



The International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy
Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

“

... far from being on the verge of a new order, the world has entered a period of great disorder. In facing these new dangers, a re-examination of old priorities is needed. Cultural diplomacy, in the widest sense, has increased in importance, whereas traditional diplomacy and military power... are of limited use in coping with most of these dangers.

”

Walter Laqueur, Co-chair, International Research Council at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Table of Content

| | |
|--|----|
| Speaker list | 1 |
| Key terms | 9 |
| Introduction | 11 |
| Developments in Cultural Production, Policy, and Diplomacy | 14 |
| Transnational Cultural Diplomacy: Lessons from the UN, EU, and NATO | 18 |
| The Growing Need for Cultural Diplomacy in Relations with the Middle East | 23 |
| The Role of Soft Power and CSR for Development within Africa | 26 |
| The Latvian Experience | 30 |
| The Future of Cultural Diplomacy: Concluding Remarks | 32 |

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International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Speaker List

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Judge at Berlin Court of Justice (Kammergericht Berlin). Professor of Law, Free University Berlin

Ints Dālderis

Minister of Culture of the Republic of Latvia

Professor Dr. Gudrun Doll-Tepfer

Vice President for Olympic Education at the German Olympic Sports Confederation. Professor of Sport Science, Free University Berlin

Mark Donfried

Founder and Director of the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy

Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga

Former President of Latvia (1999 – 2007)

John Holden

Visiting Professor, City University London. Associate and Former Head of Culture, Demos

Professor Salah S. Hassan

Chairman and Professor of Marketing at the School of Business, George Washington University

Samuel Jones

Head of Culture, Demos

Castigo Langa

Former Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy for Mozambique (2000-2005)

H.E. Mr. Ahmada R. Ngemera

Ambassador of Tanzania to Germany

Dr. Gerlinde Niehus

Head of Corporate Communications, NATO

Professor Dr. Joseph S. Nye Jr.

University Distinguished Service Professor and Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, Harvard University

Dr. Vladimir Petrovsky

Former Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG) (1993-2002)

Dr. Gunter Pleuger

Former German Ambassador to the United Nations (2002-2006). President of Viadrina European University in Frankfurt (Oder)

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Dr. Gerhard Prätorius

Head of Coordination CSR and Sustainability, Volkswagen AG

Dr. Vasile Pușcaș

Romanian Minister for European Affairs

Jorge Sampaio

Former President of Portugal (1996 – 2006). United Nations High Representative for the Alliance of Civilisations

Professor Dr. Cynthia Schneider

Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University. 61st Ambassador of the United States to the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1998 – 2001)

Dr. Arpad A. Sölter

Head of the Strategy and Evaluation Staff Division at the Goethe-Institut, Munich

Professor Joachim Schwalbach

Professor of International Management, Humboldt-University Berlin

Matthias Stausberg

Spokesperson, UN Global Compact

Prof. Dr. Bassam Tibi

A.D. White Professor-at-Large, Cornell University. Professor of International Relations, Göttingen University

Nick Tolhurst

Managing Director, Institute for Corporate Cultural Affairs

Dr. Erkki Tuomioja

Member of Finnish Parliament. Former Finnish Foreign Minister (2000 - 2007)

Cassam Uteem

Former President of the Republic of Mauritius (1992 - 2002)

Professor Gert Weisskirchen

Member of the German Parliament, Spokesperson of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Working Group on Foreign Affairs



International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Speakers



Jorge Sampaio

United Nations High Representative for the Alliance of Civilisations
Former President of Portugal (1996 – 2006)

Jorge Sampaio served two terms as President of Portugal, during which time he oversaw the return of Macau to China (1999) and campaigned for the independence of East Timor. His Presidency was characterised by prudence and moderation, and was notable for its focus on cultural and social issues. Since finishing his presidency, Mr. Sampaio has concentrated his efforts on international peace and security, and in 2007 was appointed to the position of United Nations High Representative for the Alliance of Civilisations by United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon. The initiative aims to improve cooperative relations across people from different national, cultural, and religious backgrounds, and is co-sponsored by the President of Spain, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, and the Prime Minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Trained as a Lawyer, Mr Sampaio has been involved in Portuguese politics since 1979 and prior to being elected as President has served as Mayor of Lisbon (1989-1995) and was a member of the European Commission of Human Rights (1979 – 1984).



Joaquim Chissano

Former Chairperson of the African Union (2003-2004)
Former President of Mozambique (1986-2005)

Joaquim Chissano has dedicated his life and career to improving international and intercultural relations on the African continent and ensuring Mozambique's development as a stable, peaceful, multi-ethnic country. His long and diverse career to date includes time spent as a freedom fighter during the Mozambique independence movement, serving his country as Foreign Minister, Prime Minister (during the transition government), and President. He has also held the position of Chair Person of the African Union and, more recently, UN Secretary General Special Envoy for the affected areas by the Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda. Throughout his life, Mr. Chissano has won praise for his commitment to peace on the African continent and for showing strong governance in his different roles. He was recently awarded the "Prize for Achievement in African Leadership" by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation..



Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga

Former President of Latvia (1999 – 2007)

Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga served for two four-year terms as the first female President of Latvia. During her presidency she successfully guided Latvia to European Union and NATO membership whilst maintaining an approval rating of between 70 and 85 percent. Dr. Vīķe-Freiberga has been widely praised for her active involvement in a number of councils and organisations and her knowledge of Latvian folklore and culture. In April 2005, President Vīķe-Freiberga was appointed by the United Nations Secretary General at the time, Kofi Annan, to promote the comprehensive United Nations reform outlined in the report "In Larger Freedom". In December 2007 she was appointed deputy chairman of the Reflection Group on the European Union's long-term future. An academic by profession, Dr. Vīķe-Freiberga earned her PhD in Experimental Psychology at McGill University in 1965.



International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report



Cassam Uteem

Former President of the Republic of Mauritius (1992 - 2002)

Cassam Uteem is the longest serving President in the history of Mauritius having held the position for nine years. He came under the international spotlight in 2002 when he refused to sign into law a controversial anti-terrorism bill that would have allowed police to hold suspects for longer periods of time without charging them. Mr. Uteem resigned as a result of this incident, leaving the position just three months before his term expired. Drawing from his experience in the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-lingual country of Mauritius, since his presidency, Mr. Uteem has become very active in international public politics, notably in promoting participatory democracy and cultural rights. He has had a lengthy political career, having served multiple terms in the Mauritian parliament since 1976 and held the positions of Minister of Employment, Social Security and National Solidarity, as well as Deputy-Prime Minister and Minister of Industry and Industrial Technology. A graduate of Paris VII University (BA in Art, MA in Psychology), Mr. Uteem has been highly praised for his commitment to peace and democracy, and is a member of the international jury for the UNESCO Prize of Education for Peace.



Ints Dālderis

Minister of Culture of the Republic of Latvia

Mr. Ints Dālderis, Minister of Culture of the Republic of Latvia, was born in 1971 and studied at Latvia's prestigious Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music before joining the Latvian National Orchestra in 1999. He became director of this institution in 2005, a post he held for four years. In 2006 he joined the Council of the State Culture Capital Foundation as well as becoming a member of the National Board of Culture. On March 12 this year, Mr. Dālderis was appointed Latvia's Minister of Culture.



Dr. Vasile Pușcaș

Romanian Minister for European Affairs

Dr. Vasile Pușcaș is a Romanian politician, author, and international relations scholar who, as Romanian Chief Negotiator with the European Union from 2000-2004, was seen by many as the architect of Romania's accession to the EU in 2007. A Deputy of the Romanian Parliament for two terms with the Social Democratic Party (2000-2004, 2004-2008), Dr. Pușcaș was appointed to the position of Head of the European Affairs Department of the Romanian Government in December 2008 by Premier Emil Bloc. Prior to his political career Dr. Pușcaș's positions included Chairman of the Institute for International Studies at Cluj Napoca (1999-2000), Professor of International Relations at Cluj Napoca (1995-2000), and Dean of the Faculty of Political Science at Bogdan Voda University (1998-2000). He has also served Romania as Councillor Minister and Deputy Ambassador at the Romanian Embassy in the United States.



International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report



Dr. Erkki Tuomioja

Member of Finnish Parliament, Former Finnish Foreign Minister
(2000 - 2007)

Politician and author Dr. Erkki Tuomioja is one of Finland's most widely read and influential politicians of the last two decades. As Finnish Foreign Minister during Finland's presidency of the European Union in 2006, he held the position of spokesperson on European foreign policy and was one of the first to call for an immediate cessation of hostilities in the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict. Recognised as having a strong anti-war stance, Dr. Tuomioja is also a celebrated author of 18 books and his account of his grandmother and her sister, *A Delicate Shade of Pink*, won the Finnish non-fiction Finlandia Prize in 2006. Dr. Tuomioja has been a member of the Finnish parliament since 1991, a position he also held from 1970-1979.



Professor Dr. Joseph S. Nye Jr.

(by recorded video lecture)

University Distinguished Service Professor and Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, Harvard University

University Distinguished Service Professor and Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, Harvard University Professor Dr. Joseph S. Nye Jr. is a renowned political theorist who developed the concepts of "soft power" and "smart power" and, together with Professor Dr. Robert Keohane, co-founded the neoliberal theory of international relations. He currently holds the position of University Distinguished Service Professor at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, where he has been active since 1964, and his previous positions include Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs during the Clinton administration. Through his books, which include "Power and Interdependence" and "Understanding International Conflicts", and his positions on the editorial board of *Foreign Policy* and the Board of Directors for the International Council on Foreign Relations, Prof. Dr. Nye can be considered one of the most influential scholars on American Foreign Policy over the past two decades. Prof. Dr. Nye will be delivering a video lecture on the role of "soft power" in today's multipolar international environment.



Dr. Gunter Pleuger

Former German Ambassador to the United Nations (2002-2006)

Dr. Gunter Pleuger served as Germany's Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 2002 to 2006, during which time he represented Germany as an elected member in the United Nations Security Council (2003-2004). Whilst sitting on the Security Council, Dr. Pleuger gained public recognition as the representative of Germany's position against the planned invasion of Iraq by the United States. Having begun his career in the German Foreign Service in 1969, Dr. Pleuger has served as State Secretary, Political Director, and Head of the Political Division of the Federal Foreign Office. He has also worked as an advisor to the Foreign Minister on all operative political issues. Dr. Pleuger is the President of the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder), Germany.



International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report



Professor Dr. Cynthia Schneider

Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University
61st Ambassador of the United States to the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1998 – 2001)
(ICD Advisory Board Member)

Prof. Dr. Cynthia Schneider served as Ambassador of the United States to the Kingdom of the Netherlands during the Clinton administration. During this time she launched a number of important scientific and cultural initiatives, including an international conference on biotechnology (2000), and a millennium project between Dutch Students and World War II survivors. A graduate in Fine Arts from Harvard University (BA, Ph. D), Prof. Dr. Schneider currently teaches Diplomacy and Culture at Georgetown University, and leads the Arts and Culture Initiative within the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. An expert on cultural diplomacy, Prof. Dr. Schneider focuses in particular on relations with the Muslim world.



John Holden

Visiting Professor, City University London
Associate and former Head of Culture, Demos

John Holden is a Visiting Professor at City University London and an Associate at the independent British think tank Demos. A former investment banker with a Masters Degree in law, Holden left a job in the city to pursue a career in arts management and study for an MA in Design History and Material Culture, before joining Demos in 2000. His interests are in the development of people and organisations across the whole of the cultural sector. He has addressed issues of leadership, education, cultural policy, creative industries, technology and evaluation, and in addition to his positions at City University and Demos is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and a member of the Strategy Board of the Core Leadership Programme.



Samuel Jones

Head of Culture, Demos

Samuel Jones is head of Culture at the British think-tank Demos. He is the co-author of a number of influential publications including "Cultural Diplomacy" (2007), "It's a Material World" (2008), and "Knowledge and Inspiration" (2006), and spoke at the International Council of Museums (ICOM) conference in Shanghai on the role of culture in international and intercultural dialogue (2007). His research focuses on culture, the arts, and international and intercultural communication. A graduate of Cambridge University (BA in History) and the Courtauld Institute of Art (MA in History of Art), Jones also sits on the UK Executive Board of the ICOM and has worked with the BBC to investigate TV art audiences.



Professor Dr. Gudrun Doll-Tepner

Vice President for Olympic Education at the German Olympic Sports Confederation

Prof. Dr. Doll-Tepner has played a key role in the theoretical and practical development of the field of sports science and sport in Germany over the past two decades. Professor of Sport Science at the Free University Berlin, she has authored and co-authored over 300 publications focusing in particular on the areas of Olympic culture and education, the societal values of sports, the effects of the globalisation of sport in developing countries, and sports for people with a disability. Parallel to her academic influence, Prof. Dr. Doll-Tepner has been extensively involved in the management and development of sport in Germany and has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross of the Federal Republic of Germany.



International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report



Professor Dr. Christian Armbrüster

Judge, Berlin Court of Justice (Kammergericht Berlin)
Professor of Law, Free University Berlin

Prof. Dr. Armbrüster has been a professor in private law since 2000. After teaching at Brucerius Law School in Hamburg for four years, he became Guest Professor at the University of Paris in 2004, and at LUISS University in Rome in 2005. Since 2004 he has been at the Legal Studies Department of the Free University in Berlin, where he lectures in, amongst other areas, citizenship law, trade law, and civil law. Prof. Dr. Armbrüster also sits as a judge at the Berlin Court of Justice.



Dr. Gerlinde Niehus

Head Corporate Communications, NATO

Dr. Gerlinde Niehus leads the Corporate Communications Section within NATO's Public Diplomacy Division. As such, she oversees NATO's corporate publishing, image-building and marketing efforts, and also acts as Editorial Director for NATO Review, NATO's online magazine on current transatlantic issues. Gerlinde Niehus started her professional life as a TV and radio editor for public broadcasters in Germany (WDR and Deutschlandfunk). She then moved to policy analysis, focusing on international relations and development cooperation for a German think tank. This work brought her to the European Commission in Brussels, where she built up the information and communications programme EU – NIS, and subsequently developed a communications strategy for the European Commission's Directorate General Information Society. In 1999 she joined NATO, and in 2008 assumed her present position. Gerlinde Niehus holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from Muenster University, Germany.



Professor Dr. Bassam Tibi

A.D. White Professor-at-Large, Cornell University

Dr. Bassam Tibi is a renowned political scientist and professor who is famous for his analysis of international relations and the introduction of Islam to the study of International Conflict. He is a pioneer of the controversial concepts of European Leitkultur and Euroislam for the integration of Muslims in Europe. A graduate of Frankfurt University (Ph.D.), Dr. Tibi held the position of Professor for International Relations at Göttingen University from 1973 to 2009. During this time he held a number of visiting professorships at, amongst other institutions, Harvard University (Bosch Fellow), Princeton University, and the University of Michigan/Ann Arbor. Born in Damascus, Tibi has lived in Germany since 1962 and was decorated with the Cross of Merits First Class by the then President of Germany, Roman Herzog, in 1995.



International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report



Professor Salah S. Hassan

Chairman and Professor of Marketing at the School of Business,
George Washington University

He received his Ph.D. in 1984 from Ohio State University. As a consultant, Dr. Hassan completed over fifty national and international consulting assignments and executive development programs for organizations such as: The World Bank, The Smithsonian Institute, Winrock International, GW Solutions, Porter/Novelli, USAID, and the Fulbright Commission. Recently, Dr. Hassan led a Global MBA delegation to the UAE that included executive briefings and site visits to international business operations in Dubai & the UAE in general. Dr. Hassan is recognized internationally for his research on globalization of consumer markets, strategic brand positioning, and international market segmentation. As chairman of the Marketing Department at the GW School of Business, Dr. Hassan provides visionary leadership to encourage excellence in innovative research, teaching and services. Furthermore he designs, implements and reviews programs with a view to advance professional development of faculty, staff and students.



Dr. Arpad A. Sölter

Head of Division "Strategy and Evaluation" at the Headquarters of the Goethe-Institut in Munich

Dr. Sölter spearheads and coordinates the strategy and international initiatives of the Goethe-Institut. Through internal cooperation with the board of directors and the president, advisory boards, and staff, and externally with the Foreign Office, agencies, governments and businesses, Mr. Sölter works to position and forward the Goethe-Institut's strategic international goals in areas such as: partnership development, recruitment, student and staff mobility and alumni relations. A widely recognized expert in international cultural policy and diplomacy, Mr. Sölter has held a number of senior leadership positions in Toronto, London, and Munich. In addition to degrees in German, Cultural Anthropology, Sociology, and History of Art, Mr. Sölter holds a doctorate degree in Philosophy from the University of Köln with distinction. He has published widely on Critical Rationalism, the Frankfurt School, Habermas and Critical Theory, on intercultural communication and international cultural policy and diplomacy.



Professor Gert Weisskirchen

Member of the German Parliament, Spokesperson of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Working Group on Foreign Affairs

Since 1983, Prof. Weisskirchen has worked with dissidents and civil rights activists in the CSSR, DDR, Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union and in particular Belarus. In addition, he was a member of the executive committee of the Helsinki-Citizen's-Assembly, which was founded by Vaclav Havel and is an umbrella organization of peace and civil rights movements. In 1992 he became Chairman of the Federation for the German-Czech and German-Slovakian community. The Forum for Democratic Socialism made Dr. Weisskirchen their director in 1994. As his function in the German Parliament he also chairs the parliamentary group for German-Russian relations. Dr. Weisskirchen is an honorary professor for Cultural Studies at the University of Applied Science in Potsdam where his area of expertise is cultural and social change.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Key Terms

Cultural Diplomacy

Given the term's transformation throughout different historical periods, finding an encompassing yet precise definition for the concept and practice of cultural diplomacy remains a challenge. However, a useful starting point, put forth by Milton Cummings, described cultural diplomacy as: "the exchange of ideas, information, art, lifestyles, values systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture among nations and peoples to foster mutual understanding." Cultural exchanges can occur in myriad fields such as art, music, sports, science, and the economy. They entail dialogue, cooperation, and mutual respect between the cultures involved, based on an informed understanding of one another's values. Cultural diplomacy is thus the facilitation of such two-way exchanges with the aim of yielding long-term benefits to individual relationships, national interests, and socio-cultural understanding.

Soft Power

Soft power, according to Prof. Nye, is the "ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments." It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and its policies - insofar as these are externally perceived as legitimate. Soft power can thus be seen as the ability to attract others by the legitimacy of national policies, including the cultural values and political ideals that underlie them. However, soft power is neither the sole possession of any state in particular, nor of nations more generally, but rather also belongs to a wide range of non-state actors, including non-governmental organizations, orchestras, and media outlets. Ultimately, soft power is the ability to influence, attract, and inform.

Hard Power

Hard power can be defined as the use of coercion, including economic incentives and military strength, to influence another actor's behavior. Prof. Nye describes hard power as "the ability to use the carrots and sticks of economic and military might to make others follow your will." Political theorists today tend to argue that hard power tactics often overemphasize military intervention, economic sanctions, as well as an overall coercive style of diplomacy.

Smart Power

Coined by Prof. Nye in the aftermath of the invasion of Iraq, the term smart power entails "the ability to combine hard and soft power into a winning strategy." It involves the strategic use of diplomacy and persuasion, as well as the projection of influence and power in ways that are cost-efficient and have political and social legitimacy. Smart power strategies attempt to compensate for the limitations of using soft or hard power in isolation.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Multilateralism

Multilateralism generally describes an approach whereby a number of independent countries work collectively on a given issue. It is applied to international cooperation on such matters as trade, security, migration, and the environment. Major multilateral institutions include the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Fund. If it is to be effective, multilateralism must consist of a broad and sustainable consensus among all of the respective states involved and therefore tends to revolve around issues of mutual interest and concern. Multilateralism can be thought of as an alternative approach to strictly unilateral (acting alone) or bilateral (acting with one other partner) initiatives.

Cultural Pluralism

This refers to the acceptance and preservation of various cultural divisions - for instance, the traditions immigrants bring with them to another nation - in the belief that cultural heterogeneity fosters a more diverse and democratic culture.

Multiculturalism

Depending on the context in which it is used, "multiculturalism" can be seen as a doctrine, a national identity, or a set of principles. In its most modest form, it incorporates a set of principles that encourage the celebration of diversity, dialogue between cultures, and a measure of minority protection. However, the concept has come under increased criticism, and as a consequence the term cultural pluralism is generally more frequently employed.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Corporate Social Responsibility is defined as the way companies integrate social, environmental, and economic concerns into their values and operations in a transparent and accountable manner. Ideally, CSR policy functions as a self-regulating device in accordance with which businesses are able to monitor and guarantee their adherence to the law, as well as to ethical and international standards. In essence, CSR is businesses' contribution towards sustainable development through the inclusion of public interest into corporate decision-making, thereby honoring the triple bottom line of organizational and societal success: people, planet, profit (in other words, social, ecological, and economic benefits).

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Introduction

The International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2009, organized and hosted by the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy (ICD), took place in Berlin between the 27th and the 31st of July. Its overarching theme was the role of soft power in the international environment. In its week-long program of lectures, panel discussions, and social events, a diverse range of international speakers from academia, politics, and the private sector - as well as a varied group of participants - were brought together to discuss topical questions in the realm of cultural diplomacy. As Dr. Vladimir Petrovsky, the Former Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, pointed out: holding this Symposium at a time when the world is “facing the challenges of globalization and the economic and financial crisis” is particularly important, as it is only through dialogue and action that this predicament “can be kept from developing into a crisis of sustainable development and security.” Furthermore, an investigation of contemporary international relations and political concerns reveals a re-emergence in governments’ appreciation of cultural diplomacy as a powerful tool in building relationships. This recognition of the value of intercultural dialogue has been lacking since the Cold War, when policymakers supported the engagement of foreign audiences as a means towards the victory over ideological enemies.

Indeed, examining the rhetoric used by former President George W. Bush Jr. in recent years reveals that his priorities clearly did not lie in building intercultural dialogue. Instead, phrases such as “you are either with us or with the terrorists” demarcated groups and built boundaries between them. These types of attitudes echo the underlying message of Samuel Huntington’s ‘clash of civilizations’ thesis, an argument that numerous speakers during the Symposium, as well as Mark Donfried (Director and Founder of the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy) criticized as essentializing entire populations. Discourse using such terminology can be argued to actually discourage efforts at building dialogues by portraying any form of negotiation as futile.

Disagreeing with the term ‘clash,’ however, does not entail denying that a variety of conflicts in the world exist, and accordingly, the wide-spread recognition of this fact meant that speakers used the Symposium as an opportunity to discuss possible solutions to global challenges. Generally, their recommendations involved taking developments linked to modernization into account on an international level, while on a local level, being sensitive to the specific needs of individual contexts.

A point that the speakers of the Symposium unanimously agreed on was that soft power is one of the key tools needed for improving relations and resolving conflicts. Alongside the newer concept of smart power, soft power was discussed in great detail during the Symposium, with attention given to both its strengths and weaknesses. One of the arguments stressed was that identifying the best methodologies for the employment of soft power - and consequentially cultural diplomacy - has been rendered more difficult by the emergence of powerful non-state actors, such as transnational organizations and militant religious groups. As such, cultural diplomacy needs to rethink its tactics to include relations with these types of actors.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Indeed, the potential impact and capabilities of these non-state agents have been drastically heightened by technological advancements. Consequently, cultural diplomacy should modernize its own methods by recognizing and factoring in the potency of technological development. To this end, it is important to first examine recent changes to the cultural model, brought on in large part by advances in technology, and then consider how these evolutions influence cultural production and consumption. Untangling some of these implications is the aim of the first of the six sections of this report. Following this are discussions on specific examples from transnational organizations, the Middle East, the African continent, Latvia, and the future of cultural diplomacy.

- **Developments in Cultural Production, Policy, and Diplomacy:**
This section describes changes to the cultural model and the ways in which culture has become democratized. This has affected cultural diplomacy, which has left behind the Cold War strategy of showcasing a culture and moved towards facilitating cultural exchange and building dialogues. Examples of cultural diplomacy using music, sports, and television are given and the impact of modern technology discussed.
- **Transnational Cultural Diplomacy: Lessons from the UN, EU, and NATO:**
Due to the impact of globalization, interdependence, and the growing number of cross-border issues, it is no longer plausible or effective for a nation to act as an independent, isolated unity. Instead, new transnational organizations need to be formed and existing ones strengthened to balance these global challenges. This section seeks to examine the changing roles of the UN, EU, and NATO, paying particular attention to how they have adapted to growing global interconnectedness.
- **The Growing Need for Cultural Diplomacy in Relations with the Middle East:**
Relations with the Middle East, especially with regard to the fight against terrorism, clearly demonstrate that cultural awareness is a necessary requisite for successful diplomatic relations. This section thus examines the re-emergence of cultural diplomacy in this area, giving specific examples of current initiatives, and argues that context-specific projects that reflect local awareness are the best way to not only improve relations but also to fight terrorism.
- **The Role of Soft Power and CSR for Development within Africa:**
In order for the 'African voice' to be able to compete on the world stage with, for instance, the 'European voice,' pan-African relations need to be strengthened. Soft power is an important tool in building this co-operation, but also in dealing with diversity within a country's borders. In order for relations to prosper and for development to be sustainable, however, economic crisis and financial hardship need to be avoided. Multilateralism and CSR can hence be argued to be important in furthering development within Africa, provided that they incorporate local perspectives and are realized using contextualized methodologies, rather than being dominated by Western perspectives.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

- **The Latvian Experience:**

Latvia is a compelling example of a country that underwent a political and cultural rebirth to successfully adapt itself to the present globalized environment. Considering its tumultuous history, this is no small feat. This section offers an examination of its tactics, emphasizing Latvia's commitment to cultural exchange and production, as well as the ethos of tolerance among its citizens.

- **The Future of Cultural Diplomacy:**

Diplomatic practice must deal simultaneously with the changing fabric of transnational relations and the complex network of non-state actors. Furthermore, changes to the cultural model and the advancement of information technology have expanded the realm of cultural diplomacy, both in terms of the tools available and access. As such, one can now argue that, in a way, we are all diplomats. These developments, alongside others, have important implications for the future of cultural diplomacy. The final section hence seeks to examine these ramifications and give further recommendations.



German Foreign Ministry
International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2009

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Developments in Cultural Production, Policy, and Diplomacy

Understanding the term 'culture' is integral to the field of cultural diplomacy. However, the elusive and often contested nature of this concept renders grasping its meaning difficult, and thus it deserves careful consideration. To this end, the Symposium featured several lectures by specialists from the field of cultural theory, most notably Mr. Samuel Jones (Head of Culture, Demos) and Mr. John Holden (Associate and Former Head of Culture, Demos). Furthermore, practitioners in the field of cultural diplomacy, such as Prof. Dr. Cynthia Schneider (Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University) and the Vice President for Olympic Education at the German Olympic Sports Confederation, Prof. Dr. Gudrun Doll-Tepfer, offered insights into successful methodologies for cultural exchange, which translate the theoretical frame into practice. Of course, as an inevitable and enriching component of our daily lives, culture is significant beyond the field of cultural diplomacy. Indeed, as Mr. Jones argued: it is largely "through our consumption and production of culture that we construct our identities." As such, one should try to not only understand culture, but also appreciate the central role it plays in our existence.

One of the primary difficulties in understanding culture is that there is no unanimously accepted single definition or meaning. It can be used to refer to culture as production, in terms of art, as well as in an anthropological sense, to describe the patterns of a life in its entirety (encompassing a person's beliefs, heritage, and gender). The focus during the Symposium was on the first definition of culture, as artistic production and consumption. Indeed, both Mr. Jones and Mr. Holden explained that our modes of thinking about cultural production have changed over the past few decades. Previously, culture was understood as being hierarchical, and the names chosen to differentiate between different forms of culture - high and low, or elite and popular culture - mirrored this attitude. These differentiations have gradually eroded over the years, a process that has in turn led to the democratization of culture. As such, there has been a fundamental shift in how culture is perceived.

Beyond this however, there have also been vast and important developments in terms of tools for cultural production and consumption. Modern technology, such as the Internet, enables the general public to have not only a much greater access to different forms of culture (often for free), but also to provide them with a space in which they themselves can become cultural producers. Furthermore, intercultural dialogue can now simultaneously take place at a local, national, and international level. Due to these developments, exploring the origins of cultural production has become more important. Mr. Holden and Mr. Jones explained that there are three classifications of cultural production: publicly-funded, commercially-funded, and home-made. The latter classification - home-made culture - has recently experienced a rapid growth, an example of this being YouTube with its countless users and contributors. In spite of the importance of this form of culture, it unfortunately often remains overlooked. In view of the sig-

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

nificant impact home-made culture can have, however, this oversight is a mistake. For example, its impact is displayed in the success of bands such as the Arctic Monkeys, who are heralded as the first group to attain public attention via Internet sites such as MySpace pages created by their fans.

As such, understanding developments in cultural theory and production are important to the field of cultural diplomacy. Especially since, as one might expect, developments in our understanding of culture run parallel to changes in the methodologies of cultural diplomacy. Indeed, there is an acute dichotomy between the approaches previously used in the realms of cultural diplomacy and those employed today. Dr. Schneider argued that during the Cold War the U.S. administration believed in the power of culture and thus frequently relied on culture to promote understanding. During that period, however, cultural diplomacy was mainly conducted with the aim of 'showcasing' a culture: presenting it to another and hoping that the perceiver would find it attractive. The preferred methodology at the time was to send 'official cultural ambassadors' to the Soviet Union, who were largely African-American musicians. Even though rather unidirectional, this was nonetheless a powerful form of cultural diplomacy, as the musicians at times actually criticized U.S. policy while abroad. As Dr. Schneider said, this "demonstrated free speech, rather than just lecturing about it." Interestingly, the envoy of these official musical ambassadors corresponds to the origins of the term soft power, as outlined by Dr. Prof. Joseph S. Nye Jr. (University Distinguished Service Professor and Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, Harvard University), in the sense that it was centered around attraction.

The end of the Cold War brought a drastic cut to governmental attention to cultural diplomacy. This development, as Dr. Schneider explained, "led to the private sector and NGOs moving in to fill this void," and, with this change in actors, "the understanding of cultural diplomacy also shifted." Gradually, it became less about persuasion and exporting culture, and more about facilitating access and opening dialogues. Furthermore, its sensitivity for "showing diversity within a culture," as Dr. Schneider phrased it, also grew. As such, there was a shift towards conducting cultural diplomacy in order to foster an exchange in terms of an intercultural dialogue. Mr. Holden explained this "as moving away from the idea of soft power, in its traditional sense of cultivating attraction, towards creating a sense of mutuality."

Sports are a good example of an area in which such feelings of mutuality can be fostered and, indeed, Dr. Doll-Tepper spoke of how sports have the ability to unite both athletes and audiences from different cultures. She gave the fitting example of the Olympic Villages, which are built for the athletes and their teams in order to foster the sentiment of an actual geographic community. Furthermore, sports are a form of expression that enable sections of the population who are otherwise often overlooked to become more active in society. In particular, Dr. Doll-Tepper spoke highly of its value for disabled people to find a form of self-expression and self-realization. Such opportunities provide the potential for overcoming social barriers, at least whilst on the playing field. The Islamic Solidarity Games are a further demonstration of sports'

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

ability to override social roles, as women from traditionally highly patriarchal countries also partake in these. The games provide these women with the rare opportunity of not having their activity, involvement, and indeed their importance questioned, as the events take place within an established framework and are not focused on an individual but rather a group. One final important characteristic that Dr. Doll-Tepper mentioned, is the amount of role models the world of sports provides; Jesse Owens being only one of many well-known examples given. As these athletes at times have different cultural backgrounds to their fans, having respect and admiration for them can challenge people's pre-conceptions or cultural stereotypes on a personal level. The power of culture to connect people in an emotive and individual way is without a doubt paramount to the power of cultural diplomacy. In addition to this, several speakers emphasized that the power of artists to lead change and provoke discussions is unique as they are in a position that allows them to do this in a non-threatening manner. Dr. Schneider gave several interesting examples of such initiatives, notably the Afghani talent contest 'Afghan Star.' This is based on the show 'American Idol' and uses a democratic voting system based on the model employed in the U.S., thus imparting democratic values. Beyond this however, it demonstrates Afghani women's roles and brings them to the center stage - even if only temporarily. Moreover, it provides examples of women being active within the Afghani community.

A final form of culture worth noting is music. Music is a form of cultural diplomacy that, as mentioned, has been frequently employed in the past. The aforementioned example, 'Afghan Star,' demonstrates how certain values, such as democracy, can be assimilated into a show and fashioned to suit a culture that does not yet have many ties to democracy. As such, this case is principally about transferring systems - in this case a political system - rather than the ability to reach people on an emotional level. Music, on the other hand, possesses this capability. It is through this emotional connection that people become exposed to different cultures, not only in terms of the artist's background, but because musicians themselves assimilate multiple cultural influences into their own work. This is certainly true for Reggie Moore, who gave a performance during the Symposium. Mr. Moore himself was previously an official 'Jazz Ambassador' and refers to his own music as 'communicable music.' Indeed, his vast cultural experience and passion for music were evident in his performance, thus facilitating the ability of his viewers to appreciate that people from diverse national backgrounds might overcome cultural differences to enjoy his performances on an individual level. Unfortunately, one can never reliably quantify culture's impact, or that of soft power in general. As Dr. Schneider, Mr. Holden and Mr. Jones all argued: culture has an intrinsic value and thus cannot be measured numerically.

It is however, also important to note that not every form of cultural expression is beneficial to the diplomatic sphere. Culture can be as harmful as it can be useful, in that it allows, for instance, the promotion of negative stereotypes. An example of a project that was ill received given by Dr. Schneider was the Zack Snyder film '300,' against which Iranian communities demonstrated. Iranians felt that this film negatively stereotyped Persians. In consequence, numerous petitions were launched following its release, as well as a Google-bomb by an Iranian blogger

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

based in Canada. This sought to divert Internet traffic searching for information on '300' to a website that introduces various aspects of Iranian culture through art and thus challenges the depictions given in the film.

The reaction to this movie is exemplary of how cultural production has become a two-way process, in the sense that tools of communication, such as online forums, empower viewers to make their opinions heard. As such, it is no longer solely artists who can challenge people's beliefs and attitudes, but viewers as well. Simultaneously, artists now have unprecedented abilities to interact with other artists and their audiences. In this sense, culture is to be understood not only as imparting knowledge, but also as promoting ways of thinking. Cultural dialogue then, can provoke changes in modes of thinking and foster deeper understanding between different groups. As this comprises the crux of cultural diplomacy, it is necessary to remember these developments in the realms of cultural production and consumption if the methodologies of cultural diplomacy are to be successful.



Professor Dr. Cynthia Schneider
61st Ambassador of the United States to the Kingdom of the Netherlands (ICD Advisory Board Member)
International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2009 (America House Berlin)

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Transnational Cultural Diplomacy: Lessons from the UN, EU, and NATO

During the Symposium, it became evident that the traditional tools and structures of national sovereignty and intergovernmental alliances are no longer capable of effectively tackling today's increasingly global challenges. Transnational issues such as vastly proliferating communication technologies, environmental deterioration, and a heightened cross-border flow of people and investment - as well as security issues such as terrorism - require more than the responses of individual nations acting in their own self-interests.

Indeed, the Second World War brought about a pivotal transformation in international relations from unbending unilateralism, mutual animosity, and sovereignty protectionism, to a strategy of increased cooperation, partnership, and global networking. Since that time, the emergence of a new world order of global governance and heightened interdependence has become an inescapable reality. Throughout the Symposium, numerous speakers made it clear that rather than clutching to the crumbling edifices of unilateralism and strong sovereignty, transnational institutions and agents must be nurtured and invigorated in order to combat the growing number of global issues.

Multifaceted and centrifugal power centers - no longer confined to one or two predictable geographical locations - are thus cropping up across the world map. Former Finnish Foreign Minister Dr. Erkki Tuomioja asserted that "in a globalized world, sovereignty in a complete form is becoming a theoretical construct." If there was indeed any remaining faith in the concept of strong sovereignty after the Second World War, 9/11 helped to shatter it. The scrupulously planned but unforeseen attacks revealed a stark reality: today's "globalized insecurity," as NATO's Head of Corporate Communications Dr. Gerlinde Niehus put it, emanates to a lesser extent from states themselves and to a greater extent from non-state actors - ranging from multinational corporations to hackers to the Taliban. These largely unpredictable players adhere neither to national borders nor to international laws. Thus, many of the speakers agreed that in an increasingly multipolar world, in which threats have become global, security measures simply cannot continue to be confined to the protection of national boundaries.

The "inevitability of interdependence," in Dr. Tuomioja's words, is therefore one that nations must acknowledge as a fact of contemporary international relations. Following this logic, Dr. Gunter Pleuger (Former German Ambassador to the United Nations) urged for a greater focus on creating new - and strengthening existing - transnational organizations aimed at balancing some of the aforementioned global challenges. Nations, Dr. Pleuger stated, "cannot afford to remain isolated," and added that "international problems call for international institutions to deal with them." Partnership and cooperation have become crucial strategies in the international arena. Dr. Tuomioja thus postulated that supra- and inter-governmental organizations are ultimately using multilateralism because they have no choice: "it is the only way to reach

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

sustainable solutions.” Prof. Nye concurred with this idea when he stated that nations must pursue soft power strategies that enhance “the global public good” - for example, improving the quality of air - not only because it is profitable for an individual nation, but because it is an investment in our common security and well-being. Good global governance therefore requires strong and stable institutions to achieve its aims of conflict resolution, international human rights, economic growth, and political stability. The world’s foremost transnational actors and subsequently the ones most intensely discussed during the International Symposium included the following: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union (EU), and the United Nations (UN).

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Since its inception in 1949, NATO has traditionally been perceived as a strictly intergovernmental military alliance and immediately associated with hard power (soldiers bearing arms in front of camouflaged tanks is a frequent depiction). However, in her lecture, Dr. Niehus described a lesser established - though increasingly common - image of NATO: that of a multidimensional, diverse, and dynamic organization, working to achieve collective security by both military and political means. This image transformation is in part due to that fact that NATO, as Dr. Niehus pointed out, is no longer strictly limited to hard power approaches, but is rather becoming “a revolutionary combination of hard and soft power.” The Alliance, which links two continents, has evolved through three periods of strategic thinking. The first phase, during the Cold War, involved a heavy and almost exclusive reliance on hard power within a bipolar confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. From this emerged a post Cold-War period of mutual cooperation, partnership, and an increased focus on crisis management. Finally, in the current post-9/11 period where challenges to security are rapidly evolving and interdependence is mandatory, Dr. Niehus stressed that NATO has become more and more driven by substantial public diplomacy efforts.

While military means can respond to security threats such as piracy, cyber attacks, and nuclear armament, hard power tools can rarely resolve the underlying problems or curtail them before they erupt. A changing security landscape thus demands a change in tactics. Hard power, Dr. Niehus noted, “can be and has been mutated” into soft power, adding that NATO is gradually “expanding soft power as its primary policy component,” thus re-inventing itself as global partner. Dialogue, cooperation, and negotiation are becoming key terms for the transatlantic organization, as the prevalence of hard power decreases relative to its stronger soft policy. However, Dr. Niehus did not neglect to add that “hard and soft power are not opposing poles, but rather complementary components: a productive symbiosis used for the overall mission of peace and security.” She used the example of today’s “renaissance soldiers,” who must be more versatile than ever: they must learn to move quickly between humanitarian relief in one area to combat in another - a transition that requires sharper skills and a more resourceful mindset. To achieve this mission of synthesizing both poles of power, NATO must remain open and democratic,

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

although Dr. Niehus did hold that it will remain regionally concentrated and has no plans of enlargement outside of its Euro-American terrain. For this reason she acknowledged that NATO must take care not to return to its former Eurocentricism and remain global in its outlook.

The European Union

Within the last 50 years, the EU has united 27 European countries - each with their own unique traditions and cultures - into an integrated, multilateral organization serving a common political and economic system. Those who spoke about the EU during the Symposium, however, intimated that the Union must take care to maintain good diplomatic ties with its neighbors if it wishes to avoid replacing the old political divisions with fresh ones. Enlargement and integration were thus critical topics during the Symposium. Indeed, Romania's Minister for European Affairs, Dr. Vasile Pușcaș, maintained that "the EU stands as an example of the potential results that can be achieved through successful and peaceful regional integration." He continued that the European enlargement endeavor, which recently added Romania and Bulgaria, is part of "a process of re-shaping and re-defining European identity." With respect to the ongoing eastern expansion - Croatia, Serbia, and Turkey are among the next potential candidates for entry - there is a continuous need for dynamic re-definition of the European Union. Within a larger context of international competition, increasing investment flows, and a heightened global demand for raw materials, the EU has had to reassess its priorities and ensure that it facilitates cooperation both within its organization as well as with its neighbors.

In this respect, Dr. Pușcaș stressed that it is vital for the European Union to use a variety of instruments with respect to its external relations, and that soft power must be taken into consideration in this instance, especially as it is interwoven with economic incentives and initiatives. Indeed, the EU has revitalized its traditional approach to foreign relations by expanding its soft power repertoire to include the following: technical and economic assistance, academic exchanges, encouraging good governance and democratic institution-building, and providing humanitarian relief and conflict management support in troubled regions. An effective mixing of tools ensures that the EU, which Dr. Tuomioja called a "peace project," can properly and promptly respond to a variety of global situations - or even crises - more effectively than a single nation can. For the EU to be taken seriously, however, he added that it "needs to have a common policy that is not undermined by national governments' actions." In other words, it must attempt to serve the interest of the supranational organization above the self-interest of a few of its members - for instance those with higher net contributions.

On the other hand, a common policy does not entail a homogenous, uni-dimensional institution. Rather, cultural pluralism - which Dr. Tuomioja preferred over the term multiculturalism - is a defining component of the European Union. Dr. Pleuger emphasized and added to this point by stating that "the unique feature of the EU changed the psychology of Self/Other and the fear that this induces." Other nations don't threaten our identity, he maintained, "but rather enrich our own cultures." Mr. Jorge Sampaio, the Former President of Portugal, concurred that

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

“facing the challenges of good governance of cultural diversity does not only mean integrating migrants and minorities, but also opening and preparing the minds of individuals to the fact that we all live in a global village where we are permanently confronted with identity dilemmas and diversity issues.” For these reasons, cultural diplomacy is essential and, in Dr. Pleuger’s opinion, has until now been largely “underestimated in national policies.” In conclusion, Dr. Puşcaş pointed out that Europe must work to come together, despite cultural, ethnic, or religious differences, or else “it risks being a non-actor in the global sphere.” He urged for the EU to become more competitive and to look to soft power approaches in order to ensure that the European Union remains “a successful player in the age of globalization.”

The United Nations

The Symposium’s discussion about the United Nations - the leading voice in promoting conflict resolution and human rights protection - continually returned to the issue of reform, with Dr. Pleuger arguing that there is a great need for renovation within the increasingly impenetrable institution. He pointed out that the United Nations has maintained the same structure since its inception in 1945, thus scarcely altering its constitutional makeup for over half a century. Dr. Viķe-Freiberga, the Former President of Latvia, concurred with Dr. Pleuger. Appointed in 2005 by Kofi Annan as a Special Envoy on the Reform of the United Nations, she added that certain elements in the UN, such as granting veto power to certain countries, “skewed its purposes” and must be re-assessed. Dr. Viķe-Freiberga questioned the democratic value of such a function and agreed with Dr. Pleuger that “veto threats have more to do with national interests than with international concern.” The speakers’ main concerns revolved around the worry that veto power and endless, irresolvable disagreements paralyzed necessary UN action in regions such as Darfur. “The longer the UN debates,” Dr. Viķe-Freiberga argued, “the longer people will continue to suffer.”

However, the UN was by no means unanimously criticized during the Symposium. Indeed, Dr. Viķe-Freiberga herself acknowledged the global need for an institution like the United Nations and maintained that “the UN’s list of accomplishments is long.” Her concern was to see the organization function at its highest possible efficiency level so that people around the globe can benefit from its protection and assistance. One particular UN initiative that received considerable attention at the Symposium was Mr. Sampaio’s ‘Alliance of Civilizations’ project, whose aim is to contribute to the development of “good governance of cultural diversity.” This concept concerns not only fostering a culture of peace and contributing to peace-building in post-conflict situations, but also includes preserving cultural diversity as a pillar of sustainable development. Mr. Sampaio argued that “intercultural dialogue can only take place in an environment where a person is guaranteed safety and dignity and an equality of opportunities and participation; where different views can be voiced openly without fear; and where there are shared spaces for exchanges between cultures to take place.” United Nations initiatives, such as the ‘Alliance for Civilizations,’ ensure that the organization, rather than stagnating under bureaucratic obstacles, can remain a catalyst for action.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Diplomacy's Changing Role in Transnational Relations

Symposium discussions significantly stressed that the nature of diplomacy has undergone a radical transformation in recent decades due to the changing position of players involved. Traditionally, the actors engaged in international diplomatic relations - usually nation-states - were identifiable and geographically-bound. However, due to the rise of a diverse set of cross-border issues such as global warming, open markets, migration, and fundamentalist extremism, nations have had to find ways to come together to pool their economic, political, and creative resources. Mr. Sampaio therefore emphasized the pressing need to take into account the "changing fabric of transnational relations and the complex network of non-state actors." With this in mind, diplomatic practice has experienced a shift in focus and direction. "Nowadays," added Mr. Sampaio "the term 'cultural diplomacy' has a much wider scope and includes new priorities such as, for instance, the promotion of human rights, tolerance, and understanding, good governance, the role of religious movements in world affairs, and the role of the media in civil society." Broadening the term and practice of cultural diplomacy was one of the essential recommendations to the international community put forth by numerous speakers at the Symposium. This expansion will ensure that this new form of diplomacy - one that takes into account a wide variety of global players and needs - will be the most enduring, relevant, and effective to date.



Dr. Gerlinde Niehus

Head Corporate Communications, NATO

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2009 (German Parliament)

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

The Growing Need for Cultural Diplomacy in Relations with the Middle East

The terms 'War on Terror' and 'war of ideas' that emerged under the Bush administration were criticized by several speakers during the Symposium. Dr. Erkki Tuomioja, for example clarified that "Europe generally preferred to speak of the 'fight against terrorism.'" As Prof. Bassam Tibi (A. D. White Professor-at-Large, Cornell University) noted, this disapproval stemmed not only from the fact that members of the Islamic faith "experienced the tactics employed in the 'War on Terror' as being against Islam in general," but also from such terminology feeding into Huntington's essentializing 'clash of civilizations' thesis. As such, it was argued that the previous U.S. administration failed to specify that it was targeting Islamic fundamentalists, and not Islam generally, and that this approach had the consequence of damaging the image of the United States and its values amongst Muslim populations. The employed terminology thus gradually fostered a growing binary between the communities. Furthermore, as Dr. Cynthia Schneider noted, "the phrase 'war of ideas' is already problematic, as 'war' implies that there are winners and losers" - a concept that seems "nonsensical when discussing ideas."

In order to identify the aspects of the relationship that require addressing for the situation between the two groups to improve, one might look to recent Gallup polls. These revealed that Muslims perceived the most significant problem in their relationship with non-Muslims to be a lack of respect for and knowledge of their faith. Consequentially, one of the key constructive recommendations, made by both Dr. Schneider and Prof. Tibi, was that it was crucial for the non-Muslim public to increase their knowledge and understanding of Muslims, as taking the time to understand your conversation partner is one of the clearest indications of respect. Dr. Schneider suggested that the media "largely transmitted" the image of a Western public who are unaware of - or even misinformed about - the Islamic faith. Encouraging a more informative stance in media output could thus be a viable step towards rectifying the relationship.

However, when one is attempting to increase public understanding of Islam and Muslim society, it is important to sufficiently inform oneself beforehand. Prof. Tibi argued that the first distinction to be remembered is between Islam and Islamism, or Muslims and Islamists. Beyond this, there is a differentiation to be made within Islamists: namely between those who come to power peacefully and those who usurp it using violence. Prof. Tibi referred to the former group as 'institutional Islamists,' and explained that while "this group foregoes violence and accepts the procedure of democracy, it does not adopt democratic values." The latter group, whose position he called jihadism, is the most problematic in the fight against terrorism. Importantly, Prof. Tibi underlined that jihadism is not to be equated with jihad: the latter combines fighting - bound by specific rules that limit its targets - with proselytization in wars for Islamic expansion; in contrast, jihadism is a form of the new irregular and rule-less war conducted by non-state agents, such as those Islamists who subscribe to violence in fighting against the West. As such, Prof. Tibi urged the audience to remember that "although jihad in itself is not terrorism, jihadism is."



Prof. Dr. Bassam Tibi
A.D. White Professor-at-Large, Cornell University
International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2009 (America House Berlin)

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Prof. Tibi stated that conflicts often materialize upon trying to engage the latter group of jihadists in a dialogue. This is explained by the fact that when a topic is seen in terms of faith - in other words, religionized - it can no longer be negotiated. Hence, Prof. Tibi argued that "the danger of Islamism is that subjects become intractable" and any attempt at dialogue falls on deaf ears. In seeking to engender deeper understanding and dialogue then, as cultural diplomacy aims to do, the methods employed must remain secular. This however, does not mean that questions of religion should not be dealt with. In fact, in Prof. Tibi's opinion, religion, or in this case, Islam ought to be dealt with at a much greater intensity than it has been to date. He suggested that to this end, "dialogues should be built using ethical terms and values," thereby engaging non-jihadist Muslims. These not only constitute the vast majority of Muslims, but are also largely willing to engage in such exchanges.

Further constructive recommendations given by the speakers of the Symposium relate back to the phrase 'the war of ideas.' Despite the problems associated with this expression, it nonetheless also entails the logic that if one is speaking of ideas, then the use of soft power will ultimately be central their changing. However, Dr. Schneider noted that the concept of soft power was no longer equivalent to the "dominating view during the Cold War of exporting values." Instead, cultural diplomacy now aims to resolve conflicts and hence maintain, encourage, and create peace. It seeks to achieve this by expanding both understanding and respect to herewith, in Dr. Schneider's words, "humanize the Other". In her opinion, effective cultural diplomacy "is not about exporting culture, but rather about showcasing the diversity of a culture and becoming more attuned to how its values are adopted and applied locally." As such, collaborative work is of the utmost importance, as the absence thereof renders gauging a thorough appreciation of the local context extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, Dr. Schneider remains aware of the limitations to how much cultural exchange is able to achieve; recognizing that a population will not change its views of the U.S. for example, if it deems its policies unjust and discriminatory. Consequentially, Dr. Schneider emphasized that there is an undeniable "need to integrate policy and culture," and more particularly, to "integrate knowledge of the arts and culture into policy-making." In retrospect, she believes that the tactics used in the Iraq war attested to the fact that a failure to do so damages the American image. Dr. Schneider illustrated this point with the example of the loss of respect for and belief in American competence by the Iraqi people following the uninhibited pillaging of museums and archaeological treasures, despite the presence of U.S. soldiers in these regions.

One of the suggestions that Dr. Schneider was most adamant about during her lecture was that there should be a greater appreciation of the ability that both media and culture possess to "reach people on an individual level." She further argued that a realization of this power ought to lead to an increase in governmental funding of the arts. For instance, a primary example of a possible point of connection with the Muslim world that Dr. Schneider named, the potential of which is thus far under-used, is hip-hop. Hip-hop is a highly popular musical genre among

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Muslim communities, as can be seen in the success of the Iranian artist Yas or the Palestinian group Dam. Interestingly, however, the artist Tupac also remains very popular in Muslim-majority countries, a fact that Dr. Schneider believed to be explained by his political lyrics. The simultaneous popularity of Muslim and non-Muslim artists indicates that this is an area which holds tremendous potential for strengthening intercultural musical production and communication. Musical collaborations would not only be live cultural exchanges, but by including local artists they would also increase the chances of success for such initiatives.

The Symposium discussion on the Middle East thus underlined several key points. First and foremost, it warned that in order to improve relations between the Middle East and the Western World there must be a greater focus on cultural diplomacy to increase understanding and knowledge between the two groups. Indeed, Prof. Tibi asserted that he believes that if this is not done, the seven major sources of tension between the U.S. and Islam, which President Barack Obama identified in his Cairo speech on the 4th of June 2009, could develop into sources of conflict. However, in order for cultural diplomacy to be successful in pre-emptive or active conflict resolution, several changes to its methods are necessary. Prof. Tibi stressed that firstly, there ought to be a greater understanding of the Muslim community and its diversity. Indeed, from his research he argued that there is little point in attempting to build a dialogue with converted jihadists, as generally such means cannot modify their opinion. Instead, he recommended that the discourse used in the fight against terrorism should meticulously differentiate between this group and other Muslims, thereby expressing a willingness to listen to and communicate with non-fundamentalists. Dr. Schneider further underscored the need for greater knowledge, though her focus was directed at the practicalities of cultural initiatives. She argued that in order for these to be successful, there ought to be an increase in financial governmental support given to cultural production, particularly for showcasing its diversity. This increase in expenditure should follow the embedment of a heightened appreciation for cultural impact. As such, she argued for a greater integration of policy and culture.

While the Symposium's speakers pointedly refuted Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' theory, they simultaneously maintained an acute awareness that a conflict of cultures or communities, as Prof. Tibi described it, remains. Hence, if only one message were to be remembered from the Middle East discussions, it would be that this conflict is the primary source of concern for international stability and should therefore be addressed as thoroughly as possible. To this end, relationships between Muslim communities and non-Muslim communities should be addressed by encouraging constructive and informed cultural exchange, and on the state level there ought to be policy modifications. This would not only open communication to the greater Muslim community, but as Prof. Tibi stressed, also "strengthen their own resolve to fight extremism."

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

The Role of Soft Power and CSR for Development within Africa

Presently, there is still a relative dearth in literature and academic review concerning cultural diplomacy within Africa, particularly regarding the areas of soft power and CSR. Perhaps this is because more often than not, other issues such as development and problems related to infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS or malaria are deemed more topical. This contributes to studies on the African continent frequently being overly problem-orientated. Considering this, the Symposium attempted to take a more neutral standing by providing an opportunity for African community leaders to discuss pertinent topics in their own terms. The lectures were generally focused on how cultural diplomacy can contribute to African development. The importance of topics such as soft power, multilateralism and cultural diversity for development within Africa was emphasized, as was the need for further debate on these issues with respect to the African context.

Africa is the world's second largest and second most populated continent. With 54 countries or 61 territories, it contains a vast range of diversity in terms of people, their culture and the geography of the land. Indeed, there is an emerging interest to develop a better understanding of Africa and celebrate the life of its people, their literature, poetry, music, sports, and social structures. To this effect, Mr. Cassam Uteem (Former President of the Republic of Mauritius) used his home country as an example in his lecture on democratic participation and cultural inclusion in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual societies. Mr. Uteem explained that all Mauritians are descendants from immigrants who came from a diverse array of places, including continental Africa, China, India, and France. As such, the cultural plurality within Mauritius is more than religious plurality as it dates back to the very origins of its inhabitants. Considering this pluralism, one might expect clashes or misunderstandings to occur. And indeed, in order to avoid these, the Mauritian government works to protect individuals within the society from discrimination and provide them with equal opportunities. As such, the government attempts to preemptively counteract dissatisfaction that could trigger conflict. Furthermore, there is a general effort to transmit the message that Mauritian life is about "diversity and not division," as Mr. Uteem phrased it, and that differing values should be seen as "complimentary rather than competitive." In order to foster such a sentiment, the government allows culture to develop autonomously, without interference, and only monitors issues that might be seen as conflictual, such as questions of religion. Through this, Mr. Uteem argues that there is an effort to unite elements "from different ways of life to create a new culture" and to encourage people to feel that there is "unity in diversity."

Of course, it would be unwise to say that Mauritian society is entirely free of problems. However, insights into its governmental methods might be of value as, according to the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, it is the best-governed country within Africa. The impression Mr. Uteem gave was that of a society, which has found a balance between fostering both a sense



Castigo Langa
ICD Advisory Board Member
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International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

of community and of independence, and where the existing cultural plurality is valued for the enrichment it can bring to the daily lives of Mauritians.

Such sentiments, however, are only possible after a sense of understanding and respect for differences has been established. Soft power can provide a very useful tool for achieving this. Furthermore, as H. E. Mr. Ahmada R. Ngemera, the Tanzanian Ambassador to Germany, claimed: "there is no alternative to negotiation, as without discussion you can only fight." Mr. Carlos dos Santos (Ambassador for Mozambique to Germany) continued along this line of thought and said that due to the long history of violence in Africa, "people are motivated to get away from this" and move forward. Mr. dos Santos and Mr. Castigo Langa, the Former Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy for Mozambique, gave the example of their home country, Mozambique, which has been overshadowed with violence for several decades because of its struggle for independence and the following war of destabilization.

Mr. Langa argued that although 'soft power' as a term may be relatively new, its use in the African context is not. Importantly, discussions within the Symposium repeatedly drew attention to the need to give a voice to local opinions on the application of soft power within Africa. For instance, in the question and answer session that followed Mr. Langa's speech, a member from the audience raised a query as to the lack of action by African leaders against the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe. In the discussion that ensued, Mr. dos Santos explained that often what appears to be a "silence" or lack of action to non-Africans is actually the "soft power used within Africa;" he continued that "if the response taken instead was to isolate Mugabe, then the people of Zimbabwe would ultimately probably suffer more." Furthermore, the very presence of Mr. Langa underlined the argument that African led soft power approaches are needed to solve problems within the African context, as he was replacing Mr. Roberto Chissano, the Former President of Mozambique, who was currently attempting to resolve the growing conflict in Madagascar. Mr. Langa said that Mr. Chissano can thus be seen as a clear example of a man taking action by using soft power to resolve a problem.

Mr. Langa hoped that his speech and figures such as Mr. Chissano would help eradicate the often-held opinion that "conflicts within Africa are unsolvable." He feels that if "traditional African policies and approaches were respected," rather than colonial vestiges, "sustainable peace can be reached." Mr. Langa did quantify this statement by noting that "there is a limit to the power of soft power." Indeed, as Mr. Langa explained, in a society as riddled with conflict as some African countries are, hard power is often necessary to create a situation where soft power can be used. It is thus crucial to inform oneself of the specific context and fashion the response accordingly. If this is not done, then, as Mr. Langa argued, "sometimes you can offend even when you have good intentions." Furthermore, he pointed out that peace cannot last without being preceded by economic and social reform to further development, as without this "economic crises will lead to the re-mergence of conflicts." It is due to this reality that Mr. Langa argued multilateralism is very important for African development.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

African multilateralism emerged after the Cold War, when the shift from states to markets also led to Africa expanding its forms of regional organizations (for example the African Union was formed in 2002). Africa's multilateralism has received little attention from the rest of the world, however; and when discussed, it is criticized for being overly financially dependent on international donors and lacking in civil society interest. The arguments such critics put forward, is that until this changes, multilateralism within Africa will be unable to systematically transform continental relations or advance collective community interests. Despite these reservations however, Mr. Langa believes that "progress within Africa is being made" and "the potential of a multilateral government is high."

Suggestions that emerged from the Symposium discussions to help realize this potential, were that Africa should work to rectify the above criticisms by stimulating greater participation by the civil society and focus more on multilateral work within Africa, rather than partnering with organizations such as the UN or NATO. Such initiatives have been relatively successful when undertaken in the past, as can be seen in the example of the trilateral partnership of Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe during their political intervention in Swaziland in the mid-1990s. And indeed, if there is one lesson Africa learned in overcoming colonialism and apartheid, it is that when its countries act in concert in a divided world, it can make a difference. This is especially true considering the current gradual tarnishing of the authority and legitimacy of international institutions that assertively maintain Western privileges in their decision-making. Furthermore, several speakers argued that the presence of new players, such as Russia and China, is growing, and as such, Africa should take this expanding global dialogue as an opportunity to make its voice heard and participate on the international level of affairs.

One area where pan-African is beginning to receive some attention is Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). As the Symposium's panel discussion on CSR in Africa showed, this is a highly interesting topic of critical importance as the continent embodies many of the most vexing dilemmas that businesses face in attempts to be responsible, ethical, and sustainable. Certain questions pertaining to CSR are hence particularly relevant to the African context. Examples of such questions are: when do local cultural traditions take precedence over global standards and policies? And do efforts to protect the environment and rectify the damage done apply in the same way to countries within Africa as they do European countries?

These types of questions relate to the query of 'CSR according to whose definition or position?' The Institute for Corporate Cultural Affairs' Managing Director, Mr. Nick Tolhurst, reminded the audience that there is generally a problem in reconciling academic theory, of which definitions are a component, and practice. Moreover, during the discussion on environmental issues in particular, it became clear just how complex a topic can become when different positions are taken into account. As panel-member and Volkswagen AG's Head of Coordination CSR and Sustainability, Dr. Gerhard Prätorius noted: it is advisable to have global standards that everybody should uphold. On the other hand, further panel members pointed out that this means

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

that developing countries, like those in Africa, are largely paying for damages for which they are not responsible. This is problematic not only from an ethical point of view, but also from an economic one as often they cannot afford to carry the costs.

The panel discussion additionally emphasized the point that with regards to CSR, Africa again needs to make its own standpoints heard and be allowed to develop according to its own agenda. For instance, the question of the extent to which CSR should also reduce poverty is much more pertinent to African countries than it is for America. Indeed, a further key recommendation that emerged from the panel discussion was that for Africa to develop, there needs to be an emergence of a middle class. If there is a failure within Africa to combat poverty, then it might well be that questions of CSR become irrelevant since, as Mr. Langa pointed out, conflicts tend to re-emerge following economic crisis.

It seems then, that debates around cultural diversity, soft power, and CSR, though beginning to adopt more encompassing attitudes, are still dominated by European and American perspectives. As such, the need to incorporate the African perspective and for African countries to engage in pan-African multilateralism to strengthen the continent's power were some of the principal recommendations made during the Symposium. This demonstrates that there was a general belief that Africa must determine its own future. However, in view of contemporary global interconnectedness, it cannot achieve this without the global community according adequate attention to African issues on their own terms. Furthermore, the content of the aforementioned debates and ensuing implementation should be locally adapted to the country or region in which they are applied, in order for them to be able to contribute to sustainable and efficient change. Academically speaking, the Symposium took a step towards globalizing these debates and concepts to also include African perspectives. Considering the complexity of the issues, however, it was clear that future efforts need to be much more extensive for any questions to be adequately answered.



„Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR & SRI) in Africa: A Form of Soft Power?“
(Public Panel Discussion, Wednesday, July 29th, 2009)
International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2009 (America House Berlin)

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

The Latvian Experience

One of the significant outcomes of the Symposium was to reveal that important lessons of cultural diplomacy can at times be gleaned from unlikely places. Often overlooked, the world's smaller countries can in fact share a wealth of knowledge about the struggle to effectively maintain one's own cultural heritage while simultaneously competing in an increasingly interconnected global sphere. In this sense, Latvia is a powerful example of a country experiencing a cultural and political rebirth, following a centuries-long eclipse. Positioned between its colonized past and a global, postmodern present, the small nation has struggled - many would argue successfully - to establish a new, emancipated self-narrative. This renewed confidence and vitality has led to an effective re-construction of diplomatic ties on the international arena, as well as a bustling domestic cultural sphere. As the country's delegation at the Symposium suggested, Latvia is an example that many other nations struggling to rid themselves of their occupied pasts would do well to emulate.

Geo-strategically located along the coast of the Baltic Sea, Latvia has undergone seven centuries of foreign occupation, with only brief stretches of respite. From the 13th to the 20th century, the small Baltic nation struggled to retain its identity under German, Polish, Russian, and Swedish control. In 1940, Latvia was absorbed into the Soviet Union following a Soviet invasion, only to be recaptured by the Nazis the following year, and yet again by the Red Army in 1945. It would be another half century before Latvia would experience independence.

However, once granted its liberty from a crumbling Soviet Union, the newly independent country underwent a period of cultural, political, and economic renaissance. In 2004, Latvia remarkably entered both the European Union and NATO and substantially revitalized its foreign relations. Furthermore, during the early and mid-2000's, Latvia was one of the fastest growing economies in the European Union with ample financial resources to fund its booming cultural production. Its capital city was thus dubbed - as Latvia's Minister of Culture, Mr. Ints Dālderis, pointed out - "the Paris of the North." Freed of the cultural monism imposed by its eastern neighbor, Latvia began investing its resources and energy into revitalizing its unique traditions, which had for centuries been forced to subsist under the radar. As Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga stated during her lecture, "When a nation has been occupied, as mine was in 1940 and again in 1945, it disappears off the face of the earth and diplomacy is not possible because there is no country to represent." She added that state-to-state soft power and cultural diplomacy logically require the existence of sovereign nation-states, which are free to cultivate their own cultural heritage and to engage in bilateral and mutually beneficial exchanges. And this, Dr. Vīķe-Freiberga claimed, "poses the biggest challenge to society: how can I as an individual reach my full potential, without stepping on your toes, without taking something from you, and vice versa." Her microcosmic analogy naturally extends to transnational relations: "This sense of interconnection, of reciprocity, of mutual benefit," she added, "is the basis of society."

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

However, reciprocity also entails being aware of another's specific context and needs, a form of sensitivity which Dr. Viķe-Freiberga argued some of the world's more powerful nations lack. She pointed out that often many smaller countries do not have the option of choosing from the vast 'toolbox' of power - as Hilary Clinton commonly refers to the variety of instruments of power at a nation's disposal. Dr. Viķe-Freiberga proposed that when proponents of soft and smart power discuss the advantages of these approaches they must take into account the fact that not all nations possess the capability of employing these tools to an equal degree. Acknowledging this fact, she suggested, will ensure a more balanced approach and add a richer complexity to the issues of power being discussed at the Symposium.

Yet the question lingers: what can a small nation, one that spent centuries under foreign occupation, teach the globe about cultural diplomacy? To begin with, Latvia's unique culture - exemplified by the national Dainas, or folk songs, which have been passed along for generations - managed to survive the imposed cultural homogenization of foreign rule. Furthermore, during Latvia's brief periods of independence, its century-old opera tradition produced some of the best opera in north-eastern Europe. Despite this fact, by the time of the Soviet collapse, the state of Latvia's national opera had experienced decades of serious funding shortages and managerial disorder; its building was literally crumbling and its operatic tradition under serious threat. Underneath the ailing tradition however, lay a wellspring of potential: today, Latvia's opera is erupting with young talent. Considered to be the premier opera in the Baltics, the national opera acts as a cultural flag for the small nation. Mr. Dālderis highlighted the Latvian opera singer's Elina Garanča's international career as an example of his nation's use of music as cultural diplomacy. Latvia's operatic diplomacy is helping to foster artistic exchanges with countries such as Russia, thus helping to engender bridge-building strategies aimed at mutual cooperation and increasing bilateral exchange between the once embittered neighbors. Mr. Dālderis also noted that Latvians consider their opera to foster an impulse to greatness and - when prompted to give two words to describe Latvia's identity - he immediately named talent as one.

The second word he offered: tolerance. No nation, Dr. Viķe-Freiberga rightly concluded, is really ever a solitary island. Mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation are integral to thriving in an interdependent body such as the European Union, and more generally, within the globe. Latvia's highly effective artistic exchanges are thus part of the nation's strategy to facilitate valuable international cooperation, in both the political and the cultural realm. These exchanges, among many other factors, illustrate the potential for soft power to transform a nation from a crumbling Soviet satellite state to a thriving democracy intent on safeguarding its domestic cultural production, while also promoting mutually beneficial diplomatic efforts abroad. It is for these reasons, Dālderis asserted, that small nations such as Latvia can act as "beacons of light" on the international stage.



Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga
ICD Advisory Board Member
Former President of Latvia (1999-2007)

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

The Future of Cultural Diplomacy: Concluding Remarks

Recent years have witnessed a resurgence - or, as the Goethe Institut's Head of the Strategy and Evaluation Staff Division, Mr. Arpad Sölter put it, a renaissance - of global soft power initiatives. The most visible embodiment of this changing approach has been the Obama administration, which has emphatically reintroduced cultural diplomacy into American foreign affairs. Following the dismal soft power record of the Bush era - Prof. Nye pointed out that Donald Rumsfeld claimed he did not even know what soft power meant - the new American presidency is attempting to restore and regenerate foreign relations. As such, seeking out alternatives to harsh economic and military approaches has become a top political priority, a tactic which Mr. Sölter dubbed: "a u-turn in the realm of foreign affairs."

However, it became clear throughout the discussions on the future of cultural diplomacy that nation-states are not the sole possessors of soft power. Non-state actors such as transnational institutions, NGOs, and a wide variety of individuals have come to the fore of the debate on cultural diplomacy's potential to restore international cooperation. Mr. Jorge Sampaio noted that we are currently experiencing the emergence of "a new diplomacy...which takes away some of the certainties of foreign policy practice but which also provides new opportunities." As such, diplomatic practice today faces a double challenge: it must deal with both the changing fabric of transnational relations and the complex network of non-state actors. In addition to this, Mr. Sampaio stressed the need to recognize the plethora of emerging diplomatic practices, which for him "indicates that we are living in a paradigm shift with regards to traditional diplomacy and foreign policy."

More provocatively, Mr. Sölter stated that "conventional diplomacy is bankrupt," while adding more explicatively that "on a global scale, the renaissance of soft power has begun re-assessing, re-defining, and even re-inventing the tools and targets of traditional cultural diplomacy." Cultural diplomacy has thus moved away from the embassies, the diplomatic corps, and the bureaucratic outposts, he asserted, and alternative forms of diplomacy - those of human and cultural exchange - have taken over. "Today's new diplomats," Mr. Sölter claimed, "are foreign film makers, musicians and conductors, artists and writers in residence, curators, visiting professors, foreign correspondents, interns, and celebrities." A country's image abroad is less dependent on state activities, and thus, as Mr. Sölter noted: "A foreign correspondent has more influence over Germany's, Canada's, or Britain's image abroad than any official diplomat." The power of cultural diplomacy has, in this respect, moved from a governmental center to a multifaceted periphery, where the alternatives to traditional diplomacy have been expanded, re-configured, and diversified to include exchange on a more human level than the previous state-centered model.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Although difficulties in quantifying the results of cultural diplomacy remain, there are tremendous benefits to its application. As Mr. Sölter asserted, soft power has the ability to change individual biographies. An academic exchange, for instance, can open up new avenues for a young student and put him or her into contact with another cultural context in a way that simply reading about the other culture never could. Symbolic politics can also create an impact that reaches beyond the confines of the individual, and, in fact, thoughtful cultural foreign policy initiatives can highly influence a nation's political success abroad. The New York Philharmonic Orchestra's recent trip to North Korea - with which the US government has absolutely no diplomatic ties - illustrated the potential groups of individuals have in shaping a nation's international image. Furthermore, Mr. Sölter argued that, in contradistinction to hard power, cultural diplomacy is cost-effective. Investing in the arts, for example, by promoting filmmakers and musicians internationally often leads to direct profit. As Prof. Nye succinctly suggested: "Soft power pays" and added that, in the context of a global economic and financial crisis, we forget this fact to our peril. Finally, in Mr. Sölter's opinion the most important benefit of soft power is that civilians, rather than bearing all of the fallouts of military conflicts, are able to benefit the most from the outcomes of cultural exchanges.

In addition to highlighting the benefits of this resurgence in soft power, Mr. Sölter also offered three secrets for success to cultural diplomacy, which he argued ought to be utilized to a greater extent in the future if soft power approaches are to achieve their desired intent. The first is the "art of being local worldwide." As Dr. Cynthia Schneider also suggested, "wrapping up American culture in a box" and exporting it is not only an imperialistic act but also simply ineffective. The idea is rather to gain knowledge of local customs and to understand the shared concerns of the host country. Mr. Sölter noted that "your success will depend on whether bringing together the homegrown and some stimulating input from outside will create something new, meaningful and relevant for everyone involved." The second secret to success, according to Mr. Sölter, is connecting the known with the unknown, the foreign and the alien. This works particularly well for cultural events, such as international book readings or music festivals, where the combination of a lesser-known artist from abroad can be paired up with a local icon in order to attract a larger audience. Combining something unknown with something familiar is less daunting to an audience and is thus more likely to attract a broader range of participants. The final secret to successful cultural diplomacy involves "embedded programming" and ongoing dialogue with successful partners. Mr. Sölter, utilizing his experience at the Goethe-Institut, recommended that organizations maintain "a distinct profile, key issues, and joint signature events." Only a long-term perspective for the exchange of ideas, he stated, can ensure a sustainable transformation of cultural diplomatic practices and a reduction in mutual cultural stereotypes and preconceptions.

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

Mentioned frequently in the discussions, another key component in the redefinition of the parameters of cultural diplomacy is the relentless boom in technological innovation, which allows Internet-savvy individuals to create their own unmediated virtual spaces of exchange. A general rise of 'home-made' culture is also opening up new possibilities for myriad innovative artistic expressions, from soldiers documenting their war-time experiences through inexpensive camcorders to dance auditions posted on MySpace for music video casting. This evolving model of culture inevitably impacts and reshapes the traditional model of diplomacy, enabling a more diverse, democratic, and multilateral exchange. People-to-people exchanges are thus gradually replacing the older model of state-owned diplomatic practice. In addition, despite the often homogenizing effects of globalization, there is also a growing demand to recognize the specific needs of various localities. It is essential that local individuals, groups, or even - as is the case with Africa - nations of an entire region act together, advocating their own particular concerns. In terms of cultural diplomacy, it is essential, as Mr. Sölter pointed out, to know the "burning questions of the host country" if any kind of successful exchange is to occur.

However, Dr. Schneider noted that as important as people-to-people engagement is for cultural diplomacy, it does not compensate for policy. Her recommendation was thus a more pronounced integration of cultural diplomacy in policy-making. In her opinion, arts and culture should not be seen in isolation from international politics and social change. Dr. Schneider therefore suggested "incorporating global creative expressions into broader strategies of development." The potential of music, for example hip-hop, which is currently a thriving creative outlet for many young people in developing countries, should be approached as a serious alternative to more traditional international development strategies, such as economic aid or even microfinance. As a consequence of not integrating culture and policy, Dr. Schneider gave the example of the pillaging of archaeological treasures during the American invasion of Iraq. For her, this case highlights the need to begin innovative military training in recognizing and preserving antiquities and other cultural sites. Several of the speakers also urged for a more creative approach to international development strategies, which too often rely on misleading images of developing countries as stagnant and needy. An alternative position put forth involved engaging local groups through exchanges which are both relevant and productive for their individual requirements, such as providing IT training to young leaders of economically disadvantaged communities, who can subsequently carry on training local individuals themselves.

Ultimately, the future of cultural diplomacy remains open, dynamic, and malleable. Globalization and its many offshoots and ramifications ensure that no single, uni-dimensional future can be forecast. Instead, there is the potential for a multiplicity of exchanges, policies, technologies, and creative expressions to emerge as vehicles of cultural diplomacy that can deal with today's growing global challenges. Even in cases where these instruments offer no apparent solutions to the destructive forces of age-old conflicts, it is important to remain mindful that no situation is irresolvable. Dr. Viķe-Freiberga compellingly illustrated this last point by relating her experiences with the Ayatollah Khomeini, who would seemingly not shake the hand of a woman,

International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy

Berlin, 27th – 31st July 2009 - Symposium Report

despite her position as the President of a country. Several years after this incident, he unexpectedly embraced her. Dr. Viķe-Freiberga suggested that such an example “gives one hope for change, even for positions that may seem cast in cement, etched in stone, unchanging, immutable. There is always hope that a softening of the position can come about.” And this, she added, “is what diplomacy is all about.” It is indeed uncertain what new cultural and political configurations the renaissance of cultural diplomacy will engender. However, the purpose of the Symposium was not to make definitive predictions, but rather to open the discussion for persisting questions and unresolved issues:

- While advancements in technology provide more and more individuals with the opportunity to become diplomats themselves, the absence of censorship and governmental control enables the circulation of potentially offensive material. Even though state censorship is not a viable option, the question remains: how much influence, if at all, should states have in the regulation of cultural production?
- With the decline of strong sovereignty, national borders have become more porous, thus increasing the flow of products, information, and - in this case most significantly - people. Is it possible to reconcile the fact that democracy requires fixed borders with the reality of global populations constantly on the move? Furthermore, how can a migrant group become integrated into a society to the extent that they become active participants who simultaneously retain their cultural heritages while also displaying an interest in the civil society around them?
- One of the key points that emerged from the Symposium discussions is that pan-African relations need to be strengthened and local contexts taken into account. Considering globalization and transnational interconnectedness, to what extent is this possible without resorting to the isolation tactics of the Asian Tiger states?

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“Soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced.”

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Joseph S. Nye



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