

Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the term of Cultural Diplomacy, which is quite new in the domain of Polish foreign policy and in the field of international public relations. Although this term is used increasingly often by political scientists, communications experts as well as politicians it is still an area, which is relatively little known. The concepts of public and cultural diplomacy are intertwined with the concept of 'branding' or to put it simply brand management. It may be assumed that the basic principles in building the brand of a country are the same as in the commercial sphere of identity building. Art and culture are in the forefront of many countries' promotional efforts. These countries recognize that showing their cultural heritage provides them with an opportunity of showing who they are, creating a positive image, thus helping to achieve their political aims.

1. Introduction

Cultural Diplomacy is a term, which is quite new in the domain of Polish foreign policy. Although this term is used increasingly often by political scientists, communications experts as well as politicians it is still an area, which is relatively little known. Art and culture are in the forefront of many countries' promotional efforts. These countries recognize that showing their cultural heritage provides them with an opportunity of showing who they are, creating a positive image, thus helping to achieve their political aims. With a debate currently under way on the subject of public diplomacy it is worth reflecting on the role that could be played by culture and art in Poland's foreign policy. This is the aim I have before me in this article.

To start with it is worth reflecting on the concept of culture, which will make it easier to analyze the concept of cultural diplomacy. The literature on this subject provides multiple definitions of culture. A.Kroeber and C.Kluckhohn in their work, "Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions" collected 168 definitions and divided them into six types, which emphasize certain aspects in different definitions, rarely exclusively and autonomously- these aspects being, descriptive-listing (nominal), historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic.

What is interesting from the point of view of cultural diplomacy are the definitions that define the historical aspect of culture. It is worth quoting S.Czarnowski here, who emphasizes the historical factor. As I will show in the further part of this article it is this aspect that governments in Poland emphasize in their conduct of cultural diplomacy. Their understanding of culture is that it is, 'the shared heritage, the fruit of the creative and processed effort of countless generations. It is the body of the objective elements of the communal assets, thus capable of being disseminated¹.' Such an understanding is close to that articulated by E.Labno-Falecka, who links the nominal and historical aspects and differentiates the following concepts of culture:

¹ Czarnowski S.(2005), *Kultura*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, p.34.

- In the strict sense- culture is a value in itself (traditional forms such as painting, literature, music, sculpture, theatre, film);
- In the wider sense- culture versus nature- everything that is not nature is culture. Culture is the civilization created by man. In this sense we all create culture².

According to A.Kłosowska culture means defined classes of objects, phenomena and processes or certain types of behaviour. However in the philosophical sense culture is understood by everything which does not grow of itself from nature but comes about from the conscious effort of man, being the effect thought and human activity³. In continuing in this vein it is impossible not to mention the definition by R.Linton who in defining culture says that it constitutes a set of behaviours people have learned, elements of which are common for members of a certain society and communicated within it⁴. In linking these two concepts it can be said that culture is not only the behaviour within a certain society but also the material achievements of members and results of joint undertakings.

2. Public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy

As R.Lawniczak noted in Poland until recently public diplomacy was understood in its narrower meaning as cultural diplomacy⁵. It is worth noting, however, that there are a number of theoretical approaches to the relationship between the two concepts. Before entering into discussing them I would like to focus on the concept of public diplomacy.

The term public diplomacy was first coined in 1965 by E.Guillon. He felt that public diplomacy is concerned with the influence of social standpoints have on the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. It covers aspects of international relations that fall outside traditional diplomacy such as influencing public opinion abroad, mutual impacting by private groups and pressure groups in one another's countries, reporting on events abroad and their impact on politics, communicating between those whose work this is, between diplomats and foreign correspondents and the process of inter-cultural communication⁶.

This defined differently by G.D. Malone who considers that PD is the common term for public undertakings aimed at countries abroad, especially in the fields of information, education and culture. According to him the aim of PD is to influence citizens of other countries to achieve a positive attitude to one's country⁷. He therefore concludes that that this form of communication constitutes two kinds of undertakings. The first, short-term ones, consist of

² Łabno – Fałęcka E. (1999), *Kreowanie obrazu Polski w świecie – Zagraniczna polityka kulturalna*, [in:] *Kreowanie obrazu Polski w świecie*, A. Kuklińskiego i Kingi Pawłowskiej (ed.), Nowy Sącz: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Biznesu, p. 182.

³ Kłosowska A. (1981), *Socjologia kultury*, Warszawa: PWN, 1981.

⁴ Linton R. (1952), *The Cultural Background of Personality*, London: Routledge & K. Paul, p.31.

⁵ Ławniczak R. (2008), *Słowo wstępne*, B. Ociepka(ed.), *Dyplomacja publiczna*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UWr, p. 7.

⁶ What is Public Diplomacy, <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1.htm>, (05.06.2003).

⁷ Malone G.D. (1988), *Organizing the Nation's Public Diplomacy*, Boston: University Press of America, p. 1.

shaping opinion abroad favorable to the policy of the government of the day. The second, long-term ones, have as their aim familiarizing people abroad with the given country and its citizens. Public diplomacy is seen by some analysts in the context of inter-cultural communication. And thus H.Tuch feels that governmental efforts at establishing an appropriate communicative environment for foreign policy, is in effect something of a damage limitation exercise to reduce the level of mistakes, misunderstandings and bad reception, which complicate the relations of a given country with another one⁸.

B. Ociepka defines PD in the context of image and feels that the aim of PD is to create or reinforce a positive image of a given entity on the international stage by influencing public opinion, fostering positive attitudes to the entity thus facilitating the achievement of its aims in the field of foreign policy⁹. Also J.Wang thinks that 'public diplomacy makes it possible for the reputation of the country to be shaped in a way which will determine its place on the international stage. The reputation is rooted in the public opinion and indicates whether the country has the mandate for its undertakings¹⁰.

According to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs PD is the sum of all the foreign undertakings of the country abroad aimed at shaping public opinion abroad. In contrast to diplomacy perceived in the traditional sense it does not cover the interaction between governments but rather between the government of one country and the society in another¹¹. This definition takes into account new trends. It draws a clear distinction traditional and public diplomacy, which should be in parallel. The technological revolution that took place in the XXth Century made access to information easier. It has certain benefits but requires more credibility in mutual contacts. It is increasingly easy to send knowledge over distance and this enables the image of the country to be shaped. One has to take into account that this will be processed by its recipients- the international community.

In discussing the concept of public diplomacy it is impossible not to make reference to M. McClellan's pyramid, who also tried to place it within the context of traditional diplomacy. The top of the pyramid is understood by its author as voices on the forum of international organizations, military alliances or trade agreements. It therefore follows that the next level is involvement that requires a two-stage flow of information. This means the support of a given country by opinion makers who can later influence the opinions of others. Looking at this pattern the next level of developing knowledge by the country projecting its image are studies about the country, exchange programs, cultural centers. The next level is curiosity and the attendant search for information about the country, such as concerts or studies in the given language. The basis of the pyramid is consciousness about the given country in the basic target group, i.e. the society in the given country in which, as a result of military actions, aid programs, cultural

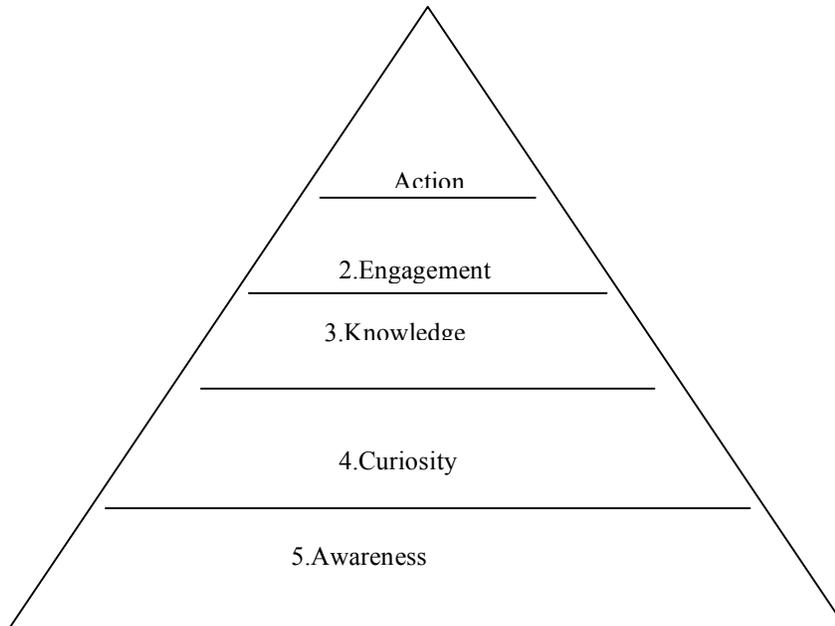
⁸ Tuch H. (1990), *Communicating with the World. US Public Diplomacy overseas*, New York, p. 4.

⁹ Ociepka B. (2008), *Public diplomacy*, *Hasło encyklopedyczne*, [in:] Donsbach (ed.) W., *The International Encyclopedia of Communication* vol. IX, Blackwell Publishing, p. 39-56.

¹⁰ Wang J. (2006), *Managing international reputation and international relations in the global era: Public diplomacy revisited*, "Public Relations Review" no 32, p. 92.

¹¹ „Promocja członkostwa Polski w UE w 2000 r. Sprawozdanie z realizacji Programu Ramowego Promocji Zagranicznej Procesu Akcesji RP do UE”. MSZ, Departament Dyplomacji Kulturalnej, Warszawa 2001.

events or the mass media- awareness of the existence of the given country on the international scale is communicated¹².



Rys. 1. Komunikacyjna piramida dyplomacji publicznej, Źródło: M. Mc Clellan, Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy. www.publicdiplomacy.org/45.htm, 23.04.2005.

P. van Ham is of the view that the world of geopolitics and power is being replaced by a post-modernist world of images and influence. Traditional diplomacy is disappearing and the politics of creating an identity is becoming the main focus of activity for politicians and countries. Traditional diplomacy is focusing on problems whereas public diplomacy on values¹³.

It is also worth quoting the definition of E.Gilboa who talks about public diplomacy from the perspective of the media. He views them as a conduit for state and non-state actors to channel their messages in order to influence the public opinion of societies abroad. Gilboa puts forward three DP approaches which are distinguished by their

¹² Mc Clellan M., *Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy*. www.publicdiplomacy.org/45.htm, (23.04.2005).

¹³ Ham P.(2001), *The Rise of the Brand State. The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation*. "Foreign Affairs", September-October, Vol. 80, No.5, p. 4.

participants their aims and methods they employ¹⁴. The basic variant refers to the use of the media in countries where the state has a bad image. The aim here is to communicate balanced information about the state. This variable assumes that the population who will be the recipient of such information will exert pressure on their government in order to change the policy towards the state that channels the information. This method was employed by the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The next one is the non-state transnational variant. In this case the author reiterates that it is not only governments that can engage in diplomacy but the last two decades have shown that non-state players have impacted on views and opinions that could later influence the decisions that governments have taken (human rights campaigns regarding China). The last approach, or variant- the domestic public relations variant concerns the use of PR agencies and lobbyists by the state in order to conduct public diplomacy. The author stresses that it is more effective than undertakings by the state, as local PR agencies know best how to achieve best a given aim in a given country¹⁵.

Apart from public diplomacy E.Gilboa offers two other models of utilizing the media as the main instrument of implementing foreign policy. These are media diplomacy utilize the media in order to communicate with other players and the media broker diplomacy model whereby the media temporarily take on the mantle of diplomats and play the role of mediators in international negotiations¹⁶.

Some analysts, like M.Kunczik identify public diplomacy with public relations played out on an international stage. In each of these areas the creation of an image in an international context is of key importance. B.Stignitzer, however, is of the view that both notions developed autonomously with public relations springing from the science of communication, whereas public diplomacy public diplomacy from political science and international relations. G.Szondi is also of the view that public diplomacy falls within the realm of the foreign policy of countries with international cultural relations, national branding, tourism promotion and image management in the sphere of international public relations¹⁷. I feel, however, that there are multiple points of convergence such as the methods and means they employ. Moreover they can cooperate and draw on one another's achievements. Although some documents concerning the creation of Poland's image make mention of public diplomacy, terms such as promotion or public relations are still more frequent.

Returning briefly to the notion of cultural diplomacy it is worth noting that some researchers treat it as a part of public diplomacy. B.Stignitzer thus mentions two functions fulfilled by public diplomacy, i.e. political information

¹⁴ Gilboa E. (2001), *Diplomacy in the Media Age: Three Models of Uses and Effect*, „Diplomacy & Statecraft”, No.2, p. 1-28.

¹⁵ Gilboa E. (2001), *Diplomacy in the Media Age: Three Models of Uses and Effect*, „Diplomacy & Statecraft”, No.2, p. 5-7.

¹⁶ Gilboa E. (2001), *Diplomacy in the Media Age: Three Models of Uses and Effect*, „Diplomacy & Statecraft”, No.2, p.4.

¹⁷ Szondi G.(2005), *The Panteon of International Public Relations for Nation States: Country Promotion in central and Eastern Europe*, [in.] Ławniczak R. (ed.), *Introduction Market Economy Institutions and Instruments: The Role of Public Relations in Transitions Economies*, Poznań: Piar.pl, p. 217.

and cultural communication¹⁸. The aim of the first is to reach target groups abroad by means such as the dissemination of information. This function is primarily carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*hereinafter sometimes referred to as MSZ- its Polish abbreviation- transl note*). Cultural communication is, on the other hand, is implemented by the MSZ culture and education departments, concerning areas such as the cinema or art.

Similarly H.Frederic who includes culture in his definition of public diplomacy writes, ‘public diplomacy covers undertakings aimed at (recipients) abroad in the fields of information, education and culture, the aim of which is to influence a foreign government by influencing its citizens.’¹⁹ Also, G.D.Malone, whom I had quoted previously, making reference to the United States, is of the view that public diplomacy is composed of supporting policy with cultural messages. The extent to which the aim of the support of policy gathering support for the country’s foreign policy is echoed by the aim of cultural communication- namely helping foreign societies better understand a given country and to foster understanding between the citizens of the states in question. It is a long-term view that it takes, and should be separated from politics. Of course, both serve the national interest and cultural policy can make its contribution to creating a climate in which policy can be understood better, although both methods can be kept separate²⁰. C.P.Schneider also feels that CD is a significant area of a wider CD effort²¹. M.D. Berger, commenting on the relations between Arab countries and the West stresses the role of culture in international relations. He feels that whereas public diplomacy is one-dimensional and puts emphasis on policy, cultural diplomacy is a multi-dimensional approach, which focuses on mutual understanding. It can not, therefore be viewed as the promotion of the culture of a given country as it focuses on the mutual interest, which is the pre-requisite for effective action²².

M.Leonard writes about three dimensions of public diplomacy, i.e. information management, strategic communication and relationship-building. While the first dimension is seen as a short-term activity and is most reminiscent of traditional diplomacy, the two successive dimensions are long-term in their nature. The communications strategy is based on mass-media instruments, advertising and public relations. It is an active, long-term activity. The last dimension, which is the most interesting from the point of view of cultural diplomacy is that of relation building. This is based on the organization of scientific exchanges, conferences and presentations of the given country’s culture²³.

A.Haigh feels that the notion of cultural diplomacy has its roots in cultural relations and defines it as, ‘undertakings taken by states in the sphere of international cultural relations’²⁴. G.Szondi also makes reference to cultural relations who feels that their aim is to ensure understanding and cooperation between the societies in

¹⁸ Signitzer B. (1995), *Public Relations und Public Diplomacy*, [in:] W. Mahle (red), *Deutschland in der internationalen Kommunikation*, Konstanz, p.73.

¹⁹ Frederic H., (1993), *Global communication and international relations*, Belmont CA: Wadsworth, p. 229.

²⁰ Malone G.D. (1988), *op.cit.*, p. 3-4.

²¹ Schneider C.P. (2004), *Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy that Works*, Clingendael: Netherlands Institute.

²² Berger M., (2008) Introduction, [w:] Berger M., Plas E., Huygens Ch., Akrimi N., Schneider S., *Bridge the Gap, or Mind the Gap? Culture in Western – Arab Relations*, Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 3-4.

²³ Leonard M., Stead S., Smewing C., (2002), *op.cit.*, p. 8

²⁴ Haigh A. (2001), *Co to jest dyplomacja kulturalna?*, [in:] Lewandowski C. (ed.), *Międzynarodowe stosunki kulturalne. Wybór dokumentów i literatury*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, p. 94 -95.

countries for mutual benefit. He feels that, ‘cultural diplomacy has always been one of the pillars of foreign policy in many Central European countries²⁵. It is strictly connected with the country’s government and achieving its foreign policy objectives. Its ultimate aim is familiarizing foreign recipients with the country, its inhabitants, culture, language, and to create a positive image of the country via its culture. In contrast to cultural relations, diplomacy tends to be one-sided. The standpoint of G.Szondi is also interesting because he treats cultural diplomacy from the point of view of public relations. For him it is not a part of public diplomacy but rather an element of the ‘pantheon of reputation management’, alongside creating the brand of a place, the brand of a country, the brand of perception and public diplomacy itself²⁶. M.C. Cummings defines CD as an Exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture between countries to facilitate mutual understanding²⁷.

P.M. Taylor views cultural diplomacy from the perspective of the media and feels that it is an invention of the French from the end of the XIX century. These are government undertakings, which via the media communicate to other nations information about themselves, in a supposedly non-political manner. The basic instruments of CD are language teaching, educational exchanges, exhibitions and presentations. He feels that this is political activity, which serves the national interest under cover of culture. It links this phenomenon with the interesting aspect of cultural imperialism in noting that the governments of many countries spend a significant proportion of their budgets in promoting their culture abroad²⁸. F.A. Gauseau also makes reference to this in an article concerning cultural diplomacy, where he opined that the aim of French policy in the wake of its defeat at the hands of the Prussian army was to seek, ‘compensation for the political weakness of the state in its cultural strength²⁹.’ Culture in this sense became the conduit in implementing policy with the aim of popularizing her as being more valuable than other entities. Hence, what those who speak of cultural imperialism, what takes place here is an unequal exchange of culture or a domination of a given culture³⁰.

In Polish literature on the subject of communications and international relations the term of cultural diplomacy was not used until relatively recently. It was the cultural policy of a country that was mentioned until recently. It was within its terms that promotion of Polish culture was articulated. “The cultural policy of the country is conducted on all the levels of government. Its assumptions should show the basic aims of the state in terms of maintaining and developing the commonwealth and propagating the national heritage and shaping the principles of

²⁵ Szondi G., (2008), Filary zarządzania reputacją: dyplomacja publiczna w Europie Wschodniej z perspektywy public relations, [in:] B. Ociepka (ed.) (2008) *Dyplomacja publiczna*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UW, p. 75.

²⁶ Szondi G., (2008), Filary zarządzania reputacją: dyplomacja publiczna w Europie Wschodniej z perspektywy public relations, [in:] B. Ociepka (ed.) (2008) *Dyplomacja publiczna*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UW, p. 72.

²⁷ Cummings M.C. (2003), *Cultural Diplomacy and the United State Government: a Survey*. Center for Arts and Culture, s. 6, [in:] Schneider C.P. (2004), *Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy that Works*, Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 1.

²⁸ Taylor P.M. (2007), *Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 79.

²⁹ Geusau von A., (1995), *Dyplomacja kulturalna i narodowe stereotypy: czy tylko do użytku służbowego?* [in:] Walas T. (ed.), *Narody i stereotypy*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, p. 64.

³⁰ Dobek – Ostrowska B., (2006), *Komunikowanie polityczne i publiczne*, Warszawa: PWN, p.55.

supporting creativity and promotion of Poland's culture abroad³¹.' Also the document entitled, ' Poland's foreign cultural policy and its aims between 2001-2003', prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture and the National Heritage presented a similar approach. "The direct aim of the state's cultural policy is the presentation of Polish culture and our scientific achievements with a further, indirect aim, of projecting a more objective image of Poland to an ever wider group of recipients abroad, which is particularly more relevant in view of (Poland's) efforts to join the European Union³². As J.K. Ujazdowski³³ noted cultural diplomacy is the third element of foreign policy. According to him it constitutes the implementation of the country's foreign policy with the aid of the country's cultural and intellectual achievements. It thus follows that it should also cover the promotion of Poland's political and economic achievements. He feels that cultural contacts pave the way for other forms of cooperation. Also, often where strict political cooperation is impossible or difficult cultural contacts are the basic tool in shaping international relations³⁴. E. Labno-Falecka concurs with his view noting that Poland's cultural Policy is an integral part of foreign policy³⁵.

B. Ociepka, in writing about classical diplomacy stresses the processes, which influence alternative forms international relations. These are the propagation of education, promotion of written texts, cross-border flow of information and accessibility of culture. The author feels that cultural diplomacy conducted by the government is significant in two ways. Firstly, it covers bilateral and international agreements and can thus be treated as negotiations. Furthermore these undertakings are conducted by diplomats in order to verify these agreements and further the image of the country they represent³⁶.

Among the Council of Ministers documents from 2000 there is a definition of cultural diplomacy. It is worded thus, 'cultural diplomacy is a significant element of the country's foreign policy, the promotion of Poland's culture, education and art and a significant element in shaping our country's positive image abroad³⁷.'

Taking into account the different approaches I will define cultural diplomacy as the promotion of a country through widely understood culture- ideas, history, art, a system of values and tradition. Its aim is to foster mutual understanding between nations.

Often, within the context of deliberations on the notion of cultural diplomacy the concept of historical diplomacy appears. This can be understood as undertakings which are aimed at shaping opinion about a country on the basis of information about its history or to promote the country with the aid of the history itself.

³¹ http://www.kprm.gov.pl/archiwum/1937_2913.htm (19.07.2008).

³² Zagraniczna polityka kulturalna Polski i jej priorytety na lata 2001-2003. Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego. Warszawa, 21.08. 2001.

³³ Kazimierz Michał Ujazdowski was Ministry of Culture and National Heritage twice in the year 2000-2001, 2005-2007.

³⁴ Ujazdowski K.M. (2000), Program jest, potrzebne środki, „Rzeczpospolita”, 22.07.2000.

³⁵ Łabno – Fałęcka, op.cit., p.188.

³⁶ Ociepka B., (1999) , Komunikowanie międzynarodowe, Wrocław: Astrum, p. 63.

³⁷ Informacja o reformie polskiej dyplomacji kulturalnej (2000) , dokument przygotowany przez Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych.

The concepts of public and cultural diplomacy are intertwined with the concept of ‘branding’ or to put it simply brand management. It may be assumed that the basic principles in building the brand of a country are the same as in the commercial sphere of identity building. Both are based on the task of creating a proposition or undertaking, usually based on emotion-based values, that may be transformed into symbols that are clear and flexible and that should be effective to impact in many situations and many target groups. There is no doubt that countries today compete with one another on the global market and just as is the case with products, one of the aims before them is to maintain their competitive advantage over other countries. The brand of a country is linked with its economy, exports, tourism and direct investments. All of these contribute to the promotion of a country. Looking at this process from the other perspective it may be said that a country that has a good brand promotes tourism, inflow of direct investments and export. S. Anhold feels that countries send messages through a hexagon of communication channels and through their behavior.

See the diagram below.

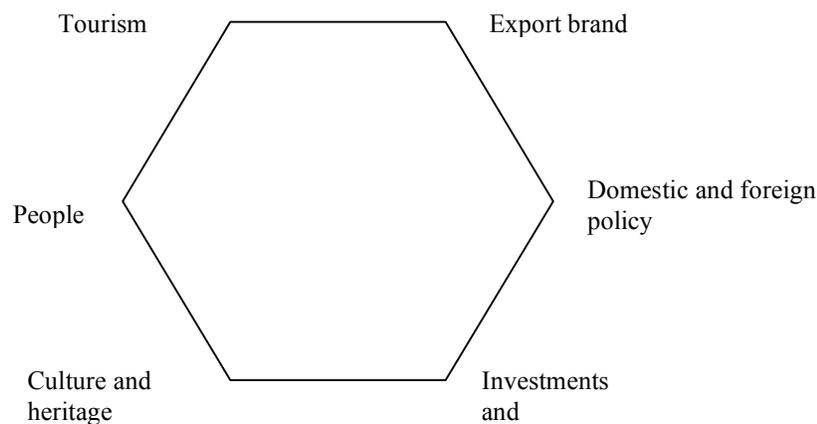


Diagram 1- The 6 Communication Channels Hexagon

In analyzing the above illustration the conclusion that can be reached is that countries spend millions on communicating their messages every day. As W. Olins writes countries communicate messages about their existence via political, cultural, popular, actions as well as products, services, sport, behaviors, architecture and art³⁸. Questions connected with culture constitute a significant, but also a controversial part in the promotion of countries. The governments of many countries do not perceive its value and often place emphasis on other communication channels. As S. Anholt notes, ‘treating the promotion of culture as a must means that one can not

³⁸ Olins W. (2004), *O marce*, Warszawa: Instytut Marki Polskiej, p. 166.

understand its role in the process of informing about the real spirit and essence of a country. In essence culture plays the main role in the process of enhancing the reputation of a country as it directs the perception of a country by its recipients to areas that will enable a better understanding of it and its values³⁹.

³⁹ Anholt S. (2007), *Tożsamość konkurencyjna. Nowe spojrzenie na markę*, Warszawa: Instytut Marki Polskiej, p. 137.

3. Culture as soft power

J. Nye⁴⁰ feels that cultural diplomacy is the best example of the so-called soft power, i.e. the possibility of communicating, via the conduit of culture, of values and ideas, which is in contrast to hard power, i.e. one that uses military instruments.⁴¹ Furthermore J. Nye claims that it is the ability to achieve to what is desired rather than attractiveness or coercion or money. It is the result of the attractiveness of a given culture, political ideals and the substance of the policy of a given country⁴². J. Meilsen, P. Taylor and E. Gilboa, who I have mentioned before, also write about public diplomacy in terms of it being a being a basic instrument of soft power, which, according to them, supports foreign policy. “Soft power” can be a substitute for traditional forms of power (military measures, economic sanctions) as these days the preferred method of attaining one’s aims and trust are peaceful ones. As J.S. Nye notes both are inextricably linked. For any student it is abundantly clear that ‘soft power’ is very important in an era of global information and its lack can entail the loss of ‘hard power’ on the international stage, moreover arguing that no power will be potent by merely limiting itself to using the instruments of hard power such as its military and the economy⁴³. J. Bugajski⁴⁴ claims that, ‘an interest in soft power is the result of a number of factors, such as an understanding of the limitations of hard power or combat power, a greater probability that other countries would like to join in such initiatives, the relative success of certain non-military undertakings and finally, the feeling, that the United States should improve its image on the international stage so as not to be seen as a unilateral, militaristic tyrant⁴⁵. The European model of ‘soft power’ is referred to by M. Leonard in writing that, ‘a lonely super-power may bribe, coerce and force its power throughout the world. When, however it turns its back, its power wanes. The power of the EU, however, is deep and wide- when a country is sucked into its sphere of influence it changes for ever. The USA changed the regime in Afghanistan but the EU is changing Poland’s society- from its economic policy, through property rights and treatment of minorities to what is served on tables. The EU does not change countries by threatening them with invasion. The biggest threat for a country is that Europe will want nothing to do with it⁴⁶.

It is also worth quoting H. Vedrine and D. Moisi who have stressed that with the aid of soft power ‘the Americans can inspire dreams and wishes of others thanks to impacting on the imagination globally through film and television and because, for the same reason, many students from other countries go the United States to

⁴⁰ J. Nye is the autor of the term ‘soft power’.

⁴¹ Nye J., (2002) *The Paradox of American Power*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 8.

⁴² Kuźniar R., (2007), *Soft Power i wielkość Ameryki*, [in:] Nye J., (2007), *Soft Power. Jak osiągnąć sukces w polityce światowej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, p.11.

⁴³ Melissen J.,(2005) *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, , Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.; Taylor P., *What is a Public Diplomacy?*, Institute of Communications Studies, University of Leeds, www.leeds.ac.uk/ics/what-pd-pdf. 3.05.2005.

⁴⁴ Janusz Bugajski, was the Director of the Programme: New European Democracies on the Center for Strategic and International Studies, in the year 1984-85 he worked in The Radio Free Europe as Senior Research in the Polish Section Research and Analysis (RAD).

⁴⁵ Ameryka musi bardziej polegać na soft power, interview with J. Bugajski, www.wolnaeuropa.org (21.07.2008).

⁴⁶ Pszczołkowska D.(2005), XXI wiek należy do Europy, „GW”, 05.07.2005.

complete their studies⁴⁷. It is worth returning, at this point, to the concept of cultural imperialism. As J.J. Bas Potero writes, ‘the debate on the subject of imperialism is based on the following concepts- the system of communication on an international level is based on the logic of economic development and thus the most developed countries have, at their disposal, the biggest number of technological means to produce and disseminate information on the international forum’⁴⁸.

P. Taylor divides the key elements of ‘soft power’ into long-term ones (cultural and educational exchanges, creation of mutual confidence) and short-term ones (information disseminated via the media)⁴⁹.

4. Cultural diplomacy and its domain

As I have earlier stressed culture and its presentation is very important in the positive creation of a country’s image. Cultural diplomacy may be conducted within a particular country, abroad or utilizing media, which may reach within a country as well as abroad. All these three spheres should interact. It is not only a case of promoting a country’s image to foreigners but also to its own citizens. To paraphrase a certain classic quotation, cultural diplomacy begins at home.’

It is worth asking the question how cultural diplomacy functions in Poland. The promotion of Poland is decentralized and there are a number of entities involved in the process. In accordance with the Act of 4th September 1997 on the functioning of government administration, responsibility for the promotion of the Polish Republic and the Polish language abroad falls on the Minister of Foreign Affairs⁵⁰. Nevertheless other ministries take part in this, among which there are some, that have units responsible for the implementation of promotional undertakings within the realm of their responsibilities, such as those of departments that deal with international cooperation. There are, however, certain autonomous entities such as the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, Polish Tourism Organization and the Polish Foreign Information and Investment Agency. The role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is that of a coordinator, mainly via the Poland Promotion Council (RPP)- an advisory organ to the Council of Ministers, consisting of representatives of the main entities that promote Poland. The Chairman of the RPP is the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Within the sphere of MSZ the promotion of Poland abroad is mainly implemented through the Department of Promotion, which plans and coordinates undertakings of the ministry in this sphere and is responsible for cooperation with other institutions. Most of the promotional undertakings planned or confirmed by the Department of Promotion is implemented by Poland’s diplomatic and consular missions abroad, including Polish Institutes.

⁴⁷ Vedrine H., Moisi D. (2001), *France in the Age of Globalization*, Washington: Brookings Institution Press, s. 3 [in:] Nye J. (2007), *Soft Power...*, p. 37-38.

⁴⁸ Bas Potero J.J. (2001), *Ekonomia polityczna komunikowania – kontynuacja nurtu krytycznego*, [in:] Dobek – Ostrowska B. (ed.) *Nauka o komunikowaniu. Podstawowe orientacje teoretyczne*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UWr., p. 164.

⁴⁹ P. Taylor, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Dz. U. z 2007 r., Nr 65, poz. 437.

An extremely important role is played by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (*hereinafter variously referred to as MKiDN, its Polish abbreviation- transl note*). It oversees two important institutions. The first is the Adam Mickiewicz Institute and the second the National Cultural Centre. The role of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute is the dissemination of knowledge about Poland's culture, heritage and to meet the needs of popularizing the country's political culture and its foreign policy needs in promoting its policy, culture and special events, which project Poland's image. Since 2001 events, which were particularly important from the point of view of promoting Poland were events under the banner of 'Polish Year'. The Adam Mickiewicz Institute is responsible for their implementation and they are large promotional events, implemented in various countries with the aim of comprehensively promoting Poland. The Institute organized them in Spain, Austria, Sweden, France, Russia, Ukraine and Germany⁵¹. As far as the National Cultural Centre is concerned the emphasis of its activities is inside Poland. It is focused on nurturing and publicizing the nation's traditions, its heritage and cultural education⁵².

When the subject of cultural diplomacy is mentioned the document entitled, 'The National Strategy for the Development of Culture 2004-2013' must be mentioned, in which the importance of promoting of our country is stressed. The Ministry also conducts a program entitled 'The Promotion of Poland's Culture Abroad.' The aim of the program is to create a positive image of the country abroad using Polish culture, Polish artists and their work, the implementation of international cooperation in the field of culture in terms of international agreements and treaties. As far as the countries where this effort should be particularly prioritized are all the countries of the European Union, Russia, other European countries (including the Ukraine) and Israel.

As I mentioned earlier cultural diplomacy also makes use of other tools, such as scholarship programs. One of them is addressed to citizens of Eastern Europe Trans-Caucasia, Iraq and Afghanistan. This program was launched in 2003 at the initiative of the MSZ and is implemented by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in cooperation with the Institute of Eastern European Studies at Warsaw University. The scholarship is open to applicants who specialize in Polish subject-areas, particularly in the context of the XXth Century, with around 60-70 scholarships awarded annually.

It is worth mentioning here the cultural actions of the EU in which Poland can participate. Although the aim of these projects is to promote the EU in third countries, those countries that participate improve their image. Culture 2000 and its successor Culture 2007 and MEDIA are the two best-known EU-funded cultural projects. The first concerns EU-related cultural projects in third countries. These include festivals, exhibitions and seminars in third countries but also the European City of Culture project, which promotes a different country every year and is well-known in Poland. In 2016 one of Poland's cities will have this title. This project is very

⁵¹ More about Programme: www.iam.pl.

⁵² Zarządzenie nr 7 Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 14 marca 2006 w sprawie podziału państwowej instytucji kultury Instytutu im. Adama Mickiewicza i utworzenia państwowej instytucji kultury – Instytutu Adama Mickiewicza oraz państwowej instytucji kultury – Narodowego Centrum Kultury.

attractive from a promotional point of view as it draws visitors to the victorious city. In the longer term it contributes to the development of tourism as the city becomes recognized in Europe and also gives a boost to its infrastructure. The budget of the Culture⁵³ program amounted to 69.5m euro in 2005-2006. The second program is MEDIA, which supports the promotion and distribution of European audiovisual products on the international market. Moreover the EU implements international exchange programs like Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci or Erasmus Mundus.

There is no doubt that the basic problem connected with the conduct of cultural diplomacy in Poland is that of raising finance, which means that the funds available have to be distributed carefully and priority be given to placing emphasis on those projects where promotion of Poland and its culture is most important from the point of view of the country's general foreign policy objectives.

The tables below illustrate the distribution of funds allocated for the promotion of our country, including cultural diplomacy.

	2005	2006	2007	Total
MSZ	22.711.353	30.844.649	38.379.836	91.935.838
MKiDN	31.479.000	27.869.000	33.809.000	93.157.000
MG	50.479.700	31.734.200	37.817.600	120.031.500
Razem	104.670.053	90.447.849	110.006.436	305.124.338

Table 1.

Funds allocated for the promotion of Poland abroad between 2005-2007 (collectively MSZ + MKiDN + MG) in PLN:

⁵³ Bąk S.A. (2007), *Działania Unii Europejskiej na rzecz kultury i turystyki kulturowej*, Warszawa :Difin, p. 90-94.

The Adam Mickiewicz Institute, including its work 16.034.000,00 PLN	23.530.000
Program "Promotion of Polish culture abroad"	6.000.000
Trips of employees and delegates, visits of foreign guests, mandatory agreements, subscription payments to international organizations, including the promotion of Wroclaw as candidate to host Expo 2012 - 270.000,00 PLN	4.279.000
Total (including the promotion of Wroclaw as candidate to host Expo 2012 - 6.370.000,00 PLN)	33.809.000

Table 2. The financial contributions of MKiDN in 2007 r.

The Adam Mickiewicz Institute (after The separation of The National Centre of Culture, including operational costs 12.584.000	17.750.000
Program "Promotion of Polish culture abroad"	6.147.000
Trips of employees and delegates, visits of foreign guests, mandatory agreements, subscription payments to international organizations	3.972.000
Total	27.869.000

Table 3. The financial contributions of MKiDN in 2007 r.

The Adam Mickiewicz Institute (two institutions linked: The National Centre of Culture and The Adam Mickiewicz Institute) (including international Project and its statutowy activities - ok. 16.000.000 PLN)	35.551.000
Program "Promotion of Polish culture abroad"	10.700.000
Trips of employees and delegates, visits of foreign guests, mandatory agreements, subscription payments to international organizations	4.779.000
Deduction of the cost of the National Centre of Culture	19.551.000
Total	31.479.000

Table 4. The financial contributions of MKiDN in 2005 r.

The figures show that a substantial part of the total budget for the promotion of Poland are allocated to promoting culture. These are not very impressive amounts bearing in mind that Western European countries allocate sums which a few times bigger. Unfortunately there is a problem that has been discussed for a long time. This problem concerns the coordination of public diplomacy and the shortage of funds allocated for its needs. Successive foreign ministers have stressed the importance of promoting Poland in their expose. Among others Radek Sikorski talked in May 2008 about the importance of undertakings designed to disseminate information about Poland's history and culture, particularly the contemporary one, but also stressing the fact that this is a modern country.

However, a strategy of promotion has not been planned although the undertakings of MKiDN appear to be well thought out- in particular their cyclical nature, we still lack a wider time-frame and a rather low level of cohesion in the promotional undertakings. The undertakings of cultural diplomacy would stand a much greater chance of succeeding if they were large, coordinated projects such as Polish seasons. These make it possible to maintain a presence for a much longer period of time thus drawing attention to Poland and maintaining the interest of the recipients.

Moreover, when compared to such countries as Spain, Germany, The United Kingdom, France or Italy the infrastructure for the promotion of our culture abroad is much poorer. It would seem that the Adam Mickiewicz Institute should play a supporting role for Poland's cultural diplomacy efforts like the Swedish Institute in Stockholm or the Korea Foundation in Seoul. Of course there are other model institutions like the Goethe Institute, British Council or Alliance Francaise but they are mainly focused on teaching languages and in the case of Spain on promoting culture, using funds raised through teaching the language. In Poland's case language teaching plays a

supporting role. Most people who are interested in Poland do not want to learn the language but are rather interested in learning about our history and culture.

Currently the MSZ is working on a project entitled, 'A framework strategy for the promotion of Poland until 2015.' The main aim of this project is to pinpoint the most important tendencies, directions, forms and concepts for undertakings, which should be undertaken in all the areas which are significant for the promotion of the country through public diplomacy, cooperation and cultural diplomacy, promotion of Polish exports, investments abroad and foreign investments in Poland, promotion of Poland as a tourist destination and promotion of scientific and technological cooperation. All these undertakings are designed to make Poland more recognizable and competitive, which should result in helping our country make advances in areas of politics, the economy and civilization. At the same time the project entitled 'A framework strategy for the promotion of Poland until 2015' is to act as a point of reference for much more detailed strategies, which refer to specific promotional undertakings which, in tandem with the framework strategy, should be prepared by the appropriate ministries and institutions.

'Culture creates the image of Poland' is the title of one of the articles by E. Penderecka, in which she noted that Poles accent their presence on the world stage in terms of culture not civilization. It is worth putting emphasis on this sphere when it comes to promotional undertakings. Poland is also not a country with great military potential so culture can be our 'soft power'. The undertakings of cultural diplomacy create the conditions for paving the way for political information and in many cases make it possible. To present the economy and tourism. Meanwhile, without powerful cultural institutions in Poland, with a strong position on the world stage it is difficult for a system of promotion abroad to function well.

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