans for one to three years, with the neighboring Bulgaria, Albania and Serbia, with important regional partners, like Turkey, Croatia, Montenegro and Slovenia, but also with the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany, Spain, China, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, India, Egypt, Poland and other countries[287].

In addition, Macedonia has few cultural and informational centers abroad, one established by the government and few by the Macedonian Diaspora, with material and financial support from the government and the Macedonian business sector. The government also supports the work of the University departments for Macedonian language and literature abroad and the International Seminar on Macedonian language, Literature and Culture, with its annual summer school[288].

Most importantly, the real actors in the Macedonian cultural diplomacy are the civic organizations and initiatives. No matter if they are big festival, carnivals or unique citizens' initiatives, non-governmental organizations or informal groups, these authentic representatives of the culture and values of the Macedonian citizens, are constantly and freely communicating the culture, values and spirit of Macedonia with the people and organizations around the world.

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[284] Conference on cultural cooperation 'A Soul for Europe', *Report on Forum Skopje – 'A Soul for Europe'*, Skopje, April 2008.

[285] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Foreign Policy – Goals and Priorities*, www.mfa.gov.mk, 2007.

[286] Document, *National Program for Culture in the period 2004-2008*, Ministry of Culture, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2008.

[287] National Report, *Cultural Policy in Republic of Macedonia,* Ministry of Culture, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2004.

[288] 2008 Year of the Macedonian Language, *The Macedonian language in the globalized world,* Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2008.

Therefore, both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture in its strategies have given high priorities to the cooperation with the civic society[289], and are financially and materially supporting the work and projects of the civic sector[290].

Thus, even the biggest international events and festivals in Macedonia are organized as independent organizations or quasi-governmental agencies. They communicate independently with appropriate partners and, in many cases, bodies or agencies of foreign governments. They are financed mostly by the Ministry of Culture, and their host city or town local governments, but sometimes also by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or other governmental departments. The business sector is also important donor and supporter of such initiatives, which makes them sometimes more independent from the government and its short-term agenda.

While almost every Macedonian town is organizing at least one international cultural event, some of the more prominent are the Ohrid Summer festival, the International Poetry Festival 'Struga Poetry Evenings', the International Festival of Film Camera 'Manaki Brothers' in Bitola, the Skopje Jazz Festival, and Blues and Soul Festival in Skopje, the May Opera Evenings, or the Galicnik Wedding[291]. Some of these festivals are quite prominent internationally and all of them are big and strong, gathering many internationally recognized writers, painters, artists, performers and thinkers in Macedonia, and sending many of their Macedonian colleagues abroad.

Finally, even the numerous international art festivals and colonies, carnivals, big ethnic and traditional events, and other events with international participation organized in the smaller towns of Macedonia, has shown to be important cultural ties, that are wining the 'hearts and minds'[292] of thousands of artists, intellectuals, journalists, youngsters and tourists from different countries. Additionally they are supporting the vivid cultural life of the Macedonian towns, connecting Macedonian citizens with the values and ideas of different societies and cultures.

Concluding upon this diverse and vibrant picture of the Macedonian cultural diplomacy, it is fair to claim that, despite the strongly decentralized and many times uncoordinated model of cultural diplomacy, the case of Macedonia speaks of the important and irreplaceable role that cultural diplomacy can play in the foreign policy strategies of a small state.

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289 Expert Report, Committee Chairman Norbert Ridl , *Cultural Policy in Republic of Macedonia,* European program of overviews of national cultural policies, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, October 2003.

290 Ibid.

291 Document, *National Program for Culture in the period 2004-2008*, Ministry of Culture, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2008.

292 Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 19, also used as common phrase in other analyses on 'soft power' cultural diplomacy, and related…

5. THE DIASPORA

> *"America is such an outstanding country that within three generations, a relatively short period of time, my grandfather could be born in a mountain-top village in Macedonia, and I, his grandson, can wish the president good tidings as he goes off to give a major speech at Ellis Island, where my grandfather came in 1916."*[293]
>
> Timothy Goeglein[294],
> Former Special assistant to President George W. Bush and Deputy
> Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison

While the work with the Diaspora is perceived many times as separate field of governmental policies and interventions, its strategies of proving and maintaining people to people relations, close cultural links and common cultural understandings of citizens on different countries enter deeply into the domain of cultural and public diplomacy. Even more, in developing and small countries, with huge and disperse Diaspora, like in the case of Macedonia, governmental policies towards the immigrant communities and the interaction with them is of great importance. They are in the same time big challenge and promising strategy.

In this context, the Macedonian government places high concerns for the relations with the Macedonians and people of Macedonian origin, living and working around the world. These people are spreading the authentic messages of the Macedonian culture in different societies, and therefore are perceived as cultural ambassadors of the Republic of Macedonia. The big Macedonian Diaspora communities in the developed societies like the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany or Sweden[295], are real promoters of deep cultural ties that provide long-term good relations between Macedonia and these countries, so important in the global realities.

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[293] Remarks of Macedonian-American Tim Goeglein to the 80th Annual MPO Convention held at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago, Illinois, Macedonian Tribune, October 2001, also available on www.macedonian.org.
Macedonian Tribune is the oldest Macedonian newspaper in USA, published by the Macedonian Patriotic Organization.

[294] Timothy Goeglein was Special assistant to President George W. Bush and Deputy Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison from 2001 to 2008. He is a descendant of Macedonian emigrants, and born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, city that holds one of the biggest and oldest Macedonian communities in USA.

[295] Document, *Central Register of Macedonian Clubs and Organizations in the World*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2006.

Macedonian immigrants are organized in strong organizations, like the Macedonian Patriotic Organization, United Macedonians, United Macedonian Diaspora[296] and many others, mostly with seats in North America and branches around the world. While they all provide strong support for the country, their coordination and mutual relations are many times challenging and burdened with political and cultural misunderstandings.[297]

In this context, one of the key actors in the international cultural relations of Macedonia with its Diaspora communities is the Macedonian Orthodox Church.[298]. Its work has large focuses on cultural and educational activities[299], and, while being independent from governmental policies, it cooperates closely with the embassies and different cultural actors.

The governmental policies towards the Diaspora were also strengthened in the sixties and seventies, of the last century, through the establishment of the quasi-governmental agency 'Matica'[300]. The agency worked as a broker between the Macedonian embassies and consulates on one side, and the Diaspora clubs and organization on the other. 'Matica' has sent many educators, cultural and political protagonists, and educational material from Macedonia among the Macedonian emigrant communities[301] and vice versa. This model of coordination of policies with strong focus on cultural and educational exchanges[302] between the Macedonian immigrant communities around the world and the Macedonians living in the homeland has proven to be very effective.

Yet, in the years after the independence, many efforts were done to democratize this model of coordination of governmental policies towards the Diaspora. Accused as propagandist agency from the previous system[303], which is not providing "mutuality"[304] and two-ways communication, 'Matica' was dissolved and replaced with many different agents. Thus, today the cultural events organized by the cultural, social and religious organizations of the Macedonians in the

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[296] Document, *Central Register of Macedonian Clubs and Organizations in the World*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2006.

[297] Gregory Michaelidis, *Salvation Abroad: Macedonian migration to North America and the Making if modern Macedonia, 1870-1970,* (PhD diss., Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park, 2005).

[298] Ibid., p. 269

[299] Ibid.

[300] Ibid., pp. 240-245

[301] Ibid.

[302] Ibid.

[303] Ibid.

[304] *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective*, The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, Washington, DC, 2002.
The concept of 'mutuality', based on two-way communication, and presented as one of the important components by cultural and public diplomacy strategists, is British invention, elaborated also by Mark Leonard.

Diaspora, are coordinated and supported by separate Directorate in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the independent governmental body, the Emigration Agency of the Republic of Macedonia.

Finally, as one of the most recent policy developments, the government has started an initiative to appoint prominent artists and intellectuals of Macedonian origin in different countries, as official Cultural Ambassadors of the Republic of Macedonia. Thus, in the time when Macedonia is strengthening and professionalizing its diplomatic network, it also endeavors to keep the tradition of strong cultural representation and presence in foreign countries and in their cultural life. While, the first appointments are revealing a system based more on a political good will, than on systematic approach and clear policies, these new developments are perceived in the country as a starting point for a wave of new initiatives and approaches in the relations with the Macedonian Diaspora.

6. FUTURE OF MACEDONIAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: CONCLUDING THROUGH RECOMMENDATIONS

This third part of the thesis has argued that the cultural diplomacy strategies were constant, important and many times key component of Macedonian foreign policy.

Macedonia has many historical preconditions and advantages for developing strong policies in this field, such as the strong cultural actors and the multicultural and open society, empowered by its good geo-strategic position of the country and the presence and interest of different cultural and political partners.

Nonetheless, while Macedonia has made some "great strides in its foreign relations",[305] and has accumulated serious cultural, social and political capital in the last decades, other countries in the region are also slowly recovering from their troubled transition, characterized mostly by undemocratic, corrupt and nationalistic governance. These bigger states, with capacities and resources in many fields, can easily catch up with the Macedonian tempo, and become strong in some fields dominated by the Macedonian cultural and public diplomacy in the moment. Additionally, the emerging global threats, and instability and conflicts in other regions of the world, are slowly diminishing global attention to the Balkan region. This means that important partners of Macedonian diplomatic initiatives might lose interest if the process is not actively and innovatively facilitated.[306]

Taking all this into consideration, Macedonian cultural policies and diplomacy does not have chance to rest on the glory of the past. The still young administration of the newly independent country has to act quickly, and reinvest seriously in creative strategies and human and financial resources, in order to build on further on the competitive advantages acquired especially in the last two decades.

In other words, if this society wants to gain new diplomatic victories through its cultural resources and the strategies of the cultural diplomacy, then it needs to make sure that sufficient emphasis and proper resources are placed on this field.

Nonetheless, this does not mean necessarily huge increase of the budgets in this and related fields. Certainly, such strategy would be unrealistic and unsustainable in long terms for a small country as Macedonia. Instead, an ambitious reform process, which should result with effective and focused institutional frame, policies

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[305] Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, "The Euro-Atlantic Integration is the Only Way for South East Europe to Achieve Lasting Security and Stability", (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS,* October 2007), p. 111.

[306] Sam Vaknin, *After the Rain: How the West – Lost the East*, (Narcissus Publications, Prague, 2000), also in *After the Rain, How the West Lost the East,* (Skopje Bato & Divajn, 2000), p. 162.

and priorities, is a possible path towards a new cultural diplomacy, prepared to face the contemporary and upcoming realities and challenges.

In this context, one of the biggest challenges worldwide, and in Macedonian case especially important due to the limited resources, is the construction of an "effective system of governance" and coordination in the field of cultural diplomacy.[307] A starting point for such development is the greater recognition in the society and especially by the government for this diplomatic doctrine. This supposes formalized presence and treatment of the cultural diplomacy, as integrated system of policies, coordination and measures, both through the institutional frame and in the policy documents.

Another recommendation, inspired by the positive experiences in other countries, but, in my understanding, very appropriate for the Macedonian reality, is the creation of central independent body that will create, coordinate and implement strategies in the field of cultural diplomacy[308].

Such body, alike to the British Council, Goethe Institute or Culture Ireland, will bring many advantages for the Macedonian cultural diplomacy. Its central position has capacity to unify strongly, shape and promote the cultural messages and energy produced and exchanged by Macedonian citizens, institutions and organizations. Even more, when we consider that the practice of work through independent or quasi-governmental agencies in not unknown in Macedonia, which has already established common structures in some other sectors, like the Invest Macedonia[309] and Visit Macedonia agencies.

In addition, such strengthened and coordinated system, with clear and equal representation of all relevant actors might be capable to take new initiatives for more effective measures. One of them might be the geographic prioritization of the cultural exchange that will correspond and support the foreign policy priorities of Macedonia. This step should not aim for any political influence or restriction over the cultural policies and actors, instead through appropriate support and subventions might focus some of their large potentials on the implementation of the foreign policy priorities of the country[310], like the European integration[311],

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307 Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, J. Holden, Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy, (*Demos, London, 2007), p. 82

308 Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, *Culture and Diplomacy - Thirty-first Report to the Government*, (the Hague, 1987), p. 36.
While this tendency is widely present in the cultural diplomacy theory and the practice of many counties, it is more extensively elaborated in this Report, under the chapter *Entrusting implementation to an autonomous body.*

309 Agency for Foreign Investments of the Republic of Macedonia, Invest Macedonia, *Investor's Guide 2007,* Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2007.

310 Kirsten Bound, et al., *Cultural Diplomacy,* Demos, London, 2007, p. 82.

311 Petra Masinova, Former Director of the Department for Information on European Affairs, Office of the Government of the Czech Republic, Communicating Europe – Challenge for Macedonia, (The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS, April 2007), pp. 149-150.

trans-Atlantic partnership and the intensified collaboration with other countries identified as strategic partners[312].

Furthermore, important aspect for the future of the Macedonian cultural diplomacy and the success of its initiatives will be the relation with the global media and the new technologies. This is probably the weakest aspect for the actual Macedonian cultural diplomacy, not just in the sense of following the novel technological trends, but also in the sense of building understanding for the new sensibilities and cultural dimensions of this new global communicational devices and spaces for cultural interaction. While many measures are already undertaken, as part of the campaign 'Macedonia- land of Informatics' and the numerous projects of the governmental Secretariat for Information Society,[313] the impact of this measures to the cultural and foreign policies of the states is still modest and in the beginning phases.

Thus, the county's promotional messages and materials are present on global media, like CNN, and in prominent journals in targeted counties, like Financial Times, Le Monde, or Corriere della Sera, just in the last few years, and they are mostly linked with economic and touristic promotion. Thus, the advantages and unique qualities of the Macedonian culture and society, widely known and recognized by experts in Balkan realities, and also some experienced politicians and diplomats,[314] are none-existing for the wider global public.

Even more, being a newly independent country, Macedonia still has to confront with total ignorance about its existence in many countries around the world. Therefore, to country and government should take a realistic and pragmatic course, and start new initiatives accommodated to the priorities and upcoming challenges. The new Macedonian cultural diplomacy initiatives, if they need to be effective and relevant, must have much more structured approach, targeting both towards the "broad public and specific target group(s)", like "opinion leaders, interest groups, or lobbyists".[315]

The new stage of development of the Macedonian cultural diplomacy will have to answer to the global stand of the country, and its economic, political and security needs. One of the key components, which will increase the outreach of

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[312] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Foreign Policy – Goals and Priorities*, www.mfa.gov.mk, 2007, (accessed May 1, 2008).

[313] Republic of Macedonia, Ministry of Transport and Communications, *National strategy for development of Electronic Communications with Information Technologies*, Strategic Directions, Skopje, 2006.

[314] Doris Pack, "Macedonia and the New European Reality", (*The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, December 2006), pp. 25-29.

[315] Petra Masinova, Former Director of the Department for Information on European Affairs, Office of the Government of the Czech Republic, "Communicating Europe – Challenge for Macedonia", *(The Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal CROSSROADS*, April 2007), p. 151.

the Macedonian message, is the strategic approach towards the "information tolls and channels"[316] and the "effective work with the international media".[317]

Finally, while Macedonia is proud of its cultural stands and achievements, it remains a small country will big liabilities, and burdens from the Balkan's troubled past. The newest developments in the bilateral relations with Greece,[318] and their implications in important fields of the Macedonian foreign policy priorities,[319] have shown that much more is to be accomplished in the future. While the modern and modest cultural diplomacy strategies of Macedonia have helped enormously to this almost anonymous country in the two decades lasting "global cultural war"[320] with the neighboring cultural giant Greece, they did not close or solve the problems.

Yet, while cultural diplomacy and its strategies cannot answer all problems in the international relations, in near future they might prove to be useful tool in overcoming of the Balkan cultural problems, thus helping the national interests of the Balkan states and the well-being of their citizens.

In conclusion, while Macedonia has used cultural diplomacy strategies widely and successfully in the first decades of its foreign relations, the future brings huge challenges and concurrence, inevitably urging for fast improvements towards modern, compact and flexible administrative system and strategic policies in the field that should predict and anticipate the new global occurrences and realities. The new cultural diplomacy will be actively shaped with the development of the Macedonian society and the global realities, but the cultural potential of Macedonia promises that this creative strategy will remain in the center of the diplomatic practice of the country.

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316 Ibid.

317 Ibid.

318 After signing a partial resolution in 1995 about the 'name dispute' the relations between Macedonia and Greece were slowly, but constantly, improving, especially in their economic aspects. Yet, Macedonian aspirations for membership in NATO have re-intensified the diplomatic provocations and hostile attitudes.

The German prominent newspaper Spiegel informs on the developments as following: *'What next for Macedonia? The small Balkan republic took out advertisements spreading over two full pages in the Friday editions of several Western papers to plea for international support in its bid to continue calling itself Macedonia. But after Greece on Thursday once again threatened to veto the country's membership in NATO if it doesn't change its name, it remains unclear when the years-old dispute might be solved.'*, in *NATO Wannabe Macedonia Demands 'Freedom and Justice'*, Spiegel International, March 07, 2008.

319 During the NATO summit in Bucharest in April, Macedonia was not invited to join NATO because of Greece's veto over the name dispute.

320 Loring M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), also review of *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), available on http://press.princeton.edu/titles/5750.html, (accessed May 15, 2008).

Conclusion

"Globalization will be a force for diversity and not uniformity."[321]

Bill Clinton, President of the United States

The cultural globalization is rapidly pluralizing and reviving the contemporary international cultural dynamics. It imposes a new pace of cultural exchange, where nations continuously and actively urge to present and propose their values, identity and aspirations, but in the same time they are exposed to the ideas, ideals and values of the others.

In this increased interaction, nations and cultures enter into dialogues and debates, and inspire each other, but they also misunderstand and misinterpret each-others' messages and many times clash badly. This is why, culture and diplomacy have crucial role in these relations, their work and many times common efforts carry great responsibility for the future of all nations and people in the world. In this context, the role and importance of cultural diplomacy has dramatically increased, and it has become one of the most prominent strategies in contemporary foreign policies.

Cultural diplomacy is not a new concept. It has been used and mastered through history, and it played crucial role in diverse historical developments, especially in the last two centuries. Yet, nowadays this diplomatic strategy is entering into new phase of its development. It has been rediscovered as solution to many contemporary global threats and challenged, and it is deployed by various modern diplomatic systems as crucial aspect of the efforts to strengthen the position of different states, nations and societies in the global relations. Today, although sometimes under other names, forms and extents its appearances can be traced in almost any diplomatic practice. Thus, cultural diplomacy is gradually becoming inevitable feature of international relations and irreplaceable tool in the toolkit of contemporary diplomacy.

[321] Speech of President Clinton, *The First White House Conference on Culture and Diplomacy*, (Washington DC, November 28, 2000), p. 4, available on http://www.state.gov/r/whconf/final_rpt.pdf, (accessed May 20, 2008).

This paper began with the theoretical basis of cultural diplomacy, claiming that this diplomatic strategy has unique capacities to build and maintain sound foreign relations, and to support the national stands and common interests of states. The study in its first part exposes the virtues of cultural diplomacy and the advantages of its deployment in different historical and political contexts. At the same time, it compares the characteristics of cultural diplomacy to those of related strategies. Thus, it provides substantial evidence for the essential and creative role of cultural diplomacy, based on the capacities of culture, dialogue and mutuality.

The study then proceeded with providing a multi-country comparison of cultural diplomacy, as well as providing an analysis of the national dynamics and the institutions and strategies of different states. The unique aspect of this part is the unconventional approach and scope. It provides critical analyses on the cultural diplomacy of the traditional western powers, but it also analyzes in dept the trends and practices of the newly emerging big powers, medium-sized states and even the small and less experienced ones.

Finally, the thesis presents, through comprehensive examination of the case study of the Republic of Macedonia, how important cultural diplomacy can be for the overall foreign policy strategy of a young, small and politically troubled state.

The question that remains to be answered is which of these lessons and analyses could be used elsewhere, especially in the contexts of microstates and the states troubled with serious political and security problems?

Yet, the author considers that even with this scope the study has important applicative value, which is one of its strongest points. This is more than visible if we take into consideration that the study, especially in its final part, has dimensions and concrete recommendations applicable in the realities of different small states, as well as the fact that applicative studies are a true deficit in the Republic of Macedonia.

In addition, the author is also hopeful that the theoretical overview, as well as the comparative study of cultural diplomacy, conveyed in this thesis, will be a modest contribution to the body of global research and will inspire further analyses in the field.

Rome, July 2008

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