

## Diplomatic Academy Proceedings

13<sup>th</sup> CEI DUBROVNIK DIPLOMATIC FORUM

# STRATEGIC PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

*– in cooperation with the US Embassy in Zagreb –*

Dubrovnik, Croatia  
May 20–22, 2010

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Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs  
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# Diplomatic Academy Proceedings

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Diplomatic Forum “**Strategic Public Diplomacy**”

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– in cooperation with the US Embassy in Zagreb –

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## *For the Publisher*

Mladen Andrić

## *Editors*

Mladen Andrić  
Andrea Gustović-Ercegovac

## *Co-Editor*

Tihana Bohač

## *Cover Design*

Grafomark, Zagreb

## *Printed by*

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## *Address*

Diplomatic Academy  
Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs  
Republic of Croatia  
Petretićev trg 2  
10 000 Zagreb, Croatia  
Tel. +385 1 4599 200  
Fax: +385 1 4599 458  
E-mail: diplom@mvep.hr

## *Visit our Web site*

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## Preface

This issue of Diplomatic Academy Proceedings is a collection of papers on “**Strategic Public Diplomacy**”, presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> Diplomatic Forum in Dubrovnik, Croatia, May 20–22, 2010. The Forum is an annual international conference traditionally organised by the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia in cooperation with the University of Zagreb and its Centre for Advanced Academic Studies (CAAS), Dubrovnik.

From its beginning in 1998, the Forum has continuously been organised under the auspices of the Central European Initiative (CEI), enabling regular communication of diplomatic experts from CEI Member States, and also attracting the participation of others engaged in the field of diplomacy, foreign policy and international relations. This particular event focusing on strategic aspects of public diplomacy in 2010 was also backed by the US Embassy to Croatia and the Euro-Mediterranean University (EMUNI).

The purpose of the Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum is to encourage effective international debate from both practical and academic point of view, namely to present, promote and foster various concepts, methods, skills and techniques of diplomacy and diplomatic training. Every Forum deals with a specific topic in an open approach to all domains of modern public diplomacy, from political, economic and cultural diplomacy to other particular aspects of development, regional cooperation, education and civil society.

Offering an in-depth debate about diplomatic strategies and policies by senior experts, it also provides an interactive programme and specialised training workshops for junior diplomats. In this respect, the brand new book titled “**Strategic Public Diplomacy**” that is now offered to the public, is expected not just as a fine reminder of the 2010 Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum, but more as an additional contribution to diplomatic literature.

The issue of public diplomacy as a current and intricate subject obviously deserves proper attention, whereas strategic public diplomacy calls for an even more detailed analysis. Diplomacy has long ceased to be secret; however in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century it still maintains many characteristics of discretion that are necessary to negotiate goals in international relations. The question is: why is the additional element of public diplomacy required? Why reach out to the public when at times it may even hinder our own position?

The first and most important reason is the fact that international relations today have, indeed, become public. Notably, they are paid special attention by many groups within the public which also demand their say in decision-making processes. Likewise, politicians who wish to see their foreign policies materialized need the support not only of their own citizens, but also of the foreign public.

Consequently, contemporary diplomacy has to be able to follow the trends and create its own particular tactics, so as to successfully present its own interests as well as to cope effectively with the interests of other states. At first glance it might seem that it is just a matter of sending a clear yet simple image of one's country out into the world, a matter of creating a good name, a brand. However, it is a matter of using many more resources and devices. The first step would be to define a realistic set of national characteristics and merits accepted at home. Following the echoes of the home market, it is also important to determine the course of the national politics and represent it in a precise manner, and then convey these goals internationally through a variety of media.

The openness and communication with the public often brings about the opposite effect, where the public opinion, and not only that of experts and politicians, affects the formulation of a foreign political standpoint. Equally, foreign policy issues have recently become more linked to the domestic political agenda and therefore to the expectations of the voters. Such relationship has always existed, but it has never been so direct and strong before. Diplomacy becomes an internal issue, subject to control and revision by experts, but also by broad public, even on a daily basis. All in all, diplomacy is becoming more operational and less strategically oriented.

Public diplomacy, despite some of its less desirable effects, provides powerful political leverage in international relations. The media play a vital role as the main channel of communication, namely the instrument for conveying foreign diplomacy information to the domestic public. Unfortunately, information can often be misinterpreted, inconsistent or simply in an undesired form. Specific and accurate information provided by public diplomacy can facilitate the flow of diplomatic messages that reach the citizens.

The quantity of information and the variety of the media are so vast that a modern state loses the possibility of controlling them, losing some of its power in the process. It is facing this problem on a day-to-day basis, and discovering alternate ways to present information and affect world politics is crucial for diplomacy. The monopoly of the traditional bureaucracy is fading and political leaders need to be ready for a broader spectrum of events and responses.

The content and tactics of political activities are in the focus of all Member States of the European Union (EU), and it is also becoming a priority for acceding

Croatia. Obviously, being part of EU processes is one thing, but being among 28 Member States is quite another. EU membership creates many opportunities, but it is up to every Member State, Croatia included, to seize them. This sounds like a cliché, but it still holds true. To be reminded of ones merits, to creatively contribute to common goals and encourage partnership, requires diplomats and diplomacy. Behind every EU Member State stand centuries of culture, value, tradition, natural and financial resources, and to convey this as a common interest is truly strategically important.

The Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum on the subject of “**Strategic Public Diplomacy**” made it possible to present and discuss just how vast the field of public diplomacy is today. Diplomats from the USA and various European countries have shown the full scope of diversity of the messages and channels of public diplomacy. This conference proceedings contain papers that among other things discuss the challenges of the U.S. public diplomacy in building bridges between the USA and the Islamic world; the importance of promoting individual countries’ merits; perception that replaces reality and is just as effective as true facts; the effect of uncontrolled communication media and global events; public diplomacy as support for the accession to EU membership; public diplomacy as a means to present the national image; how and why to enforce the value of the country brand; nation branding in positioning states on the foreign political market; the role of cultural diplomacy, the Internet, social networks and international foundations.

We believe these proceedings will also shed light on things we were not even aware of and help everyone promoting their national interests to achieve balance and public success that can also be beneficial to others.

**Editors**





## Opening Address

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear Ambassador Dr. Gerhard Pfanzelter,  
Most Honorable Mayor of the City of Dubrovnik Dr. Andro Vlahušić,  
Distinguished lecturers, participants and guests,

It is my honor and privilege to greet you all here today on behalf of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia, Mr. Gordan Jandroković, who asked me to extend his very best wishes for the success of this gathering in addressing an important topic of modern diplomacy, namely, strategic public diplomacy.

I would also like to use this opportunity to welcome you on behalf of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, as well as of its Diplomatic Academy, which, together with the Executive Secretariat of the Central European Initiative (CEI) co-organizes traditionally this important expert forum. It is also a pleasure for me to extend special thanks to the CEI Secretary General Ambassador Dr. Gerhard Pfanzelter for the CEI support for this project, as well as for their “share of work” in the organization.

Let me also underline the most valuable and substantive contribution of the US Embassy in Zagreb, Croatia, whose experts co-operated closely with us in preparations for this year’s Forum. Special thanks go to Ms. Vivian S. Walker, Deputy Head of the US Mission in Zagreb.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum, which started out as a pioneer project of the Diplomatic Academy of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration under the CEI umbrella, as well as with the aid of our dear hosts, the University in Zagreb and its Center for Advanced Academic Studies (CAAS) in Dubrovnik, has obviously grown into a traditional and unique feature event of its kind in this part of Europe.

The general task of the CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum has remained the same. The Forum serves as an instrument for developing better understanding among the CEI member states and fostering their development by an additional in-depth exchange of views related to different aspects of diplomacy and diplomatic training. Hence the 13<sup>th</sup> Forum is dedicated to an ever more important

domain of public diplomacy. In benefiting from knowledge and expertise of the well-experienced diplomacies and diplomats, as well as from the neophytes, it focuses from theoretical and practical point of view on key strategic concepts and ongoing practice of public diplomacy.

Evidently, some of the challenges in the field of public diplomacy relate to the modern communication. In particular, the issues of effectiveness of diplomats in presenting their governments' policies to the foreign and domestic publics, as well as the relations between diplomats and media, with their numerous interrelationships, constitute such a challenge. In this respect, raising public awareness of the EU standards and values becomes of a special interest for all the actors in the CEI area. A number of lessons learnt and specific cases have emerged already in a process of accession to the EU membership, with national communication strategies as instruments of public diplomacy. A number of stereotypes and clichés are also on the agendas of the ongoing public diplomacy campaigns throughout the CEI area.

For your information, the interest for the topic of public diplomacy was raised at the 12<sup>th</sup> CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum in 2009 by a number of participants, who agreed that it deserves to be discussed in a more detailed manner as one of the most interesting and attractive aspects of modern diplomacy and diplomatic training.

Finally, let me just add that I am very pleased that this important expert gathering is taking place continuously in this beautiful city of Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik's historic and diplomatic roots can be traced to the very beginnings of the Dubrovnik Republic in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. The city's great architecture and long history, with its love for arts, sciences, and, of course, the pursuit of knowledge and developed diplomatic skills, can serve obviously to all of us even today as an additional source of inspiration and incentive.

In the end, I would like to use this opportunity to wish all the participants a successful exchange of views and fruitful discussions. I hope that the ensuing conclusions will contribute to the overall raising of public awareness as to the strategic importance of the role of public diplomacy in general. Moreover, I would like to think that we shall arrive at concrete proposals on how to utilize and put into practice both some of the existing and new methods of public diplomacy. May the CEI – via this Forum which I hereby pronounce open – offer a valuable contribution to similar undertakings elsewhere in Europe and the world.

Thank you.

**H.E. Dr. Mladen Andrić**

Director of Diplomatic Academy,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Croatia

# Statement by the CEI Secretary General

Gerhard Pfanzelter\*

Dear Friends,

I feel very privileged to be back in this magic and truly wonderful city. Dubrovnik merits to be called the pearl of the Adriatic. And I thank the High Representative of the City of Dubrovnik and the Government of Croatia for their generous hospitality. Our special gratitude goes to Ambassador Mladen Andrić and his dedicated staff who succeed every year to choose a topic of high political relevance and to gather excellent professors and young diplomats. And what is more, they create an atmosphere conducive to an open academic dialogue. We in Trieste, at the seat of the CEI, are proud of our fruitful cooperation with the Diplomatic Academy of Croatia and the University of Zagreb. The Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum has become a very important CEI feature event and by now is a tradition. This year's cooperation with the US Embassy in Zagreb represents an important added value. Our organisation has invested in this cooperation since 1998 by establishing a CEI Diplomatic Training Network, with the Croatian Diplomatic Academy at the core. It has acted with great success as the focal point in bringing together diplomats and experts in international relations from Central and South Eastern Europe.

This year's Forum will focus on public diplomacy. This is an excellent choice, as Governments have come to realise that foreign relations can no longer be managed by traditional diplomatic practices alone, therefore public diplomacy has become an imperative of a nation's international life.

So what is public diplomacy all about? It is a government's process of communicating with foreign publics, in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies. Public diplomacy unlike traditional diplomacy is an open process.

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\* Ambassador, PhD, CEI Secretary General, CEI Executive Secretariat, Trieste, Italy.

Public diplomacy has become a crucial element in modern foreign policy, just as Public opinion has become a crucial factor in international affairs, exerting influence on governments' decisions and actions.

Also in our region, public diplomacy has become a key factor: the process of accession to the European Union and to NATO are pushing the countries of the region to reshape their image abroad, while at the same time, persuading their own societies of the desirability of the process.

The CEI has been keen not only to maintain the traditional exchange of information on political and diplomatic level, but also to promote open discussion and involvement of civil societies in order to achieve cooperation based on mutual interest and geared to obtain tangible results. This is our contribution to public diplomacy.

Any scenario of development of regional cooperation today has to be in tune and in close partnership with the European Union. Therefore, the CEI has strengthened and is deepening its relations with the EU.

On the project level, we continue to promote our partnership with the EU in the framework of EU-funded projects where the CEI often acts as lead partner, attracting additional resources to complement and expand its project-oriented action. Some of these projects are of particular relevance to the development of transport in the Adriatic-Balkan area, such as SEETAC, the South East European Transport Axis Cooperation, and ADRIA-A, a cross-border project between two Adriatic States, Italy and Slovenia.

On the political level, the CEI makes special efforts to monitor existing and upcoming EU strategies focused on macro-regions in order to offer our expertise and added value. The final aim of this effort is to pave the way to a substantial involvement of the CEI in these macro-region strategies as well as in other EU initiatives.

In view of the enormous regional and global challenges, training of diplomats has become more complex than ever. However, new opportunities appear on the horizon with the establishment of an European External Action Service.

I am convinced that the 13<sup>th</sup> Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum will address the crucial issues and the challenges facing modern diplomacy. I wish you a wonderful stay in Dubrovnik and a most successful meeting.

# Public Diplomacy in the CEI Area: Some Reflections

Mladen Andrić\*

It has always been a pleasure for me to take part in this event of ours known as the Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum. Hence I am very glad to see you all gathered here in such a great number to discuss and exchange the views on one of the most debated and elaborated topics, influencing the entire future of the modern diplomacy in so many ways – the public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy, although relatively new as it was used only in 1965 by Edmund Guillion, then Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at the Tufts University, is nowadays, maybe more than ever, very much discussed and talked about. There is a general belief in public diplomacy's potential of influencing public opinion when creating and implementing foreign policies, encompassing dimensions of international relations that go beyond traditional diplomacy. There is also an opinion that public diplomacy does not only deal with the governments, but rather addresses non-governmental individuals and organizations. Some experts state that public diplomacy has the potential of influencing governments through influencing their citizens, even with today's social media. In other words, public diplomacy traditionally means "government-to-government" communication aimed at foreign audiences to achieve changes in the "hearts or minds" of the people. It also becomes a tool for building favourable public environment to pursue specific or particular interests.

This year's 13<sup>th</sup> CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum is focused on "Strategic Public Diplomacy", which means that the issue of public diplomacy is to be understood in a strategic way. And the aims are quite obvious: sending the appropriate messages to the public and creating favourable public climate and settings for the reception of the policy prescripts. In other words, we may still somehow follow famous French Cardinal de Richelieu -- who is considered to have been the world's first Prime Minister in the modern sense of the term,

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\* Ambassador, PhD, Director, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Zagreb, Croatia.

– who ordered his ambassadors: *Faites aimer la France!* Since, the message has remained more or less the same, but the mechanisms have changed.

In the globalised world of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century we ask that all which is to be dealt with strategically is also dealt with systematically. This means that policy makers and implementers do understand that general values of dialogue, tolerance and mutual trust influence not only the individual mindsets, but also, tackle and change the paradigm of modern societies and its attitudes. Presentation and promotion of national and/or individual values and interests, conducted by governmental and non-state actors, shift towards international cooperation and integration schemes.

In other words, the Westphalian system has moved towards the supranational values and standards, while public diplomacy increasingly has taken over the traditional diplomacy. With all respect for the Vienna Conventions, which still provide the general legal framework for diplomatic and consular activities, the paradigm in diplomatic dealings has shifted from the “government-to-government” dealings without the general public being involved to the dealings with specific niches of the public, with clearly defined and well-tuned target audiences. Modern diplomatic communication is democratised. It spreads around in a number of directions, from “MFA-to-MFA” and “State-to-State” to “State-to-Society”, while creating a number of unique public diplomacy concepts and platforms, encompassing different target public groups and/or selected niches at foreign and domestic markets, going also intra-regionally and inter-regionally. In this dynamic process certain state responsibilities remain intact and should remain as such, but the non-state actors become more vivid in the field.

Such an in-depth change in contemporary diplomacy, which obviously has become public diplomacy, also raises specific challenges to the so-called small states and their aims of securing the national development interests with pragmatic solutions. There are more than two hundred independent countries in today’s globalised world, wherein most of them are small and challenged by the economy of volume in a number of aspects. Thus the relevance of multilateral diplomacy grows rapidly in comparison to bilateral ties as well as the needs for creating the alliances with alike, be it with governments or non-state actors. The acts of going public, raising the voice and showing the flag become also increasingly important.

Having in mind the aforementioned, it is also important to remember that a discussion related to the outline and contents of this year’s Forum was announced last spring at the 12<sup>th</sup> Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum. The current program thus reflect fully the continuous contacts of the Croatian Diplomatic Academy with directors of other diplomatic academies and other high officials in charge of diplomatic training at the MFAs of the Central European Initiative member states, including the CEI Secretariat and Secretary-General personally,

as well as with other experts from diplomatic, academic and media circles. Due to the specific expertise in the field of public diplomacy, certain contacts and co-operation that has taken place in the initial phase of designing the Forum was established with experts and institutions from the US, the UK and Germany. In this regard, let me emphasize that 2010 Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum is organised in co-operation with the US Embassy in the Republic of Croatia. Evidently, such a gathering on public diplomacy issues cannot be conducted today without the US expertise. So, I wish to thank our dedicated US colleagues for their generous support of the Forum and in particular Ms Vivian Walker, Deputy Head of US Mission in Zagreb.

However, the CEI consists of eighteen member states, which differ in size and population, as well as in their economic and social development. It is also well-known that they also share the same current and future developments within the EU, as well as a joint vision of further deepening and widening of the EU matrix. Since better understanding among nations and countries, including regional cooperation and good-neighbourly relations, represent a cornerstone of contemporary international relations in general, and also stand in the very centre of the CEI core values, the diplomacy and diplomatic training that aims at fostering those standards is also of a great importance. Since public diplomacy is today an essential tool in achieving these goals, an additional in-depth exchange of experiences and views, with possible designing of training programs, is not only needed, but also essential. As most of the CEI countries already are or aspire to become the EU members, better mutual understanding and *know-how* in all domains, including public diplomacy, is most favourable.

Moreover, let me also mention that the field of public diplomacy was already discussed previously at two similar international gatherings on “Public Diplomacy and Media” – the Seminar under the CEI auspices and within the framework of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, Dubrovnik, April 14–15, 2000; the Conference under the CEI auspices, Dubrovnik, November 7–8, 2003. Two Conference Proceedings were also published. In this context, the 2010 Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum could also be seen as a real continuation of the previous CEI activities in 2000 and 2003.

The Croatian Diplomatic Academy will continue to go forward with the Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum as an annual feature event where the diplomats, experts, institutions and others interested in the issues of diplomatic practice, diplomatic training and European integration cooperation will come to learn more about the trends and methodology. It will also continue as an additional opportunity for junior diplomats, with a part of the regular program of the Forum being specially designed for them. The exchange of their views and ideas with more experienced diplomats – moderators and lecturers, is always quite dynamic and highly appreciated, with all the benefits coming from functioning

within multinational and inter-cultural setting. But, there is also an additional training program. It deals firstly with the reporting: they are put into smaller multinational groups of two or three junior diplomats from different countries, that follow all the plenary and working sessions, draft the summary reports and present them at the closing session of the Forum. Of course, their work is guided by senior diplomats. Secondly, they are obliged to prepare in advance a short paper with a position of their MFA regarding the particular issue to be discussed at the Forum.

This year they were asked to prepare cases on national public diplomacy dealing with the values of EU and NATO integration, particularly regarding the challenges that the candidate and aspiring countries face while trying to raise the public awareness and lobbying for their national interests at foreign and domestic markets. A more detailed discussion with fellows during the workshop on “Shaping Public Attitudes towards NATO and EU Integration” will be moderated by experienced US diplomats, namely Ms. Vivian S. Walker and Mr. Robert Post.

Finally, allow me to express my firm belief in the success of this important gathering, which testifies to the willingness of finding common approaches and solutions to the current challenges in the European framework, as well as at a global level. On that note, I will conclude my brief introductory and I wish you all lots of success!



# “From the Bottom of Our Souls, We Hate You”: the Challenge for American Public Diplomacy Today

Vivien S. Walker\*

A few months into her tenure, Judith McHale, the Obama administration’s Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, sat down in Islamabad for a meeting with Pakistani journalists. Among them was Ansar Abbasi, known for his harsh criticism of American foreign policy. According to an NY Times article written about this encounter (*US Officials Get a Taste of Pakistan’s Anger at America*, Helene Cooper: 8/20/09), following McHale’s initial presentation about building bridges between America and the Muslim world, Mr. Abbasi thanked her politely for meeting with him, and then said the following: “You should know that we hate all Americans. From the bottom of our souls, we hate you.”

So how did President Obama’s then brand new Public Diplomacy Chief find herself in a hotel conference room in Islamabad on the receiving end of such a harsh condemnation of the United States and its people? Why is it that on any given day anywhere in the world, you can find an article, editorial, television news report, radio talk show or blog post that expresses deep and sustained criticism of the US government and its practices? Does this mean that American public diplomacy efforts have failed? And what should my fellow public diplomacy practitioners be doing better? This lecture explores some answers to these questions.

Let’s begin with a little history. In August 1953, at the height of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, then-President Dwight Eisenhower established the USG’s official public diplomacy arm, the United States Information Agency (USIA). The USIA’s mission was “to understand, inform and influence foreign publics in promotion of the national interest, and to broaden the dialogue”. Its stated goals were: To explain and advocate U.S. policies in terms that are credible

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\* PhD, Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy in Zagreb, Croatia.

and meaningful in foreign cultures; To provide information about the official policies of the United States, and about the people, values and institutions which influence those policies; To bring the benefits of international engagement to American citizens and institutions by helping them build strong long-term relationships with their counterparts overseas; To advise the President and United States government policy-makers on the ways in which foreign attitudes will have a direct bearing on the effectiveness of United States policies.

In 1999, some 46 years later, the USIA was closed down and disbanded as an agency, and its people, programs and resources were folded into the Department of State as part of an attempt to reduce federal spending. This was just two years before the devastating attacks of September 11, 2001. USIA's closure was justified to some degree by the belief that the Cold War had been won and that there was no need to have a federal agency solely devoted to the purpose of promoting American policies, values and interests to a world that had, seemingly, embraced them. It is no small irony that the need for effective public diplomacy took on new urgency in the aftermath of 9/11, when the American public reeled in shock at the ferocity of the attack on innocent civilians. This was a war that Americans neither anticipated nor understood. Nor could they understand the depth of animosity behind the attacks. "Why do they hate us", the headlines read across a bewildered nation. And in fact following 9/11 hundreds of symposia, scholarly articles, think tank studies, military strategies, government advisory bodies, congressional committees, private organizations, and entries in the blogosphere have offered definitions of (and corresponding solutions) to the problem of public diplomacy.

While there is no consensus on its function or its meaning, official public diplomacy efforts today can loosely be defined as being about "a government connecting openly with the people, primarily civilians, of other countries. Public diplomacy puts a country's best foot forward; it makes the best case for a government's policies and the country's culture and values" (P. Kushlis, DoP). To an important degree public diplomacy is also "about explaining American society to the world" (M. Polman: 8/4/09). Or, as the slogan of the former USIA read: public diplomacy is "Telling America's story to the world". Although, to be sure, we translate that story in terms that are understandable for our audiences: public diplomacy "tailors the dialogue to fit local circumstances, telling the truth but helping to explain America in all its aspects" (Rugh: 5/30/09). But why are we compelled to explain ourselves, to tell our story? Well, because we want to influence how our audiences respond to us: in that sense, public diplomacy "is about the practice of influence" (Craig Hayden: 5/30/09). Ultimately, public diplomacy is an instrument of statecraft that has an impact on America's standing in world affairs. Public diplomacy, in short, provides the strategic underpinning for policy.

Three months prior to her meeting with Abbasi, Ms. McHale carefully incorporated all of these elements: explanation, influence, strategy – into her confirmation hearings: during her testimony, she said that the practice of public diplomacy can be viewed as “innovative ways to communicate and engage directly with foreign publics”, including: “Listen more and lecture less and learn how other people in other countries listen to us; understand their interests and aspirations; use our leadership to provide them with information and services they value; they must see their relationship with us as essential to their ability to achieve progress and prosperity, and fulfill their dreams of a brighter future” (Judith McHale, confirmation hearing, 5/13/09). These are beautifully crafted, even lofty aspirations, to be sure. And yet there she was, in that hotel in Islamabad, confronted by hatred. “He told me that we were no longer human beings because our goal was to eliminate other humans”, Ms. McHale said, recounting the conversation with Mr. Abbasi. “He said that thousands of innocent people have been killed because we are trying to find Osama bin Laden.” As a noted public diplomacy expert (Patricia Lee Sharpe) points out: “We Americans are congenitally unable to believe that we may be genuine disliked. It’s true of us as individuals and very much true of us as a nation. How can anyone possibly doubt the purity of our motives, the intensity of our good will, the rightness of our collective conviction that America is the best country ever to arise in the history of the world, the sincerity of our generous faith that every other country can, with a little effort at transformation, be exactly like us? ”. Bolstered by the “intensity of our good will” and the essential “purity of our motives”, Ms. McHale made the USG’s case to Mr. Abbasi, using standard talking points: Al Qaeda and Mr. bin Laden attacked the United States on Sept. 11, 2001; the war in Afghanistan, unlike the war in Iraq, is a United Nations-blessed multinational effort; America will always do whatever it takes to defend itself. Moreover, a big part of the US strategy for the region involves trying to broaden America’s involvement in the country to include nonmilitary areas like infrastructure development, trade, energy, schools and jobs – all aimed at convincing the Pakistani people that the United States is their friend.

Now let’s look at this encounter from Abbasi’s perspective. In an article that appeared two days after the NYT Times piece (The News International, 8/22/09), Abbasi rolled out his own set of standard talking points: First, he claimed that he was merely “reflecting... the majority view of Pakistanis and Muslims. I never said that we hate all Americans but did point out that we hate America because of different reasons... how Washington promotes democracy and civil rights in its own country but supported dictators like Musharraf in Pakistan... that war on terror in (the) majority Muslim view was war against Islam and war against Muslims... that in the pretext of never-found WMDs, the US invaded Iraq and killed hundreds and thousands of innocents there

including women and children... that the US led allied forces killed hundreds of thousands of innocent people in Afghanistan... that U.S. drone attacks... don't only kill innocents but also violate (Pakistani) sovereignty. I told her that how badly Washington policies have divided (Pakistan) internally, caused suicide bombings... produced terrorists and promoted extremism. This has all made us to hate you." Abbasi concluded that these "reasons" should be enough to "understand why most Pakistanis and (the) majority of Muslims hate America (US administration and its policy makers)".

I have reproduced Abbasi's remarks in part to illustrate the extent to which the clash between McHale and Abbasi was in one sense a battle of talking points: each side has a set of arguments that resonates well with their respective home audiences. It is also important to consider Abbasi's remarks because they do indeed reflect how a certain percentage of the world, especially the Muslim world, looks at the United States. Abbasi's comments are borne out by countless opinion polls. A recent Pew Global attitudes project, for example, indicates that 82% of the residents of the Palestinian territories have an unfavorable view of the United States, followed by 74% in Jordan, 70% in Egypt, 69% in Turkey, and 68% in Abbasi's native Pakistan (Pew Global Attitude Project 2009). But the most significant point Abbasi makes is the last one: Pakistanis (and Muslims in general) don't hate America and Americans as people. **They hate the policy.** That, in four words, is the crux of America's public diplomacy challenge. As Admiral McMullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff noted in a recent article (*Strategic Communication: Getting Back to Basics*, 2009): "I would argue that most strategic communication problems are not problems at all. They are policy and execution problems."

Public diplomacy practitioners cannot afford to forget the "primacy of policy", nor can they ignore how this policy is carried out: "What our leaders say and do matters more than public diplomacy programs, however well conceived and well crafted these programs may be. Think of President Obama, announcing the United States government will not practice torture, or that we will close Guantanamo. Or his decision to give a major address to Muslims in an Islamic capital." (Dick Virden: 5/30/09) To use another example of the positive influence of the practice of policy, during the Cold War, public opinion was on the side of the United States – not because we were good, moral people, but because the democratic principles pursued by our government were popular. If the perception of the United States is shaped by its policies and their impact on our primary audiences, then what is the role of public diplomacy?

First, it is the job of the public diplomacy practitioner to explain our policies in candid, accessible terms – not to justify them in moral and cultural terms, nor to persuade others of their rightness. Let us be honest, but unapologetically so. As Edward R. Murrow, a renowned journalist and one of the great directors of

USIA, once said: "American traditions and the American ethic require us to be truthful, but the most important reason is that truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst. To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that." (Murrow Congressional testimony, 1963) Truth, and credibility. Admiral Mullen again: "The essence of good communication" is "having the right intent up front and letting our actions speak for ourselves. We shouldn't care if people don't like us; that isn't the goal. The goal is credibility. And we earn that over time."

Next, we must stop striving for conversion to our vision of democracy. Let's go back to the text of Ms. McHale's confirmation hearings for a moment, looking particularly at her last point: that foreign audiences "must see their relationship with the United States as essential to their ability to achieve progress and prosperity, and fulfill their dreams of a brighter future". This objective, though well meaning, is unrealistic. The United States cannot be the savior to any people or government. This objective also perpetuates the perception that the United States consistently engages in a didactic paternalism – when in fact what we need to be doing is developing and promoting partners, not ideological adherents. As the beneficiaries of a working democracy, we Americans engage in well meaning attempts to preach the principles of civil society and rule of law; too often we cross – or are seen to be crossing – the fine line between explanation – and conversion.

Rather than preaching to audiences about the greatness of our values, let us practice them, beginning with the acknowledgement of the views expressed by Mr. Abbasi, and his fundamental right to express them. Make his anger and frustration – and the anger and frustration of all those who perceive that the policies of the United States government work against their best interest – the starting point for dialogue. And let me note here that we are not just talking about the frustrations expressed by the Muslim world. At one time or another, I think it is safe to say, every nation, every ethnic or indigenous group, every interest group, every religion, every ideology, has had a grievance against America's policies, or against their interpretation of these policies.

Returning for a moment to the Pew Report, 46% of those surveyed in China have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. And in Russia, the figure is 44%. OK. No surprises there. But what about the 42% figure for Argentina? Or 37% for Japan – our great trading partner? Or 33% for Germany, our staunch NATO ally whose current generation of leaders benefited from the Marshall Plan? Our next door neighbors don't think much of us either: 28% of Canadians and 27% of Mexicans disapprove of the United States, despite shared borders and high trade volumes. What are we to make of these numbers? In my view, not much. In the complex interplay of social, political, historic and economic forces that exists between every nation, between every people, there will always be irritants – for

every value we share with another nation, there will be a policy that divides us. For every citizen of another country who *loves* America, there will be someone who hates us.

Finally, we must recognize that the political, social and economic transformation of a nation will occur only when the people of that nation are ready to accept the costs and sacrifices of change. And when the results of change appear to be in their (not our) best interests. The role of the public diplomacy practitioner is to provide access to information, education, training and experience that will in time enable the people of a nation to make change in their own time and on their own terms.

So how do we respond to the Abbasis of this world, well educated men and women who appear to have the best interest of their own countries at heart when they say “we hate you”? The dangerous and ultimately false assumption that public diplomacy can *make* a hostile or at least disapproving audience *like* the United States must be dispelled at once. But the underlying principle – that public diplomacy can have an impact upon the way the rest of the world looks at the United States and interprets its actions and policies – is worth remembering. Our job is not to make them like us. Our job is to provide truthful, credible information; to acknowledge and even promote their right to disagree with our policies in a constructive fashion; and to focus on helping countries to identify and achieve goals that are realistic and appropriate for them.

# Rethinking Strategic Public Diplomacy: the Role of Social Media

Nabil Ayad\*

*In the past few decades, public diplomacy has been widely seen as the transparent means by which a sovereign country communicates with publics in other countries aimed at informing and influencing audiences overseas for the purpose of promoting the national interest and advancing its foreign policy goals.<sup>1</sup>*

## Preamble

In April 1996, I organised an international symposium entitled: ***Are Diplomats Really Necessary?*** The symposium highlighted two emerging patterns: the role of Information Technology and the role of privatisation. Would Information Technology replace diplomats or would it be their latest effective communication tool? In the case of privatisation, the role of the embassy was discussed. Arguments were made for privatisation because embassies are expensive to run and... the public perception is that diplomats lead an extravagant lifestyle – alternating between protocol and alcohol. Would it be better to engage private companies who might be, perhaps, more efficient and cost effective?

After a lengthy debate by career diplomats and academics, consensus was reached on a number of issues. Most felt that face to face contact is essential, especially during negotiations in times of crisis. They also felt that diplomacy cannot be learned from a text book, let alone from the Internet. The role of private enterprise is to make a profit, while diplomats are the custodians of national interest. No one can put a premium on national interest; hence, diplomats are still necessary.

## Roots of Public Diplomacy

*Public diplomacy* gained a foothold when institutions and states were able to manage both the content of news and the speed at which news was released.

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\* Professor, Director, London Academy of Diplomacy, University of East Anglia, UK.

<sup>1</sup> *What is Public Diplomacy?* USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School (CPD) [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/about/what\\_is\\_pd](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/about/what_is_pd) © 2011.

Governments that wanted to inform and influence, not only the official leaders of other countries, but also the foreign public, in order to promote their own image and interests, have made extensive use of public diplomacy. In the not too distant past, the media was comparatively easy to control. Governments could choose the content which they presented through various media – culture, film, TV, music, radio, lectures, images, language training, etc. At same time, politicians could decide the rate at which information was presented and direct how the message was released in all parts of the world. Likewise, they could manage how the message was reported.

States and institutions could slow down the presentation of information, developing a public relations *spin* to shape public opinion of what was seen and heard. Governments, who have used public diplomacy, have seen it as *soft* power of peaceful persuasion in international relations. **Public diplomacy** was established under the assumption that events could be controlled from within national borders, with a few nations wielding power and control. Today, more and more events in the world are not controllable; coverage cannot be isolated.

## Information Management

As expertise developed, public diplomacy consisted of prepared talking points which were repeated in all public releases, prepared *spin* about events and news, proactive public relations, and reputation management. All these techniques were designed to lead towards a *scripted outcome*. To illustrate the many variables that shape techniques in public diplomacy leading to information management, I have developed the image management cube. The cube illustrates the complex interrelationship among various aspects of communication, reputation management and public diplomacy.

## Information Management Cube





## Hetropolarity in Events

Public diplomacy, as it was practised, was designed for a different world – a world where there was a great deal of national control. However, recently, the world has been shaken. National borders and national ideologies have been overcome both by natural disasters and human-made events; meaning that the world is no longer unipolar, bipolar or even multipolar in terms of international influence and impact.

Recently, we have experienced distinct cases of *hetropolarity*.

Let me mention just few:

- 1) *The Japanese earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear plant failure* have sent shock waves around the world. Anxieties about nuclear energy, detection of radiation leaking into the ocean, fear of food contamination, and alarm over shortages of electronic products and cars, have made the Japanese disasters a worldwide concern.
- 2) The *political upheavals* in the Middle East and North Africa have worldwide repercussions as Western Nations attempt to develop action plans, identify the leaders of these uprisings and determine their political affiliations.
- 3) A *volcanic eruption* in Iceland disrupted airlines, which are the life blood of modern business and political exchange. No nation on earth could stop the disruption; *all* were affected.
- 4) The near collapse of the *world economic system* was felt around the world. In Europe, the near economic collapse in Greece, Ireland, and Portugal and the debt to GDP ratio in other EU nations have forced all nations to work together. If they do not cooperate, they will collapse. The United States has more nation debt than any nation on earth – approximately \$14,300,000,000,000.
- 5) The month-long *oil spill* in the US involved multinational businesses, and no one knows what the ultimate environmental impact will be all around the world.

In addition to the specific disastrous events that have occurred and are being fed by other disastrous events, there are very troubling trends which are having major impacts all over the planet. Global warming and the melting of polar ice caps, the rapid urbanization of world populations, lower production of food crops accompanied by higher prices, the unbalance in population growth between the developed and developing world (most developed countries are suffering from aging populations while in most developing countries a majority of citizens are under twenty years old).

In the Western World, there is a creeping realization that events can take control of the whole world and that as humans, we have neither the skills nor technology to master either natural events or the tide of human events.

## New Communication

In these changing times, conventional sources of information used in public diplomacy, such as TV, radio broadcasting, printed newspapers and magazines have been losing their viewers, listeners, and readers. As a result, public diplomacy in conventional media has lost much power. The public audience is relying less and less on **traditional information sources**. Public sources are no longer the only information sources. Journalists or experts are no longer the only reliable source of information. New technology has brought **new sources** of communication.

The management of international affairs has long ceased to be an exclusive intergovernmental affair, more or less separate from internal affairs, and handled by diplomatic elites far from the madding crowd. It is now a public and interactive affair, engaging vast numbers of ‘actors’, state and non-state, working together in all manner of combinations. Their participation is defined not so much by their formal or legal status as by their capacity to respond to events, and to accept responsibility for helping to shape them.

The use of the Internet for political purposes has grown dramatically; those interested in politics now visit blogs for political information. The Internet played a critical role in the 2008 US Presidential Election. The 2008 election was characterized by a growing use of social networking applications, including *Skype, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and Flickr*, which became important vehicles for mobilization by political elites and users.

## Sources of Communication in 2011

Today in 2011, Internet use has expanded even further. In the Western world, the 2011 federal election in Canada has been called a *Twitter Election*. For the first time in Canadian history, Canadian Liberal Party leader, Michael Ignatieff, presented the *Liberal Platform* as a live Webcast with live feeds from coast to coast in Canada. Journalists and most politicians have *Skype, Twitter, FaceBook, YouTube, and Flickr* accounts – where they respond to events in real time. In the case of uprisings in Egypt and Libya and the disasters in Japan, reporters in the field give reports through *Skype* and “tweet” with *Twitter*. As well, individual citizens can give reports using the same media.

In the modern world, sources of information are everywhere, as ad hoc communities or individuals. They can always be found and are able to present alternative information, communicating *truth* and *opinion* from their own view point. In Algeria recently – youths responded to censorship of the media by the state with mobile phones and *Facebook*. A teacher from the town of Tala in Algeria said: “I have a cell phone with a camera and access to *Facebook*... [I record] protests on the streets, taking witness statements and put them on *Facebook*.” The protests against the Moldovan government in 2009 were called a *Twitter revolution*, because the young people used *Twitter* and *Facebook* to organize and publish images of police action against demonstrators. Libya, Tunisia and Egypt are among the latest examples that show the role of social media in political activism and how it has changed the way news and reports are delivered.

Each individual can now be a reporter by using blogs, text messages, *Skype*, *Twitter*, *YouTube*, *Flickr*, *Facebook*, and other types of social media. We have come to a time where traditional print journalism has lost its impact. To be a part of the trend, most of the *mainstream* media have moved *online* to computer technology and telecommunications along with governments and organisations. It guarantees certain connectivity with the public.

In a similar way, the traditional methods of presenting public diplomacy are losing their impact. To be heard, diplomats and foreign services have to move *online* along with governments and organisations. The concept enables direct interactions and conversation.

However, placing traditional news sources and press campaigns online cannot overcome the lure of social media. The social media allows each individual to become both an information maker and an information selector. It is available for immediate use, without interference. It is almost like face-to-face communication. In the field of politics there are already many studies examining how information technology influences politics. According to a study by Professor Richard Davis of Brigham Young University, “People who closely follow both political blogs and traditional news media tend to believe the content on blogs is more accurate.”<sup>2</sup>

## Control through Social Media

The amount of information available to the average citizen is not only vast and diverse, but also uncontrolled. Governments can and do attempt to control

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<sup>2</sup> *Political blogs more accurate than newspapers, say those who read both.* Press Release by Brigham Young University. <http://news.byu.edu/archive09-May-blogs.aspx> © 2009 Professor Clarke has also published **Tying Politics: the Role of Blogs in American Politics** by Oxford University Press, ©2009.

the message through use of *social media*. In the April, 2011 Canadian election, two students were denied access to a rally with the Canadian Conservative leader, Stephen Harper, when the image of one of them was found on *Facebook* with the Canadian Liberal leader, Michael Ignatieff.

On the other hand, individuals monitoring various types of social media have no idea who is actually sending text message, Facebook messages and Tweets. Groups can be easily infiltrated and ideas and mass hysteria can be spread.

Today, we are in the midst of exponential changes to information technology. *Brown's Blunder* – In the 2010 UK election, we saw an example of how the conventional press and the Internet were able to take a private communication and broadcast it again and again. The Labour Party was unable to control the backlash.<sup>3</sup> Is broadcasting private conversation even of public people exercising freedom of speech or is it a violation of people's rights? This is not the only issue. With such a great amount of information, it is hard to discern reliable sources from non-reliable ones. How can a reader of an internet blog know that the information being read is valuable and accurate? The Internet is free and the 'Internet state' is a place where minds meet and ideas flow. Even though the Internet has taught us a lot and widened our horizons, we cannot ignore the fact that any person can publish an idea or opinion and it can influence the thinking of others (or masses). Through social media, the individual can 'participate' in communication, hoping he or she will become some kind of influencer in certain topics. Trusted 'advisor' is a role which can be followed. Empowering individual voices to be heard to whatever end they choose. Is this good or bad?

## End to a Scripted Public Diplomacy

As a result of such freedom of information, diplomacy and politics have come upon a problem. Public statements have and can become distrusted, almost unnecessary. Scripted communication techniques no longer have the impact they once had. Communication is now international. Scripted communication techniques in public diplomacy no longer have impact because there is a distrust of "Public Statements" and because people have huge listening and reading choices. Issuing public statements can unfortunately antagonize the public and may create misconceptions which in the end harm the public welfare.

If the Internet is a State, the Journalists of that state are Bloggers. Blogs offer access to breaking news, rumours, evaluations, and other information

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<sup>3</sup> Roland Watson (Political Editor) *Brown's 'bigot' blunder plunges Labour campaign into crisis*. **The Sunday Times**, April 29, 2010. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7111086.ece>.

that might not otherwise be readily available through traditional means. Blogs bring immediate attitudes and possible new political ideas. Blogs are rapidly becoming the place where important and new political ideas are being developed and discussed.

Blogs have created a community of “truth seekers” for people who are disillusioned with the way the networks and mainstream media covers the news. If the public has become a community of the truth seekers – isn’t the duty of government to provide the truth? Governments can not only profit by gaining insights into the public opinion through blogs, comments and the like, but can also be provided with the means to actively interact with their citizens through the new kinds of media.

The Third Millennium runs on instant reporting of events through 24 hour news networks and the Internet. We are victims of the “instant gratification syndrome”. Diplomacy and politics can either follow or become forgotten in the stampede of information and news. Governments can follow public media element and create targeted news and a positive image of their countries, but also Internet portals with the comments, forums and blogs. Governments can gain a direct insight into how information about one country and experiences with it can interact with perceptions and values.

## Attention

What gains public attention is sensational and unintended. *Gordon Brown’s blunder* was the perfect “feed” for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century media. According to **Search Engine Land**, Google had approximately three billion of searches per day in 2010.

Search engine *Yahoo* had 280 million searches per day in 2010, while the social service *Bing*, had about 80 million searches per day. Video sharing multimedia like *YouTube’s* users are uploading 24 hours of video every minute, according to the *YouTube* Director of Product Management Mr. Hunter Walk who said: “A day’s worth of content uploaded to *YouTube* every minute... speaks to the role video plays in connecting and changing the world one upload at a time.”. The most often used social networking service and website today is *Facebook*. In the past year, *Facebook* users have doubled from 200 million in April 2009 to 400 million in February 2010. It has been said that Facebook will reach one billion followers in 2011.<sup>4</sup> People share photos, ideas, thoughts and interests with their immediate friends or their social networks.

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<sup>4</sup> Paul Sawers *Could Facebook reach one billion users in 2011? TNW Social Media*. January 20, 2011 <http://thenextweb.com/socialmedia/2011/01/20/could-facebook-reach-one-billion-users-in-2011/>.

A website which offers a social networking and microblogging service – *Twitter*, enables users to send and read other users' messages. Since the launching, it has gained about 180 million users worldwide. In 2010, there were approximately 50 million tweets per day on *Twitter*; in early 2011, the number is almost three times that amount, an average of 140 million per day.<sup>5</sup> People send Tweets about major events as they are occurring. Bits & bytes, not bullets, are the weapons of the new millennium. More than 200 members of the US Congress are users of *Twitter*. Even ambassadors use *Twitter* in their daily jobs. According to *Newsweek*, the Pakistani Ambassador in the US has earned attention among young Pakistanis in the States and abroad. When bilateral tensions run higher between the US and Pakistan, his tweets tend to take a measured and moderate line.<sup>6</sup> Physically, we can see images and comments broadcasted in an instant from an individual anywhere in the world. Traditional reporters or journalists do not need to be present. The globe became very small and the information travels fast. Events are flashed around the world as soon as they occur in words, photos, and videos through blogs, smart phones, Skype, email, *YouTube*, *Facebook*, *Flickr*, and *Twitter*.

### “Viral” Information

The objective is to make a certain piece of information “viral”. That is to make it spread infectiously from one person to another. Whether it is good or bad it will be heard, and that is what truly matters. In the crowd of voices, only the loudest is heard. Although viral information may in plain content be trivial, sentimental, or ridiculous, it is important due to the fact that it is so widely spread and it takes part in forming many opinions.

The objective is no longer “spin”, as it was with *Public diplomacy*, but “virality” of information. Today, the information is released through social media as it is occurring. Therefore, institutions and politicians do not have time to gather data and ponder what public “spin” to release. For instance, Israel was not able to control the message coming out when it invaded Southern Lebanon in 2006. Videos and messages reached the world revealing the failure of the Israeli venture. Because of this failure, when it invaded Gaza in 2008, one of its main objectives was to surround Gaza and prevent international media from entering. However, Israel could not prevent hundreds and hundreds of videos

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<sup>5</sup> Courtney Boyd Myers *Twitter users now sending 1 billion tweets per week*. **TNW Twitter**. March 14, 2011. <http://thenextweb.com/twitter/2011/03/14/twitter-users-now-sending-1-billion-tweets-per-week/>.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel Stone *Pakistan's Master Tweeter* **Newsweek**, January 16, 2011 <http://www.newsweek.com/2011/01/16/pakistan-s-master-tweeter.html>.

and photos being flashed around the world through social media. In a similar way, uprisings in many Middle Eastern countries are being covered today. In the past, governments and media could present their version of “facts” and present information to support these “facts”, hiding what they did not want to be known. The “official” version of events is continuously being discredited with photos from smart phone, Skype broadcasts, YouTubes, and Tweets. At the same time, governments have to monitor what other governments are doing. States will continue exploiting social media to their advantage. Opposing nations can also monitor what is being said through joining networks presented by countries of opposing view points. That will help to develop counter arguments.

## Shifting Information Power in Crises

In his recent publication *Skyful of Lies and Black Swans: the New Tyranny of Shifting Information Power in Crises*, Nick Gowing provides useful insight into current changes.<sup>7</sup> He says: “Digital Capacity is empowering the ‘civilian surge’ of ad hoc communities which increasingly challenge the status quo of traditional power and the official version of what is taking place.” Whether the change is for better or worse, it is not going away. Nick Gowing’s 3Fs are – First, Fast, and Flawed – First to enter the information space. How Fast should they do it? How Flawed might their remarks be? Nick Gowing refers to the *Tyranny of the Time Line* that faces governments and media institutions. Can they get in front of the information that is available through social media? If no comment is made about real time events, others will quickly “set the agenda.” If a comment is made too soon, other information may come out that will reveal the first comment has been flawed or untruthful. Nick Gowing suggests that governments and institutions get out early and make statements, even if they are incomplete and later shown to be inaccurate. What does an institution or government do if physical evidence, such as photos or videotapes reveal that its original statements were flawed or outright false? Even in the light of overwhelming evidence, people who have chosen sides in a conflict believe what they want and will pass on information which validates their beliefs. VERIFICATION is crucial!!

## Conclusion

Social Media is undoubtedly a necessary channel for nations to build their brands since they offer interaction and value, and respond to interest and needs,

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<sup>7</sup> Nick Gowing. *Skyful of Lies” and Black Swans: The New Tyranny of Shifting Information Power in Crises*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University Press. May 6, 2010. <http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/publications/risj-challenges/skyful-of-lies-black-swans.html>.

while providing background insight. The impact of Social Media is expanding exponentially! Those who want to reach the public must adapt or they will fail in their efforts to communicate. A key element of a successful initiative depends on how well your audience absorbs, understands, adopts and redistributes the message based on their requirements for value. For that reason, foreign offices and diplomats must know the specific features of social media and how to efficiently use them. Many countries have expanded use of social media to the international arena and the increasing importance of social media channels is already reflected. Many embassies are present on social medias and have more and more of the followers. Instantaneous messaging makes the world a much more complex place. Unlike their counterparts in the past, the institutions are not only confronted with crises and problems, but with numerous tools of the mass global communication. Official use of social media, such as *Facebook, You Tube, Skype, Flickr, Twitter and blogging service*, is essential. Governments and diplomats, however, must resort to an effective and proactive use of social media.



# Developing Public Diplomacy for Supporting EU Accession: Lessons to Be Learned at the Western Balkans

Jasna Jelisić\*

## Introduction

EU accession is defined as one of the top foreign policy priorities of all countries of the Western Balkans. In some of them the governments and other institutional structures continue to demonstrate a lack of understanding that parallel to fulfilling the requirements of EU accession countries needs to build up its reputation and image as a *credible EU candidate and desirable future EU member states*.

Achieving the goal of accession, this article argues, requires a proactive policy approach, which would focus not only on fulfilling the EU requirements, but also on actively promoting the progress in integration reform, thereby building the EU Member States constituency for membership of each WB state. All of them would need to build or strengthen a coherent policy of promotion of their countries as a future EU member states, targeting EU institutions as well as EU member state governments and their citizens, and thereby providing conditions for a swifter European Commission (EC) recommendation for accession as well as prompt accession ratifications in the national parliaments of the EU member states.

This article offers a comparative study of the best practices and institutional structures that are in place in the EU “first rank countries”, which may indicate what and how Public Diplomacy (PD) Policy supporting the EU accession may be designed and implemented.

For example, the fact that B&H is still in its early stages of accession – the pre-accession phase of *potential candidacy* for membership – should be seen as

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\* MA, Political Advisor to the EU Special Representative in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

an advantage, giving B&H decision-makers time to organise and coordinate the country's institutions so that they are capable of supporting the goal of accession.<sup>1</sup>

PD, as a way of supporting the achievement of foreign policy (FP) goals, is an innovative strategic policy and could contribute to the notion that all of these countries are not just “ticking off the requirement boxes” but are starting to “live up to the set of European values and standards”, rightly deserving a place in the EU Club.<sup>2</sup>

## The Definition of Public Diplomacy

There is no internationally accepted definition of public diplomacy. However, all definitions include the following aspects: that it is a strategic activity, that it aims to support the foreign policy goals of countries and international organizations by leaving the traditional zone of diplomatic work and entering two-way communication and direct engagement not only with foreign governments, but also with other foreign audiences directly and/or via nongovernmental partners.

## Why Public Diplomacy?

The need for such a policy will be briefly demonstrated by the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). The lack of a policy within the EU Integration Strategy of B&H<sup>3</sup> that would build the country's reputation and support its accession to the EU resulted in a situation in which, even when there was a period of significant EU related progress in the country (2002–2005), many EU countries and their populations remained ignorant of Bosnia's progress. This lack of any significant profile may have a high cost when it comes to the country's aspirations to join the EU.

Despite huge efforts and sound successes in terms of making necessary reforms and progress in some significant areas since the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) started, the reputation of B&H is largely based on

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<sup>1</sup> PD at this stage of accession would be of crucial importance because any image change and reputation-building exercise represents a mid-term or long-term programme; therefore any delay in initiating such a policy could result in a significant setback to BiH accession.

<sup>2</sup> The analysis of the British experience with re-branding is the most persuasive case of public diplomacy. It was recognised that the campaign targeting foreign audiences also reinvigorated the British public at home. See [www.markleonard.net](http://www.markleonard.net).

<sup>3</sup> *Strategija integrisanja Bosne i Hercegovine u Evropsku uniju (Strategy of Integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the European Union)*, Council of Ministers of B&H, Directorate of European Integration of BiH, 2006.

extremely negative reporting regarding cooperation with the ICTY, potential for terrorism, increased political instability and even the possible repetition of a conflict – as was reported at the end of 2008 and throughout 2009. The internal political battles significantly contribute to the highly negative reputation of the country abroad, and the perception of a high level of instability, which is undesirable within the EU.

Of course, the first precondition for changing the perception of the country abroad is for B&H to take a more cooperative and progressive course in the SAP. However, when this change in attitude and practices happens, and when B&H begins again to make EU related progress, the important audiences within the EU member states will not necessarily become aware of this; the change may only be recognised by the circle of EU bureaucrats sitting in Brussels, which is certainly not enough to speed up the membership process.

The problem is compounded by the lack of awareness within the institutional structures that *perceptions* about countries abroad have become crucially important for the fulfilment of their FP objectives. Shaping those perceptions has become an increasing part of regular government activities abroad.<sup>4</sup> Modern PD is not something that international actors can or should do on B&H's behalf or on behalf of any WB country. While many of them can be asked to help, it should be the task of domestic institutions themselves to adopt a PD policy, and to implement it by securing the most efficient and effective institutional set up.

Classic one-way communication and traditional diplomacy, which focuses on relations between the political elites of different countries, international organisations and domestic institutions, are not sufficient any more. The most advanced administrations understand this.<sup>5</sup> All WB countries' institutions have to acquire and use this newly developed *body of knowledge*, as well as to develop

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<sup>4</sup> This work is based on a substantially different role of perceptions in politics than in previous eras. More than four centuries ago, Niccolo Machiavelli, the first spin doctor and the progenitor of strategic political communication between political leaders and the public, advised Italian princes that it is better for people to fear them than to love them. Today, in this century of instant global dissemination of information, high human rights standards and a growing trend towards democratisation around the world, that kind of advice would lead leaders towards political disaster.

<sup>5</sup> The need for such a policy is clear in the context of a globalised and democratised world, with numerous and multiple channels of communication. Public perceptions, both national and international, have become immensely important, and managing these perceptions has become essential for influencing political developments both domestically and abroad. An understanding of the development and implementation of public diplomacy by leading EU countries provides valuable knowledge about the formulation and methodology of PD, which could form the basis for the development of a firm strategy for all WB countries to guide its actions towards the EU institutions, EU member states and their citizens – who, in the end, decide whether the country is to become a member of the EU.

policies and functional mechanisms to support institutional reforms designed to support the process of image and reputation changing.

Due to the image of the Western Balkan countries created during “the Balkan bloody 90’s” each of them, to some extent, has some sort of image and reputation problem.

On the other side, numerous public opinion polls have been published within the EU which have clearly indicated negative sentiments towards enlargement.<sup>6</sup> What these surveys also show is that the *values of freedom and democracy* are the most essential values in the EU and the key issues respondents wish to be taken into consideration when deciding future EU enlargement.<sup>7</sup>

The “enlargement fatigue” and “absorption capacity” issues frequently mentioned by some Member States, after the last wave of enlargement, call for WB countries to make an appealing case for the accession and to present themselves as credible candidates and desirable member states. For that reason, WB countries need to develop their public diplomacy in addition to its classic diplomacy tools to be able to effectively communicate their reforms successes.

As an illustration it could be useful to note that the Council of Ministers of B&H adopted the EU Integration Strategy of B&H in 2006, which mentions the *importance of communication to the EU institutions and EU member states*. However, a specific policy that would fit the adopted Integration Strategy has never been developed.<sup>8</sup>

The Integration Strategy states that it is “also important to present and build a good image of the state abroad”. However, only one of the 327 pages of the Strategy was dedicated to the “promotion of B&H abroad”. Even there, *the*

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<sup>6</sup> A Eurobarometer (EB) survey showed that at least half or more of the EU respondents considered that enlargement has made the EU more difficult to manage (66%), and led to an increased feeling of insecurity (50%) in the EU as a whole. The survey was conducted at the time of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Iron Curtain and collected citizens’ views in the 27 Member States on the effect of the integration of ten Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries into the enlarged Union. It assessed citizens’ views about factors that could be important when policy-makers consider further enlargements. See Flash EB Series #257, Views on European Union Enlargement, Analytical Report, Fieldwork, February 2009, conducted by The Gallup Organization. Retrieved from <http://www.gallup-europe.be/flasheb/>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. In addition, a majority of respondents in EU member states were concerned about issues such as organised crime, terrorism and the promotion and protection of fundamental rights, which were a matter of concern for approximately three-quarters of EU citizens (78%) with no strong variation among different countries. See *Flash EB Series #252, Awareness of key-policies in the area of Freedom, Security and Justice*, Analytical Report, Fieldwork, September 2008, conducted by The Gallup Organization, requested by the DG Freedom, Security and Justice, published in January 2009. Retrieved from [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/flash/fl\\_252\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_252_en.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> The claim is based on a series of initial fact-finding interviews in the institutions of B&H and the monitoring of developments in this area by the researcher.

*promotion strategy* was weakly articulated, and was not in accordance with the most recent knowledge and achievements in this field.<sup>9</sup>

From the EU side, enlargement has been widely recognised as the most effective EU FP tool. In 2004 EU officials were riding on the wave of enthusiasm caused by the success of the big bang enlargement, and the SAP for the Western Balkans seemed to be on track – until the shock of the refusals of the EU Constitution at the referendums in France and the Netherlands in 2005, followed by the Irish “No” to the Lisbon Treaty in June 2008.<sup>10</sup>

The EU Strategy that followed stated the desire of the EU to promote “*consolidation, conditionality and communication*”. This was the EC’s way of communicating to the EU Council the need of the EU as a whole to focus on ensuring that there is “public support for future enlargements”. The EC emphasised that “citizens need to be better prepared for future enlargements”. It is important to note here that the Commission has advocated that *national governments should communicate the advantages of enlargement to their citizens*.

With this approach, the membership prospects of the Western Balkans became more dependent on the success of EU national governments in communicating the benefits of enlargement to their citizens. However, considering the current developments in some of the EU member states, it is highly unlikely that communicating the benefits of enlargement would be the top priority for any member state politician seeking re-election<sup>11</sup>, which is one of the main reasons why applicant countries must take over the job themselves of promoting the benefits of their joining the EU. It is not advisable for an EU candidate country to wait for member states and EU institutions to create a “charm offensive in Europe” for any applicant country.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The Strategy names the institutions which should be responsible for “promotion abroad”, clearly stating that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for European Integration, B&H Chamber of Commerce, Investment Promotion Agency (FIPA) and non-governmental structures “should be the responsible institutions for the realisation of the strategic goals”.

<sup>10</sup> The Lisbon Treaty failure has had several negative consequences for the strengthening of the EU but it is important to note that the European Commission (EC) followed this failure by publishing its new strategy on enlargement for 2006–2007. See EC Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006–2007, adopted on 8 November 2006.

<sup>11</sup> Numerous articles and official documents indicate that the EU is not a very successful communicator. The European Policy Centre recently published a paper dealing with the issue of ‘communicating Europe’ mentioning, “the uphill struggle the Commission faces to improve its public image, given the difficulties involved in embedding communications in its culture”. Waiting for politicians in the EU member states to argue firmly for enlargement does not seem very feasible, not least because pro-EU thinkers are already concerned with how to persuade member state politicians “to stop using the EU as a whipping boy”, blaming it for everything ‘bad’ that happens, and claiming credit themselves for everything ‘good’. See Jacki Davis, *Communicating Europe in Challenge Europe, The next Commission: doing more and better*, European Policy Centre, Issue no 19, June 2009, pp 80–85.

<sup>12</sup> The EC Communication Strategy for Enlargement, adopted in May 2000, emphasised that up until then, the preparations for enlargement were based on two tracks: the pre-accession

EU institutions will be made aware of achievements in meeting EU criteria and standards through the annual evaluations of the EC. However, it cannot be taken for granted that wider audiences will be aware of those achievements. It is precisely these wider audiences who are important, as the political dynamic in the EU member states indicates that it would be very tough for any of them to vote for some of the Western Balkan countries to join the EU as long as their citizens perceive them to be associated with instability and non-European values and practices.<sup>13</sup>

Repeating the CEEC's practices is not enough any more!

## Methodological Explanations

The most established qualitative methods in social and political sciences were used for this research, as well as comparative study methods to examine the structures and strategic PD policies of the EU "first rank countries". Through a process tracing analysis of related developments in each country – the UK, France and Germany – the most valuable *lessons learned* and the most efficient models were identified in order to formulate the best options for strategic PD action to support the achievement of B&H accession to the EU.

The case of the Western Balkan country most advanced in the EU integration process, Croatia, was also examined in order to secure a *closer example*. The research showed that despite the fact that such a policy has been considered for years, Croatia has not adopted a PD policy or a coherent strategic action of external promotion. The activities related to external communications are based on *ad hoc* initiatives without systemic coordination and planning.<sup>14</sup>

As stated during the research interviews, there is no PD or strategic communications department within the MFA, nor has PD been established within specialised units in the missions abroad. Diplomats responsible for culture and public relations are expected to use their own creative capabilities to

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strategy (the reform process in the candidate countries) and the accession negotiations. The Communication Strategy for Enlargement was recommended as the third track in the preparations for enlargement. However, even after five years, opinion polls indicated growing opposition to further enlargement.

<sup>13</sup> Further enlargement in general is not regarded very favorably, mainly due to concerns related to the "the import of instability into the EU". The TV reportage aired immediately after B&H signed the SAA with the EU on 16 June 2008, "spoke a million words". Asked about his views on B&H signing the SAA and getting closer to accession, a Belgian interviewed in the Schuman area was taken aback, stating that it is highly unlikely. He added that as far as he knows "war is still going on there or has just finished", and walked away with a very worried expression on his face. Daily News, BHT1, 18 June 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with a Croatian diplomat under the Chatham House Rules.

develop suitable promotional and cultural activities with the support of specific departments of the MFA. (The MFA makes some cultural substance available in the form of exhibitions, concerts and the like, and offers them to diplomatic missions; these are added to the cultural activities in the receiving country, according to its needs and capabilities.)<sup>15</sup>

The process tracing analysis used in this work focused on cases from which lessons can be learned and through which the major features could be identified.<sup>16</sup> The EU “first rank countries” were selected for the case study because their policies and actions have had the most effect on developments within the EU since its beginning. Preliminary research revealed that the UK, France and Germany have the longest tradition and most developed institutional mechanisms and techniques for defining and implementing PD. Their differences in defining and implementing PD allowed for a well-qualified comparison and identification of best models and practices which, when adapted to the B&H context, would give the country a chance to develop this pillar of modern diplomacy.<sup>17</sup>

## Major Findings: EU First Rank Countries’ Experiences, Strategies and Institutional Set Ups

In the case of the UK, PD has an extremely important role for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (“the FCO” or “the Foreign Office” for short). It is set as a pillar of UK diplomacy, with the aim to support UK FP goals. Its importance is clear from the extent of material and human resources that the UK government dedicates to PD and the prominent place it has in its institutional

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. Despite the fact that Croatia does not have an extremely negative reputation, a significant level of frustration due to the lack of strategic approach was noticed during the interviews. The Croatian mission to the EU, for example, organises exhibitions inside EU institutions in order to raise the visibility of Croatia in Brussels.) The majority of the missions have their own web pages, which they edit independently, publicising information as they see useful. In addition to the web portal, the mission in Brussels also publishes a monthly newsletter. Croatian diplomats also try to focus on the foreign media “whenever there is an opportunity” (through interviews, thematic articles about current affairs, support for the production of reportage on Croatia, provision of necessary contacts, placement of opinion pieces of Croatian politicians in the foreign media and other activities).

<sup>16</sup> In order to complete the necessary research, a series of interviews and archive research sessions were held in the foreign ministries in London, Paris and Berlin, as well as in the EU institutions in Brussels. The majority of necessary interviews and archive work sessions were done in the period April-October 2009.

<sup>17</sup> The data were collected from official government documents, opinion poll surveys and think-tank resources. A significant portion of the data was also collected through personal interviews with officials with relevant experience in PD, as well as with experienced practitioners working for the most prominent PD partners such as the British Council, Goethe Institute and French Cultural Centres.

structure. Its PD strategy and approach are under constant evaluation in order to improve the impact and efficiency of PD activities and to ensure that the FCO adjusts to each new development in this continuously changing field.

The French Foreign and European Ministry (Quay d'Orsay) has also implemented several reforms in order to follow current developments and use PD more effectively. However, their process of adaptation has been slower than in the UK. Only recently, after the publication of the White Book on French Foreign and European Policy in 2008, has the Ministry started to make attempts to use PD in a manner more suitable to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in order to "revive the French policy of influence".

Since 2004 the German Federal Office (FFO) has approached PD more systematically, entering the field (which it was previously reluctant to enter) and giving it greater prominence, by adopting two-way communications and engaging civil society abroad, in addition to its well-developed traditional cultural diplomacy.

In all three examined cases historical developments have affected how PD is understood, developed and implemented. Regarding the UK, as a post-imperial country, with a traditionally outward-oriented institutional and political memory, having a presence outside its borders is natural to British political thinking. Nonetheless, in the post-imperial period the country has learned how to modernise its diplomatic practice and use additional tools in order to keep its influence abroad, and 'punch above its weight' on the international scene.<sup>18</sup>

The research further showed that that most evident break with traditional diplomacy came with the beginning of Tony Blair's mandate. Blair was concerned about the discrepancy between Britain's ambitions to be a major influence on the global scene and the perceptions of Britain in the early 90's.

## A Short History of the British Case

In the mid 1990s, a think-tank, the British Foreign Policy Centre (FPC)<sup>19</sup> was given the task "to develop a vision of a fair and rule-based world order" with the objective of creating a legitimate moral *raison d'être* for a British return to the global political scene. The aim was to develop "progressive policy through effective

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<sup>18</sup> Political scientists, historians and international relations specialists define power differently. Traditional indicators of power in International Relations (IR) theory are usually seen in terms of a country's military capacity, GDP, size of economy, population and territory. It is generally acknowledged among IR specialists that the UK has higher influence in international affairs than her traditional sources of power could secure, thanks to the careful consideration and implementation of UK diplomacy.

<sup>19</sup> The FPC is one of the leading European think-tanks for foreign policy issues. Its activities are developed under the slogan 'Progressive Thinking for a Global Age', and its major task is to offer innovative ideas for defining UK foreign policies. See more at <http://fpc.org.uk>.



public diplomacy” as a tool for supporting UK interests, indicating the role which the PD pillar of diplomacy would play in British foreign affairs in the future.

This approach acknowledged the significance of the growth of global democratisation and the development of mass communications. It was understood that it was becoming more and more important to equip the government to go beyond official communication with other governments in order to meet its objectives.<sup>20</sup> The ministries in France and Germany also adopted this view, but a bit later; the FFO in the first half of the 2000s, and Quay d’Orsay only in 2008 with its newest strategy, where it defined the main aspects of what it terms *policy of influence*.

By the second half of the 2000s, communicating FP messages not only to foreign governments but also to a wider audience abroad, and the importance of reputation in establishing foreign influence had risen to the top of the agenda in all three ministries. These three different countries had different goals, and at different times during the last two decades defined their approach differently and named it differently (*PD and strategic communication* is the British terminology; *policy of influence* the French; and *policy of positioning* the German), but by 2009, PD and strategic communication had become the third pillar of diplomacy in all three EU “first rank countries”. This indicates a high level of convergence in the practices of these foreign ministries. Although the speed at which they developed and adopted these concepts varied (for various reasons), they all eventually arrived at the same place in terms of awareness raising and addressing the need for PD support in the fulfilment of FP goals.

In the 1990’s The British Foreign Policy Centre argued that governments must make greater effort to communicate with a mass audience, and attempt to make the most of the country’s reputation. This view has been adopted in the last 20 years in all three studied cases.

The first step was always to *recognise the need* – why such a policy is necessary – and then *what it entails*. The Blair Government recognised the need to recreate its post-colonial national identity to reflect the new British reality of the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and this was realised with the *aim to change the image* of Britain abroad.<sup>21</sup> The French implemented image change action in the 90’s that aimed to secure investment and promote France as a business friendly country. Germany reduced its PD to cultural diplomacy only, remaining cautious in the sphere of foreign activity until reunification; and only after 2002 did it begin to think about developing its image as an international political actor.

<sup>20</sup> See Mark Leonard and Andrew Small with Martin Rose, *British Public Diplomacy in the ‘Age of Schisms’*, the Foreign Policy Centre and Counterpoint, London, February 2005. It is important to note that the Foreign Policy Centre has cooperated with several state governments and the EC since its establishment.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* p.2.

Before its re-branding campaign started, the UK was largely seen as a retrograde, old fashioned, traditional, white, racist and imperialist country. Blair's Government strongly believed that a change in perception and the re-branding of the UK was necessary if the UK was going to survive as an influential foreign policy player. The FCO established Panel 2000 in 1998, and the first sentence of its consultation paper indicated the direction of UK PD: "Everyone has a stake in the way that Britain is seen overseas. Our ability to influence other countries, to sell them our goods and services, and to win job-creating investment depends in part on how we are perceived."<sup>22</sup>

This government document indicated that the goal was *to promote Britain and its economic interests*. Justifying such an approach before the British public the FCO stated, "That is why we spend millions of pounds of public money every year promoting Britain abroad through our Embassies, the British Council, the British Tourist Authority and the BBC World Service."<sup>23</sup>

Having prepared the way at home, only a year later the UK started to focus on *questions of perception abroad*. As the FCO openly stated: "There are some home truths that we need to face. The world does not always think us quite as wonderful as we think we are. We may have to recognise real faults, not just dismiss criticisms as misunderstandings. The picture we put across must be honest. Our concern is not a matter of *image* but of substance. We need to recognise frankly that there are things we could do better, while also ensuring the outside world has an accurate picture of the things we do well – based on a view of Britain as we really are."<sup>24</sup>

A major point raised in this document is one that remained a strong feature of all the activities that followed: *credibility of action must be preserved*. It would be fruitless if PD turned into propaganda. Study of the German case confirmed that credibility of PD action must be the principal value, and the FFO demonstrated extreme sensitivity regarding this characteristic of PD.<sup>25</sup>

*Improving government coordination* in PD formulation and implementation within the foreign ministry itself as well as in its cooperation with the private sector and non-state organisations also became major features of modern PD. This, again, began in the UK, followed by the FFO from 2004. Quay d'Orsay, which was in the initial stages of implementing such a comprehensive approach in 2009, is currently attempting the same.

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<sup>22</sup> See FCO Panel 2000 Consultation Document, September 1998. Retrieved from [http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/pdf5/fco\\_pdf\\_panel2000](http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/pdf5/fco_pdf_panel2000).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> This is clearly seen as one of the strengths of contemporary Germany. Numerous opinion polls indicate that trustfulness and credibility are the terms most attributed to Germany and the German people.

In all three cases the PD activity began in a narrow sphere, starting with image creation and the country's re-branding, and later developed into a much more comprehensive strategy of supporting the FP goals adopted by the respective governments.

The UK action started with image change and a re-branding campaign in the second half of the 90's. Not everybody understood Blair's shift and what came to be known as *Cool Britannia*.<sup>26</sup> However, surveys proved that the change of approach and the re-branding campaign had started to make an impact. State engineering of a country's identity and image abroad may have results, however, only if it reflects a substantial change in society.

The *Cool Britannia* re-branding campaign became globally recognised in 2004 when the *Canadian National Post* reflected international reviews of the campaign by calling it the "re-branding of all re-brandings", saying that the campaign was "a case study that every politician under the age of 40 must know. *The... image of a nation with bad food, stultified class-ridden society, stodgy pasty people wasting away in council housing, and strikes was firmly entrenched all over the world. Within a year, the new story of Britain was crafted and told: The New Britain was creative, multicultural, and achingly hip, with a well-trained and highly motivated work force.*"<sup>27</sup>

The article went on to describe the new image in more detail. "The marketing team reconfigured Britain as a hub, importing and exporting ideas, goods, services, people and cultures. It was non-conformist. Britons were silent revolutionaries who had created new forms of organisation. The country had a long-established ethos of fair play and voluntary commitment. The 800-million pounds a year spent by the Foreign Office helped successfully sell the story abroad. And at home, Britain was re-energised."

The British experience also shows *that the country has to keep up with the image it promotes*, and constantly perform in accordance with the reputation it wants to build. The tracing of developments indicated how everything achieved in terms of creating the modern image of Britain as a reliable international partner was put into question with its participation in the invasion of Iraq. In 2005 Britain was called to face the fact that the Iraqi crisis left the pillars of British foreign policy in a state in which its repair was questionable, as the Iraqi crisis had a corrosive effect on general trust in Britain.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cool Britannia was a popular phrase used at the end of the 20th century that referred to contemporary British culture. The term was closely related to "New Labour". It was coined from the title of the British patriot song *Rule, Britannia!* In 1998 The Economist commented that "People were sick of the phrase".

<sup>27</sup> Cited in Mark Leonard and Andrew Small with Martin Rose, *British Public Diplomacy in the 'Age of Schisms'*, the Foreign Policy Centre and Counterpoint, London, February 2005.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

At this stage even greater emphasis was given to PD. Several high profile reviews of the PD strategies were conducted, all of which came up with recommendations for improvements. The FCO implemented these by forming different PD boards, consulting internal and external specialists and evaluating best practices in order to come up with the most effective model for the current approach in which the UK, after improving its image and reputation, has become strongly focused on supporting the fulfilment of the UK FP priorities and objectives.<sup>29</sup>

## The French Approach to Policy of Influence

The French PD, or “policy of influence” as it is commonly called, had traditionally been limited to extensive cultural cooperation, development cooperation via its *solidarity policy* (aimed at maintaining influence in its former colonies), and a strong linguistic component related to the francophone world.<sup>30</sup> However, with globalisation and its growing influence on world development, the French understanding of PD expanded, first by formulating an *attractiveness policy* in mid 2000. The aim of this policy was to improve the economy by bringing investment and talent to France, focusing on “the establishment of economic, cultural and scientific activities abroad”.<sup>31</sup>

This policy was formulated *to address a concrete need*, as in the UK case. The government believed that France suffered from erroneous perceptions and clichés, and that its economic reputation was inferior to its reality. This led it to initiate a broad campaign to fight these perceptions abroad.<sup>32</sup>

Comparative analysis demonstrated that what *Cool Britannia* was for UK in 1996, was equivalent to what the *New France* campaign was for France in 2005/2006 – a typical re-branding, image creating campaign. It was not a

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<sup>29</sup> In 2002, on the basis of the Wilton Park recommendations, the Public Diplomacy Strategy Board was recommended to coordinate government communication in establishing relations with the public abroad – attempting to tie together the FCO, British Council, British Tourist Authority and UK Trade and Investment. See Wilton Review, March 2002. In 2004 Lord Carter examined “the effectiveness of current public diplomacy activities... to consider progress since [the recommendations of] the Wilton Review”. See Lord Carter of Coles, Public Diplomacy Review, December 2005.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Quay d’Orsay official, December 2008.

<sup>31</sup> Source: Quay d’Orsay, January 2009.

<sup>32</sup> One of the products was the movie France: Old perceptions, new realities, targeting foreign decision makers. France was trying to shift perceptions and show that it is not just about high fashion, superb food and wine and a country with 400 kinds of cheese. The campaign emphasised that its economy is based on high technology, high productivity and innovation. The movie was aired at business fairs, international airports, and in airplanes. The campaign was initiated by AFII (Invest in France Agency). For more details see <http://www.invest-in-france.org/international/en/France-s-Expertise-in-Video.html>.

worldwide campaign, however. Target audiences were defined in accordance with its goal; the campaign began in Japan in 2004, and continued in Germany, the UK, China and the US in 2006.<sup>33</sup>

An analysis of the *attractiveness policy* indicated that, ten years after the UK, France realised that no matter how successful classic cultural, cooperative and linguistic action is, it could not correct the false perceptions foreign and domestic investors had about the French economy.<sup>34</sup> It understood that such negative perceptions could lead to the country being dismissed as a destination for investment without any investigation of actual facts or expert analysis.<sup>35</sup> The campaign that was launched to fight the old clichés was implemented under the slogan *New France: where smart money goes*, and aimed to persuade economic decision makers of the advantages of investing in France.

Stronger government coordination of PD in France began in 2003 with government seminars that gathered relevant ministries together, under the guidance of the prime minister, in order to determine the direction and activities of the new French attractiveness policy. Results of these PD activities were monitored and evaluated at inter-ministerial meetings.<sup>36</sup>

These state led activities were also followed by non-state organisational activity. An informal club was established, called “Win in France”, which gathered together the leaders of the 20 top French companies, research laboratories and universities, to focus on “French attractiveness”.<sup>37</sup>

During that time traditional PD continued, with its reliance on cultural and development cooperation, as well as linguistic action. This relied on the French legacy of human rights protection and democratisation in the postcolonial period as the major cornerstone on which the *reputation* of France was built, and served as a justification for its international interventionism.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> More on specific examples from this campaign in *Le Livre sur l’attractivité* [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/france\\_159/label-france\\_2554/label.../campaign-for-change-of-image\\_4422.html](http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/france_159/label-france_2554/label.../campaign-for-change-of-image_4422.html) – 49k.

<sup>34</sup> France was predominantly seen as a country with a huge number of non-working days, generous vacations and frequent workers strikes (on non-holiday days), a country that insisted on ‘*joie de vivre*’ without high standards of professional ethics, all of which started to hurt inward investments.

<sup>35</sup> See Emmanuel Thevenon, *Settling in France, a winning choice*, Campaign for a change of image, AFII, 2004.

<sup>36</sup> In addition, the Attractiveness Strategy Council was formed, composed of 25 French and foreign business leaders, and serving as an advisory body in identifying potential actions. These ideas were later discussed at the government seminars.

<sup>37</sup> See France’s attractiveness policy, *Steering and supporting France’s attractiveness policy*. Source: Quay d’Orsay.

<sup>38</sup> France insists on continuing its active role in the UNSC and the UN Council for Human Rights. Source: France 2008, *La Documentation française*.

## The German Understanding of Public Diplomacy

In Germany, as in the UK and France, historical perspective and heritage also shaped the development and practice of a particular PD policy. Research and expert interviews indicated that the Second and Third Reich still affect what German PD can do, what it must not do, and where the limits are.<sup>39</sup> The term *propaganda* is never used in Germany to describe PD, as German society as a whole has a very negative understanding of the term – mainly because of the historical experience of the Third Reich. One of the major lessons from WWII and the Third Reich that was emphasised in the expert interviews in the FFO, was that state actors should not be first in line to carry out PD; this should be done by non-state actors.

Because the German need for PD was enormous after WWII, it became essential to promote Germany through cultural relations – implemented by non-state actors. The Goethe Institute, focused on cultural diplomacy, became the leading PD actor of postwar Germany. Only later did the embassies engage in PD. Even now, 70% of German PD activities are communication and cultural activities. In recent years the FFO has been trying to promote the message within government structures that in modern times PD is more than culture and communications.

It is often said that “Germans are as reliable as their cars”. That image and reputation could not have arisen on its own, especially considering the reputation of Germany during and after WWII. The building of this reputation was the result of a dedicated, well thought through action which reflected *real policy shifts*.

In addition, and because of its position after WWII, every action Germany made abroad was carefully examined. Culture was considered the most suitable foreign activity. Germany saw this as an opportunity and gained strength through cultural diplomacy, emphasising relationship building as the long-term goal.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> American experts and practitioners, in contrast, are quick to use the term *propaganda* to mean PD. For many of them it is not a problematic term, as it does not carry *historical luggage*.

<sup>40</sup> One of the best examples is the relationship which has been developed with France on the basis of the Elysee Treaty, the aim of which was to reconnect the civil societies in the two countries, bringing young people together and creating educational exchange programmes. Most people do not realise that these exchange programmes are PD. Fifty years ago Germany started a researchers programme that enabled message multipliers to come to Germany and get in touch with German people, enabling them to see how Germany had changed. The research visitors programme reached 1000 researchers per year, which increases the number of German alumni in the world. People come, gain their own impressions, make their own conclusions about and connections with Germany. They get to know it better, and speak positively about Germany when they return to their countries: “They see for themselves what kind of people we are, what do we do and want, which is way more credible than the any government attempt to promote this abroad”. Interview with the FFO diplomat, Berlin, May 2009.

The process tracing analysis indicated that a couple of years after its unification, following lessons learned predominantly from the British PD experience, Germany entered a more comprehensive PD field. While doing this complex work, the DG for Communications and Culture cooperates with private, semi-private, half-governmental institutions and organisations, often supporting activities that are handed over to other institutions either initially or later on.

The issue of coordination is very important for the German government because of Germany's federal system. Different ministries also have different competencies when it comes to PD. What has been established in the last three years (2007 to 2009) within the German government structures is the coordination process among ministries. In the more narrow understanding of PD – when it comes to the issues of the branding and positioning of Germany and its image abroad – the FFO is in the lead.

## Best Practices – Lessons to Be Learned in the Western Balkans

The research and analysis of the evolution of PD in all three studied cases proves that traditional government-to-government relations in foreign affairs are no longer enough for the achievement of FP goals. PD has become one of the pillars of modern diplomacy and an important part of pursuing FP goals abroad. What this study showed is that PD policies are designed to address *a clear need* for intervening in the areas of image, reputation, branding and international positioning, in order to allow the country to pursue its FP goals, regardless of what they are.

Countries have been implementing some sort of PD, or policy of influence or positioning abroad since the end of WWI. The US was most active during the Cold War; it is now trying to recover its “soft power” and use it in the war against terrorism. Re-branding and a new positioning was essential for Germany after WWII, while France and the UK were more motivated to find a way to be influential in international affairs in the post colonial period.

What is new in the last 10–20 years is the increasing importance of global and national opinion polls in international politics. This has come with the information age and technological advancement, which facilitate the instant spread of information via numerous channels. It is the beginning of an era in which governments cannot hide what they do domestically and diplomats can no longer “lie in the interest of their country” – as Bosnian born writer and Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andric bluntly defined diplomatic work.

The promotion of the country moved from a form of marketing similar to the commercial sector to strategic communication and PD, affirming that “honest and genuine engagement” abroad, using two-way communication with

foreign audiences, is necessary to ensure the fulfilment of FP priorities. All three countries continue to promote business, trade and investment (economic diplomacy), but this has become just one of the activities within a multifaceted policy in which cultural diplomacy, strategic communication and engagement with non-state actors abroad are essential, interdependent parts, sharing the aim of achieving a wide range of short-, mid- and long-term FP goals, apart from, and in addition to, economic goals.

There is a general acknowledgement that *bureaucracies are not skilled at communicating with the public*. Not only are they slow, but, even more critically, their promotional activities can easily slip into propaganda. The findings clearly indicate that for the new policy to be successfully implemented, *governments must improve their communication capacities and capabilities*. They should engage specialists, change recruitment practices, provide constant training, define the frame and direction of PD and fund it. However, they should not fully implement PD activities. Foreign ministries should instruct their staff to contribute to the overall PD strategy implementation, but *ensure credibility* by engaging *credible independent partners* for the biggest chunk of PD implementation.

The research proved that it was not easy for diplomats to leave their ‘comfort zone’ behind the closed doors of meetings, diplomatic dinners and receptions, in which diplomats traditionally establish relations between two governments or act multilaterally. Communication with the foreign public is especially difficult if the local environment is not friendly towards the sending country. However, those diplomats who learned how to act outside the comfort zone and who entered into contact with CSOs, the media, opinion-makers, universities and various web users, and engaged them on issues relevant to the sending country, were successful. This approach required a change in the traditional models and methods of diplomatic work, and involved new strategies, tools, knowledge and skills.

All three cases proved that *PD has to reflect a real change* of internal policies. If there is no real policy shift, the effort is wasted. It was also proved that the image projected abroad begins to reinforce the same image within the domestic society to a certain degree. This was most obvious in the case of UK, and to some extent in the French and German cases.

*Raising institutional awareness of the importance of PD* as a pillar of modern diplomacy within government structures is essential for success. As well as *changing recruitment policy and opening the Ministry’s door to specialists*, staff awareness of policy and their ongoing training proved to be essential for success. Institutional flexibility and adaptability to the swiftly changing circumstances of the contemporary world also proved to be of critical importance. Strengthening communication departments, engaging in two-way communication (beyond simply sending press releases) and exiting the comfort zone of dealing solely with diplomatic circles has become essential, as has overcoming the fear of the media,



acquiring technological literacy, being open to expertise outside of the ministry and establishing partnerships with non-state actors in fulfilling the FP goals.

PD strategies are always built on the basis of the *PD policy endorsed at the government level*, whose ministries have to cooperate on PD. The strategy must be tied to specific short-, mid- and long-term FP goals. The Strategy Action Plan must specify the methods and tools that will be developed in implementing each goal defined in the Strategy. All three cases proved that the evaluation of PD is a very complex task due to its numerous activities and actors; however, some form of evaluation must be established and the Strategy and Action Plan reviewed at least annually.

The research indicated the crucial importance of PD policy coordination on the governmental level. The government provides an institutional framework for improving the cohesion, effectiveness and influence of PD efforts, as well as coordination and cooperation with PD partners, which is essential. Also essential are common understanding of the purpose of PD and *clearly defined responsibilities* for each actor.<sup>41</sup>

Some sort of *PD Board is needed for the direction and overseeing* of such a complex policy. This sort of body is usually composed of high profile government figures responsible for PD within the relevant ministries, as well as specialists and experts. Its task should be to endorse the key interests and goals abroad as defined by the government, key PD messages, and thematic and geographic priorities in the short and mid term (five years) and long term (ten years). This would provide overall guidance for specific programmes to be implemented by the government institutions and PD partners. The PD Board would also need to establish some sort of monitoring mechanism, which would indicate the progress and possible points of improvement in yearly reviews of the policy implementation.

The research also proved that the role of *selecting the government's PD partners*, and good coordination with them, is immensely important. The government should provide financial support (if possible) and never interfere with their operational independence or the securing of synergies between the public and private sector activities in the field.

While quick changes in priorities, as in the French case, may seem to indicate flexibility, which is always desirable when it comes to bureaucracies, frequent priority shifts are not advisable when it comes to PD, as it is designed to deliver results in mid- to long-term time frames, whereas quickly changed priorities can be promoted only by using models of short-term campaigns.

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<sup>41</sup> Different government ministries may have responsibility for different aspects of PD. (In the case of BiH: Ministry of Foreign Trade, Foreign Affairs, Presidency, DEI, Investment Promotion Agency FIPA, Chamber of Commerce.) Their good coordination is essential for effective strategic communication and PD.

Another important lesson learned is that the personality of leaders matters. All three case studies indicated that “the position, institutional dedication and prominence of PD depend on how much the people leading the foreign policy of a country understand the new concept and its impact”. Prime Minister Blair had more awareness of and capability for PD than Prime Minister Major, President Sarkozy more than President Chirac. With the German foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, German PD became more comprehensive and more prominent within the FFO structure, factors which were responsible for the beginnings of a multifaceted PD approach in Germany.

The creative use of new communication tools such as the Internet also proved to be tremendously important. However, at the same time, the wider society within a country must understand and buy-in what the Government is selling abroad through PD, and continuously live up to the image projected abroad.<sup>42</sup>

The author’s academic research in the field of diplomacy indicated that PD is generally an under-researched area, often not understood, or indeed misunderstood, within government structures, as well as being widely unrecognised and almost nonexistent in many of the WB countries.<sup>43</sup>

Besides arguing for such a policy in the region, this presentation of the concept of PD itself introduces a modern approach to strategy implementation, persuasively demonstrating that “modern foreign policy-making and implementation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century has to include strategic communication and public diplomacy tools” if results are to be expected. This new approach heralds a new culture in which strategic communication and public diplomacy are an integral part of the policy-making process and not a fringe, *ad hoc* activity.

For many of the WB countries a PD policy, considering the above mentioned aspects, is not a matter of a choice but of necessity. The sooner this action is taken, the better are the chances for reaching the top foreign policy goal of EU accession for each country of the Western Balkans.

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<sup>42</sup> A good example of wider society buy-in of German PD was the Football World Cup in 2006 when all the media, without being instructed, reinforced the perception that the German Government wanted to promote during that event. The goal was to dispel the cliché of a too serious Germany with the simple line “let’s celebrate”, as the perception was that “the Germans never do that”. The media readily picked up on the idea without institutional orchestration.

<sup>43</sup> Even the most developed countries, with far greater awareness of the importance of PD, often have a hard time implementing it. Relevant literature points to the efficiency and influence of the “communications from and engagement with a man from a cave” who became more influential and powerful than the army of government officials dealing with communications. The comparison is made between Osama bin Laden and the (in)effectiveness of communications of the George W. Bush administration, which first showed absolute disregard for public diplomacy, and later made numerous unsuccessful attempts to improve it.

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# Democratization of the Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy in the Western Balkans

Lisen Bashkurti\*

Democratization of foreign policy and public diplomacy are integral parts of overall democratization process of the entire state and society. Historically and actually, theoretically and practically we can never separate, even in context of analysis, foreign policy and public diplomacy from the other aspects of democracy.

## Historical Background – from Conspiracy to Populism

The political system has historically been depended on the subject to whom the sovereignty belongs. The subject of sovereignty despite the fact to whom it belongs developed on two main trends: toward fusion of powers and toward division of powers. In all totalitarian regimes, from Empires to Absolutism, from Fascism and Nazism to Communism, top-down sovereignty has been based on concept of fusion of powers in the different shapes and forms of organizations<sup>1</sup>.

On the opposite, in democratic regimes, bottom-up sovereignty, in the different level of liberalization has been based on the concept of division of powers. The brilliant political philosophy of liberal democracy was born before and during the 1789 French Revolution<sup>2</sup>. But, as everybody knows, the French Revolution remained Utopia in France and Europe for long time. The restorations of absolutism on higher level in France and the international system designed in the Congress of Vienna in 1815 re-established the political system in Europe and World based mainly on absolutism<sup>3</sup>.

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\*Ambassador, prof. PhD, President, Albanian Diplomatic Academy, Tirana, Albania.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste Durosselle, *Europe and the History of Its Peoples*, Viking, 1990, page 360–364.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Baptiste Durosselle, *Europe and the History of Its Peoples*, Viking, 1990, page 245–262.

<sup>3</sup> P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, Fantanna Press, USA, 1988, page 183–193.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century absolutism prevailed internal and international political system. Policy-making generally and the foreign policy-making and diplomacy specifically were concentrated on aristocratic and conservator leaderships far away from the peoples, public opinion, media and dynamics on the ground. It was sovereignty concentrated on monarchs that produced top-down policy, foreign policy and conspiracy diplomacy and deteriorated the situation on the ground bringing the collapse of Concert of Vienna system immediate after facing the Eastern Crises, social unrests, national independent movements and imperial rivalries<sup>4</sup>.

Top-down policy-making and conspiracy diplomacy were not able to understand and to address the crises that took place on the ground during 19-th Century. The revolutionary movements and very dynamic developments on the ground on one side and the aristocratic and conservative manner of policy-making and conspiracy diplomacy on the other side created huge vacuum in crises prevention, crisis management as well as in the crises settlements. The international political collapse was inevitable. The First World War broke out in 1914. International policy and aristocratic conspiracy diplomacy failed to avoid such an international catastrophe.

At the end of the war the history gave lessons to be learned. But at that time mostly the leaders do not considered this fact. There were some voices which appealed for transformation of foreign policy and the establishment of public diplomacy after the First World War. From different approaches, visions and interests British liberal democrats and American President Wilson, as strong western voices on one side and Lenin, as a radical eastern left voice on the other side supported the idea for another policy-making considering people's sovereignty, democratic policy and public diplomacy<sup>5</sup>.

But in the old fashion European political and diplomatic landscape the above-mentioned voices were ignored. So after the First World War, during the Versailles System and the world economic crisis of 29–30's the European political system moved contradictory from the weak European liberal democracy in the West to the communist system in Russia, to Fascism in Italy and to Nazism in Germany<sup>6</sup>. In Spain the civil war suffered the confrontations among these three contradictory political trends<sup>7</sup>.

Finally the extreme totalitarian regimes were established in some of the most powerful states in the world. The way for another world war remained open. Versailles system did not avoid that.

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<sup>4</sup> H. Kissinger, *Diplomacia*, Tirane 1999, page 168–201.

<sup>5</sup> H. Kissinger, *Diplomacia*, Tirane 1999, page 218–245.

<sup>6</sup> Julien Benda, *La trahison des clercs*, 1927.

<sup>7</sup> Jose Ortega y Gasset, *La rebelión de las masas*, 1930.



There are many researchers, historians and analysts who have been focused on the Versailles system and the reasons of the Second World War. Despite the diversity of approaches and different interpretations of them, mostly they are all of the opinion that diplomacy failed to address crises and to serve as the instrument of crisis prevention and the avoidance of the war. It took place because both Fascists and Nazis and their leaders used the world crisis to accuse the Versailles Treaty as anti-German and anti-Italian international pact designed to destroy their countries, their economy and to weaken their military capacity<sup>8</sup>.

By using these “arguments” Hitler and Mussolini established direct communication to the mass rallies involving ordinary people artificially in foreign policymaking and diplomatic matters. Nationalism and racism extremely manipulated mass rallies. There were no room for diplomacy between dictators and mass rallies with ordinary peoples. The populism was transformed into machinery of totalitarian leaders to move the world to inevitable war. The diplomacy was never been so inexistent. Populism buried democratic foreign policy and eliminated public diplomacy in modern and sufficient manner and paved way for the gravest tragedy of the world history<sup>9</sup>.

## Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy in the Western Balkans

All these above mentioned historical experiences we can partially realized still alive in different shapes and levels in the Western Balkans during the time being. It happens because many contradictory dynamics characterized the Balkans after 90-s. The dissolution of Former Yugoslavia by taught political fragmentation through bloody confrontation, the establishment of newly independent states, transformation of political system from totalitarian to democracy, integration to Euro-Atlantic institutions and free markets reforms happened within very limited time in very small Region. These dramatic and rapped rate changes mixed bad legacy from the past, such as nationalism and racism, totalitarian mentality and populism with western democratic values<sup>10</sup>.

Two main negative legacies have been present overall the Western Balkan concerning foreign policy and public diplomacy during its transition: the lack of transparency in foreign policy-making and populism by provoking mass rallies in very critical times for different Countries and peoples. Let me take some examples.

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<sup>8</sup> Pierre Milza, *De Versailles a Berlin – 1919–1945*, Masson, 1981, Pages 196–212.

<sup>9</sup> J.B. Duroselle, *Europe and the History of Its Peoples*, Viking, 1990, page 367, 369,400.

<sup>10</sup> L. Bashkurti, “Balkan, the Living Past”, *Albanian Diplomacy between the Past and the Future*, Tirana, 2004, page 21–36.

First example comes from my Country, Albania. Almost one year ago a governmental agreement between Albania and Greece was signed in Athens concerning sea-boarder of two Countries which shares the same bay. The negotiation framework, procedures and drafting-agreement were prepared in very information vacuum, way from institutional information and communication and from public opinion and media. Also some specialized independent think-tankers and well-known experts and media were ignored. Of course, in open societies the illegitimate secrecy can not be way from public and media for ever. Immediate after the agreement was signed and before passing to the Parliament for ratification, the governmental agreement was open to public. What happened!?

The think-tankers, experts and specialized independent agencies made excellent analyses on the above-mentioned signed agreement based on legal, political, security and commercial aspects. These analyses were made publicly on media. As consequence the sensitivity of public opinion increased responsibility of parliamentary members, parliamentary commissions, main political parties, specialized agencies and finally the Constitutional Court abrogated the governmental agreement. Therefore the abrogation created very unpleasant atmosphere between two Countries which enjoyed very good comprehensive relations. It was non-democratic foreign policy-making and diplomacy procedures and ignoring the public affaires, public relations as well as public Western Balkans. These open questions get real answers after the end of the Second World War and through long term political and democratic process in Europe.

As a matter of fact the best answer were given by transformation of all political system based on values of the respect for people's sovereignty through parliamentary democracy, rule of law, fundamental freedom and human rights and tree market economy. Modernization and democratization of the entire political system deepened and extended some democratic heritage. The division of powers among legislative, executive and judiciary inherited from traditional democracies were not only consolidated, but also followed by creation of strong independent media, civil societies, group of interests, nongovernmental actors and strong lobby individuals.

Newly established democratic and diverse factors and actors by the time get many profiles. Some of them specifically oriented and specialized as agencies for foreign affaires and diplomacy. So, democratic legitimate institutions through main divided powers and this diverse structure of political system and society impact foreign policymaking related more and more on character of state and society and avoiding bad legacies from the past, such as top-down foreign policy, conspiracy diplomacy and populism.

Of course the creation and consolidation of modern and democratic political system through these institutions of states and societies take very long time, need

much energy and face a lot of challenges. Successes and failures some times replace each other. But the trend should sustain positive, democratic, dynamic and very functional. Democracy creates climate and institutions, mechanisms and methods, ways and procedures in order all relevant peoples, group of peoples and individuals to be involved in foreign policy-making through sovereign legitimate and democratic institutions as well as through direct participation by public opinion, media, civil societies, academies, universities, think-tankers and prominent and influential individuals.



# Public Diplomacy and Pre-Accession Experiences of the Slovak Republic

Peter Vršanský\*

Taking into account the main topics of the conference and the limited time, I would like to speak about some general trends in diplomacy which are in close relation to the public diplomacy, and then about the EU Pre-Accession Process of the Slovak Republic and some lessons learned.

## Introductory Remarks on General Trends in Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy General Trends in Diplomacy

First of all I would like to mention some general trends, which, in my opinion, influence the international relations and diplomacy in our days and which are of importance when speaking about the role of the public diplomacy.

The trends are as follows:

1. **From Bilateral Diplomacy to Multilateral Diplomacy.** It is inevitable that the role of international organizations in solving many international problems is constantly increasing. The diplomacy which represents a traditional tool of a Foreign Service becomes more and more multilateral.
2. **From Classic Diplomacy to Modern Diplomacy.** It is also inevitable that there exist new tools of diplomacy included the public diplomacy which did not exist in a shape comparable to nowadays situation 50 years ago.
3. **From Separation to Integration.** We all see that the diplomacy as a method of acting is leaving its traditional elitarian position. In our days the diplomacy is integrating itself more and more with the other Foreign Service tools, e.g. the public diplomacy.

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\* Ambassador, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bratislava, Slovak Republic.

4. **From Theory to Practice.** The modern diplomacy is more open to accept new effective pragmatic tools how to solve urgent pragmatic needs and reach pre-defined goals.
5. **From Monitoring to Promoting.** There are five well known strategic functions, which the diplomatic missions are to fulfill in terms of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (representing, promoting, negotiating, observing, promoting). In my opinion, the relatively passive function of observing is now confronted with an increasing need to actively promote the development of bilateral and multilateral relations among actors in the international community. More over, the EU and NATO member states and NGOs are resolute to more actively promote democracy values throughout the world. [See e.g. Council Conclusions on Democracy Support in the EU's External Relations (2974<sup>th</sup> External Relations Council meeting – Brussels, November 17, 2009; *Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support*.)]
6. **From Richness to Poverty.** Transitive negative impacts of financial and economic crisis invite governments to seek for moderate use of financial resources with regard to their respective diplomatic services. In my opinion, an effective public diplomacy could spare some government expenses in this regard.

## Public Diplomacy

Now, I would like to say a few words about the public diplomacy. In my opinion, the public diplomacy is really a modern tool which enriches the classic diplomacy's armory. Notwithstanding with the absence of a generally accepted definition, the public diplomacy definitely is a reverse both of the secret and private diplomacy. The public diplomacy (seen as a tool of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs of a State) differs from the diplomacy of public (seen as a tool of citizens and NGOs). The question is: what logical mark should one put in between the two diplomacies – »and«, »or«, »if-so« or »if and only if – so«?

In my opinion, the two tools go together in their unity and contradiction. The public diplomacy is a *Conditio sine qua non* of modern ministerial contacts oriented towards citizens and vice versa both at home and abroad. The public diplomacy is situated in the very intersection of the classic Foreign Service concept (**Principle of subordination**), and the civic and NGOs activities concept (**Principle of co-ordination**).

Thus, the integration (equality and mutual enrichment) seems to be the best modality of co-existence of the public diplomacy and diplomacy of public instead of mutual assimilating, fusing, segregating, or separating each other.

In other words, the public diplomacy is a **Two-way street** putting together governments and their citizens within the international community in interest of solving important internal and international problems.

## Public Diplomacy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic

Now, let me inform you in brief on the public diplomacy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.

The public diplomacy became a very important element of the ministerial activities. To enhance the importance of the public diplomacy role, the Public Diplomacy Department has been established at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) as of 2008. An important conference on public diplomacy was held in Bratislava on December 4, 2009. The conference which took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was named the »Public Diplomacy: a New Strategic Tool of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic?«. The participants from the governmental bodies, universities, NGOs and other institutions took active part in the programme of the Conference. There were three main topics under discussion: I. New Concept of the Public Diplomacy of the MFA; II. The MFA Public Diplomacy Activities in Abroad; III. Social Actors in the Public Diplomacy of the MFA.

At MFA we see the public diplomacy as a long-term process of communicating with both domestic and foreign community, aimed at improving credibility of Slovakia and explaining Slovakia foreign policy goals. Within the framework of public diplomacy, MFA understands the necessity to define *inter alia* the territorial priorities and relevant local strategy corresponding to regional and country specialties.

**Starting points** under consideration are as follows:

1. Single State Presentation of Slovakia in abroad Concept – e.g. how to proceed, what topical country image (logo) should Slovakia offer to its foreign partners. The Single State Presentation Council was established on the governmental level focusing on three basic areas: policy, economy and culture. Four basic principles should be applied: co-ordination, complementarity, conceptuality and complexity.

2. MFA Strategy – *Prosperous Slovakia in the Secure World* (very important is to reach an overwhelming domestic political consensus on the Slovakia's foreign policy priorities). Very important collateral issues are: target groups, importance of consensus, consultations with regional opinion forming groups and citizens, role of diplomatic missions in the public diplomacy, economic diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, sport diplomacy, optimal timing, key non-state

actors in abroad, appointing Slovakia's *Goodwill Envoys*, co-operation (synergy) with NGO's in the field of Official Development Aid, politology (think-tanks), public diplomacy and other issues.

## Pre-Accession Process and Experiences of the Slovak Republic Pre-Accession Process

Since 1993 the Slovak Republic has gradually met Political criteria (institutional stability as a guarantee of democratic governance and legally consistent state, respect for human rights and the protection of minorities) and Economic criteria (functioning market economy and the ability to withstand competitive pressure in the enlarged European Union), acceptance of the *acquis communautaire* (harmonization the system of law with the EU and demonstrate the ability of its implementation in practice), and Financial criteria (inflation, the general government deficit, the total public debt, long-term money rates).

**1993** – Joining the European Union belonged to the priorities of Slovak foreign policy since the Slovak Republic was established as an independent country in 1993. The European Association Agreement was signed on 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1993 and came into force on 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1995.

**1995** – The Slovak Republic applied for EU accession on 27<sup>th</sup> of June 1995 at the European Council meeting in Cannes. The Slovak Republic started with activities related to implementing the Copenhagen criteria, which have been approved by the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993.

**1999** – The European Council on the Helsinki summit decided to invite Slovakia for negotiations on joining the EU. Slovak government adopted the Communication strategy for preparation of citizens for the EU membership (9 targeted groups, variety of communication means). **2000** – Formal negotiations in Brussels began in 31 negotiating chapters. **2001** – National Convention on the European Future of Slovakia was summoned to serve as a platform for the Slovak internal discussion on the future of the Union (political parties, executive, parliament, non-governmental organizations, religious communities, interest groups, local government, economic and cultural spheres). External Integration Communication Strategy adopted by the Government (oriented towards the EU member countries). **2002** – Negotiations officially ended at the Copenhagen Summit.

**2003** – The Slovak Republic signed the Accession Treaty with EU on 16<sup>th</sup> of April 2003 and on 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2003 it was approved by the Slovak parliament. The Slovak Republic declared a referendum on 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> of May 2003, where citizens were able to comment joining the European Union. The majority of eligible voters expressed their agreement with and supported idea of the country's entry into the European Union. The process of accession to



the European Monetary Union was launched by the Government of the Slovak Republic (targeted date of entry into Eurozone: 1<sup>st</sup> January 2009).

**2004** – The new concept of National Convention on the European Future of Slovakia has been being applied since the beginning of 2004 – 1. provide institutional support for the nation-wide debate on the EU drawing on a wide representation of the main areas of public life; 2. strengthen the regional aspect of the public debate on the EU; 3. provide regular, up-to-date, and objective information to the Slovak public regarding the implications of the accession to the EU, the EU institutions, and common policies of the Union; 4. create a platform for development of common »national« standpoints on specific questions concerning the common policies and institutions of the Union; 5. strengthen legitimacy of Slovak positions in the EU institutions when national interests of Slovakia are being promoted. The Slovak Republic became a member of the EU.

**2007** – The Slovak Republic entered the Schengen Area. **2008** – Recommendation from the Commission for the entry of Slovakia into the Eurozone. **2009** – The Slovak Republic entered the Eurozone; Information governmental campaign on Euro launched.

## Some Pre-Accession Experiences

Pre-Accession is a constant, complex and continuous multidimensional process. Slovakia met Copenhagen and Maastricht criteria not only thank to official State activities, but also thank to: effective external consultations and assistance generously offered by the EU and its member states; reaching general positive domestic consensus with regard to the EU accession; let me in brief inform on how did we proceed – important role of the Ministerial co-ordination groups (policy capacity); MFA – EU coordination (COREPER I., II.). The following elements were of great importance: Government EU Council, Parliamentary EU Committee, Permanent Representation in Brussels, Human Resource Policy, Communication Policy, national conventions (engagement of all stakeholders – political parties, executive, parliament, non-governmental organizations, religious communities, interest groups, local government, economic and cultural spheres), co-ordination centre at MFA, the core: ministerial co-ordination groups, strong powers of the Parliament and the crucial role of the Permanent Representation in Brussels.

## Lessons Learned

Well, it is not easy to mention all lessons learned. The most important lesson learned is that once a nation is resolved to reach a goal and once a nation

focuses all efforts on reaching the goal a success will come. The Pre-Accession story of my country is a success in all aspects. Unity of government and citizens in seeking for common future and living within the framework of the European Union family became true. There is a plenty of issues which should be shared with this highly selected society. There are both positive and negative experiences. Today we know in which field of activities Slovakia could had done better or how to act more efficiently to speed up the Pre-Accession process.

Due to limited time, I avail myself of this opportunity just to enlist some recommendations which Slovakia experts at the MFA had seen important in continual efforts made towards our ultimate goal. The recommendations are as follows: Understanding the EU institutions and EU functioning; Language skills; Competences of Actors; Due Timing; Promoting the *We are the EU* mentality; How to deal with cross-cutting agenda?; How to involve the Parliament?; How to deal with lobbying?; How to keep permanent link to the tops?; Early warning system; How to communicate the EU agenda to the public?; Priority setting & continuity; Refraining from the country slip into isolation; Defining special national assets or *know-how* which a country could offer to the EU as a national contribution to EU/CFSP activities; Solidarity among small applicants; Build policy making capacity in each line ministry; Design co-ordination mechanism for functioning as EU full-fledged member; Learn the processes & implement the procedures; Prepare people & be prepared to lose the best of them; Ambitious, but realistic goals (strong political commitment, support of population); Management of expectations; Mental change *Not them, but us*; Limited policy – making capacity; Capacity to take full advantage of EU membership – well equipped administrative structures and access to financial sources; Maintaining the reform dynamism, existing innovation gap; External and internal convergence; Regional disparities, ethnic minorities; Incomplete or weak market institutions; MFA or PM's Office centred co-ordination?; Co-ordination: decision-making & implementation; Co-ordinator vs. sponsor (role of the MFA); Competence vs. Competency issues and so on.

Each of the above mentioned elements, procedures and instruments deserves a special lecture. They all, individually or collectively contributed to the fact that the Slovak Republic met all criteria necessary for joining the EU. I wish to hope that the Slovakia experience would help the future EU candidate countries to act in the Pre-Accession process effectively, as well as successfully. Thank you for your kind attention, your questions please.

# New Technologies and Social Media

Alexander Titolo\*

Good morning. As the Public Affairs Officer, my job is to make sure that our Embassy is clearly, consistently, and effectively communicating US values and policies to the Montenegrin people. In other words, Public Diplomacy. As part of that effort, we make extensive use of what we call “Social Media”. In fact, the entire US Department of State, and many parts of the US Government in general, have in recent years embraced the new tools of Social Media to reflect the changes we have all witnessed in global communication.

The topic of my presentation today is new technologies and social media. Let me say from the start that my goal is not to show you how to use social media. Frankly, that is the easy part, and in all of your ministries I am sure there are people who already know how to use these tools. Rather, my goal is to convince you that social media has become an integral part of how communication occurs in all of our societies, and especially in this part of Europe. And especially for youth.

There are many different social media platforms. I will show you several that the US Department of State is using. But first, let me take the example of **Facebook**, one of the best known Social Media, to demonstrate why it has become an essential tool of Public Diplomacy for many American Embassies.

Since we have the pleasure of being in beautiful Croatia for this conference, I will use **Croatia** as an example of just how widespread the use of social media has become. Let’s look first at Facebook. Checkfacebook.com allows you to see data on the use of Facebook in your country. Here is the data for Croatia. As you can see, there are over 1 million Facebook users in Croatia. This represents approximately 20% of the population. Of this group, the vast majority are under 24 years of age. That means that approximately 15% of the population of Croatia is under 24 and using Facebook. For anyone who aims to communicate with the

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\* Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy in Podgorica, Montenegro.

youth population of Croatia, it is clear that Facebook offers a unique tool to do so.

Looking at the data for other countries in the region, it is clear that Facebook has become tremendously popular in this part of Europe. The data for Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia and other countries in the region all show the same thing. If we look at the percentage of Internet users who are on Facebook, the numbers are very high for this region. Far more so that for almost anywhere else in the world. In recognition of this, our Embassy in Podgorica started using Facebook two years ago, with the result being that we now have thousands of people that we communicate with whenever we want. We do not necessarily need to hold a press conference or give an interview or write an editorial to send a message. We can communicate directly with our audience, and the result is that every time we do so, our audience helps spread our message. This occurs because by their very nature, social media are designed to let people share information.

And every week, I get an update from Facebook telling me how many people visited our site and how many new people we have on our site. To be clear – I am not saying that social media should replace outreach to traditional media. Rather, our experience shows that the best way to spread our message is to combine the power of these various platforms.

To give you one example from our Embassy, for an announcement of a call for grant proposals in December of last year, we used the traditional practice of putting an advertisement in the newspaper.

We also had our Ambassador record a video talking about our goals for the program that we posted on our **YouTube** channel: <http://www.youtube.com/user/USEmbassyPodgorica#p/u/9/Qhfq5I12Cn0>.

When we held an event to announce the winners of the grants, we posted a story about it on our Facebook page. And we reached out to the media through a traditional press conference as well to ensure that the story was covered on **TV** and the **newspapers**.

This is an example of the type of communication that is increasingly effective, especially in reaching youth audiences. The competition for the attention of this group is tremendous, and if you are not communicating to them in the media where they get their information, you will not be heard. That means being present in multiple platforms, and, if possible, linking these platforms. This is the first thing that we learn as Public Diplomacy professionals in the State Department – you must find out what your audience is reading, watching, or listening to, and that is where you must try to place your message.

**Using social media, however, does not replace traditional media.** Newspapers, for example, are still very important in Montenegro, and I suspect in the entire region, and have a significant influence on public debate. But Social

Media is where a significant percentage of the youth of our countries get their information. To state it clearly: teenagers and university students do not just send each other silly messages on Facebook, they also get their news there, and as they get older they will very likely continue to use the communication tools that they have grown up with. The youth of today are the professionals of tomorrow, and they are not going to stop using Social Media on their 21<sup>st</sup> birthday.

Because these trends vary by country and by region, the State Department has embraced a wide range of Social media tools. I have mentioned Facebook and Youtube, but let me also quickly review several other tools.

**Flickr** is an interactive photo sharing site. The Department of State has an official Flickr page: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/statephotos/4605421620/>. This is a great way to get photos out quickly, and get feedback from your audience. Here is a recent photo of Secretary Clinton with President Karzai of Afghanistan. The big advantage of Flickr is that you can create groups that are interested in a particular topic or even country. And you can tag photos with keywords so that they can be found by people who search for a particular image. The Department of State, for example, received a lot of interest in Secretary Clinton's travel, so there is a Flickr collection for that topic: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/statephotos/collections/72157613910858169/>.

I mentioned that our Embassy used Youtube to attract attention for a grant program. But there are many other American Embassies using YouTube as well. Here is the YouTube channel for our Embassy in Jakarta Indonesia: <http://www.youtube.com/pasjakartaindonesia>. And here is our Embassy in Montevideo, Uruguay, which is in Spanish: <http://www.youtube.com/user/usembmvd>.

One of the most challenging new technologies for governments to use is **blogs**. A blog is essentially a rolling conversation between the host and the audience. Blogs are often controversial, but there is no doubt they have become influential. The Department of State also has an official blog: <http://blogs.state.gov/>. And, the Department of State and many of our individual embassies have hosted webchats on CO.NX.

This is a tool in which you can, using Facebook, invite an audience to view an event. The viewers can provide instant feedback on what they are watching.

I used this tool last year to watch an event Secretary Clinton held in Brussels while I was in our conference room in Podgorica with 20 Montenegrin university students: [http://podgorica.usembassy.gov/secretary\\_clinton\\_brussels.html](http://podgorica.usembassy.gov/secretary_clinton_brussels.html).

And last, there is **twitter**, which is hugely popular in the United States, though not very much in this region. Twitter allows you to send short messages to anyone who is subscribed. Such short messages are ideal for users who are getting their information on their mobile phones. Here is the US Embassy in Budapest's Twitter page: <http://twitter.com/usembbudapest>. The first story is

about a Hungarian student who won a science award in the US. The Embassy then linked from Twitter to Facebook, which you see on the right. This is another example of what I mentioned about linking these different social media platforms.

There are other new technologies out there. And there are even more Social media platforms than the ones I have mentioned here today. In fact, there are so many that it is easy to get overwhelmed. But what we have learned in the U.S. Department of State is that Social Media, just like traditional media, are first and foremost a means of providing information. And just as we use different traditional media outlets to send different messages, the same is true for Social Media. What makes Social Media different, and speaking honestly, a bit scary for governments, is that whether we are talking about Facebook or blogs or video and photo sharing sites, all these platforms are designed so that the audience can communicate back to you.

This is what is new, not some fancy new technology. The true communications revolution that Social Media is causing is the increase in **two-way interaction**. As Public Diplomacy professionals, this is the challenge that now faces us. At the U.S. Department of State, we are working hard to make sure that our message reaches our audience, and that our audience knows that we value what they have to say. In the age of Social Media, the only way to ensure that your audience is listening to what you have to say is to make sure that they know that you are listening as well.

# Implementation of a Concept for the Unified Presentation of the Czech Republic

Vera Jeřábková\*

The process of building a national image is a permanent task. It is necessary to create a functional system for strategically managing this image from the long-term perspective. Public diplomacy should therefore present the channel and instruments to be used for a unified presentation of the country, which will be implemented over the long-term by state administrative bodies and should also include the options available for building a positive image.

The basic foundation for the creation of the concept for the Unified Presentation of the Czech Republic (further referred to as the **Concept**) is the material titled *The Basis for the Concept of a Unified Presentation of the Czech Republic Abroad*, which was accepted through the Government Resolution No. 239 on March 17, 2004.

This document is an analysis of the current image and presentation of the Czech Republic abroad and a comparison with the situation in other countries. It also includes an analysis of the state administration as regards the presentation of the Czech Republic.

## Starting Position

**The presentation of the Czech Republic** primarily concerns:

1. the organization of activities performed by central and other administrative bodies,
2. the form and content of activities performed by state administrative bodies,

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\* Ambassador, Deputy Director, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prague, Czech Republic.

3. activities performed by representative offices of the Czech Republic abroad and
4. activities performed by non-governmental entities.

The presentation of the country cannot be solely reduced to the activities of its foreign representation abroad in spite of the fact that this is the most visible area.

From the institutional perspective, state administrative bodies and organizations implement the presentation of a country, but it is not explicitly defined within the applicable legislation.

The most important segments of presentation, namely foreign policy, culture, science and education, economy, tourism and sports are covered by respected ministries within the framework of their competences.

Central and other state administrative bodies either present the Czech Republic themselves or contribute financially to the presentation of the country.

## The Most Common Presentations

- **Expositions** and trade fairs all over the world.
- **Media:** cooperation with foreign correspondents accredited in the CR, presentations in foreign media etc.
- **Publications and the Internet:** issuance of foreign and language publications, CDs which are distributed through the wide net of institutions and events.
- **Foreign development aid:** the area of development cooperation is an integral part of foreign policy, which is coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Development aid includes projects in third world countries, scholarships, the transfer of expertise, humanitarian assistance and assistance provided to refugees, debt reduction, contributions to international organizations etc. The Czech Republic's contributions in this area are approx. 2, 4 billions Czech crowns annually.
- **Education, science, research and Bohemian studies:** spreading knowledge of the Czech language and literature in foreign lands falls within the competence of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. Czech teachers are usually assigned on the basis of fulfilling the provisions of international contacts or within the framework of foreign assistance provided by the Czech Republic. At present, approx. 50 teachers hold positions at universities in more than 20 countries. The state finances such items as the expense related to sending out teachers, providing materials for teaching Czech and Czech literature, scholarships for foreign students in the Czech Republic, Czech courses for the refugees.



- **Personalities:** one of the most visible forms of presentation of the Czech Republic comprises the personalities, whose level of importance extends beyond Czech borders. Starting from sportsmen and sportswomen like jockey player Jager, football player Nedvěd, ice speed-skating Olympic winner Sáblíková, former tennis players Martina Navrátilová or Ivan Lendl and many others. All of them have contributed enormously to the popularity of the Czech Republic literally all over the world. This group of personalities is quite extensive: former president Václav Havel has helped the country to be recognized as a new democracy and supporter of human rights. Czech musicians, writers, movie directors, researchers etc. are the best examples of public diplomacy and its importance for the country.
- **Products:** quality products manufactured by Czech companies, whether they are traditional or contemporary and the presentation of well-known Czech brands, i.e. Czech glass, Pilsner Urquell Beer, Škoda cars etc. are another significant part of the process of creating a positive image of the Czech Republic abroad.

## Activities Performed by Representative Offices of the Czech Republic Abroad and Their Mutual Cooperation

At present the Czech Republic is represented abroad by 90 embassies, 10 permanent missions or delegations and 15 consulates general. Diplomatic missions are governed by relevant Vienna convention and therefore they can not develop direct business activities independently. This primarily applies to the economic and trade divisions, which are an integral part of the missions.

In addition, the Czech Republic is represented by the workers of other organizations – the Czech Centers, Czech Trade, CzechInvest and CzechTourism Offices.

Let me very briefly add some more information about them.

- **Czech Centers:** this government subsidized organization of the MFA was established in 1993, there are currently 20 offices, primarily located in Europe. Their main activities consist of presenting the Czech Republic in area of culture, business and tourism.
- **CzechTrade:** a government-subsidized organization under the Ministry of Industry and Trade was established in 1997. It has 32 representative offices primarily providing services to Czech exporters.
- **CzechInvest:** established in 1992, partially subsidized by the Ministry of Industry and Trade. It has 9 offices abroad and its main task is to promote CR as an appropriate location for foreign investments.

- **CzechTourism**: established in 1993. It has 23 foreign representative offices of which some provide *second-level* representation, i.e. they present the Czech Republic through private entities in the given country.

The representative offices of the CR can be considered as the display case of the country and very important tool of public diplomacy.

## Reasons for Implementing Changes – Conclusions

The main problem with the implementation of public diplomacy through the central and other state administrative bodies is that the content of the agenda for the presentation of the Czech Republic has not yet been defined and therefore each state body perceives it a bit differently. This incoherence is also applicable to the organizational structure of individual state bodies as presentation is generally not the responsibility of a typically similar unit.

In spite of the fact that the area of foreign representation is assigned to the MFA by the applicable legislation, there are not enough effective mechanism at present for efficiently controlling and coordinating this activity.

According to the experiences in some countries, the creation of an independent agency has not proved to be useful as the management of such an agency was too expensive and the close ties to state administration and the managing government department were lost.

For the sake of clarity, the total amount for presentational activities by all government departments and the government subsidized organizations came to approx. 50 mil. USD in 2003. This amount includes expenditures for trade fairs, expositions, presentation on Internet, operation of the Public Information Portal of the Czech Republic, conferences etc.

At present, the presentational activities of state administrative bodies are guided solely by their own priorities and goals. However, these are not incorporated in one unified vision, they are not complementary, and they do not create one compact whole. Within the presentation implemented in a segmented manner by the individual government departments, the mutual goal of bringing a strong message is lost and overall impact is diminished.

Activities finance out of the budget cannot lose their common denominator, i.e. presenting the Czech Republic as such. Because each presentation of a Czech entity contributes to the overall image of the Czech Republic, a wider context for presentations supported by the government is required as an obvious precondition.

As a country, the Czech Republic does not have a marketing logo that creates an **easy-to-remember identity** and is included in all the visual outputs

of the country. Such a logo is not only a symbol – it also expresses emotions and values, which we would like to be associated with the country. It does not to be necessarily fixed on state symbols.

In order to create appropriate conditions for the unified presentation of the Czech Republic, a Commission for the presentation of the country has been established as a consulting body to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. This Commission is composed of a high level ministerial officials from all ministries concerned – industry and trade, education, culture, defence, interior, environment etc., as well as directors of Czech Centers, CzechTourism, CzechInvest and CzechTrade.

One of the main tasks of this Commission is to find a solution against the tendency of fragmentation, presentation of each subject instead of the country. That is also why the Minister of Foreign Affairs has appointed his representative to analyze the situation and to bring new proposals how to move further on.

Another concrete step is to focus on education and training of diplomats at the Diplomatic Academy in order to understand the concept and importance of public diplomacy. **Training** is vital for many public diplomats, who often have a strong background in international relations or politics but may seriously lack communication competence and skills.

Despite the conceptual problems which will be hopefully soon solved, the Czech Republic is widely recognized as a country having a very successful **cultural diplomacy**. Hopefully experiences gained from promoting of cultural diplomacy will be equally transferred to other important segments of public diplomacy in the Czech Republic.



# Nation Branding and New Public Diplomacy

Andrea Gustović-Ercegovac\*

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me a great pleasure to address you today on the topic of *Strategic Public Diplomacy* in relation to Media. This issue is appearing in the period when we all think about strategic approaches to international cooperation. For the concept of open diplomacy, modern media are the key channel of communication towards the public.

When we have conferences in **Dubrovnik** we always say: it is the best ground for diplomatic thinking and discussions due to its rich and successful history of diplomacy and creative use of its prerogatives in international relations. Once again, Dubrovnik will become an inspirational example of what sort of strategies to use in modern diplomacy.

## Introduction

Due to global **economic crisis**, recession and slow recoveries, governments discuss various financial and political efforts in order to give countries dynamics and hope for economic growth. As analysts have said: each time a major transformation in the international system occurs, the role of diplomacy is revised.

At the same time, we live in a time of globalization and localization, in a time of rapid changes, in a time of enormous quantities of information, often with uncertain reliability. Everybody wants to be publicly present: personalities, firms, countries.

Methods of communication have grown enormously. We have to use them, not to abandon them. Instead of self-imposed barriers and rigid strategies, we need open minded thinking and creative and flexible strategies.

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\* Ambassador, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Zagreb, Croatia.

Hard times for big and small companies. They all ask their governments to take their interests into consideration, defend their interests abroad.

We are all aware of the new significance of **nation branding** as a part of the national promotional programme. In today's world, more and more competitive governments are under pressures to emerge from crisis and move towards the development. But at home people tend to think locally: *Why to spend on promotion when we are already known?* For example, in Croatia we all know that Croatia's fate was predestined by her geographic characteristics as a country of thousand islands, well preserved nature, national parks, cultural and historical heritage. But are we known enough, especially outside of Europe?

## Experiment

Recently I have made a **small experiment** to see how many hits one will get when searching the Internet. This is a common action of an average tourist. At the beginning I typed the term "*Beautiful & Croatia*" and got 9 million hits. That was nice. Then I tried with other countries in our neighbourhood. The result was pretty much the same: "*Beautiful Bosnia*" = 8 million, "*Beautiful Serbia*" = 8 million, "*Beautiful Slovenia*" = 7 million, but "*Beautiful Romania*" 4 million more. *Czech Republic* nearly twice more than Croatia. *France* ten times more = 106 million. Here are the results of most European countries (**Chart no. 1**). Are other countries really more beautiful than *Croatia*?

Sometimes we say: through the last decade there has been too much negative information about Croatia in media. So I checked with "*Negative news & Croatia*". I got less than a million hits. The same results was with *Slovenia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Romania*. Here are the results (**Chart no. 2**). Negative news were more associated with *France, Germany, Australia, US, Italy, Spain*. Not so many with countries in transition, countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Comparing these results with terms "*Positive news*" there is not so much positive news as negative one, but we are used to this. Nevertheless, so called strong countries or world known touristic destinations have more positive news than others.

Then I tried with the term *War*. Are there more articles about wars in the Balkans than other wars? (**Chart no. 3**) *Croatia* and *Bosnia* are present in slightly more war articles than *Slovenia, Slovakia* and *Moldova*, but still much less than other European countries.

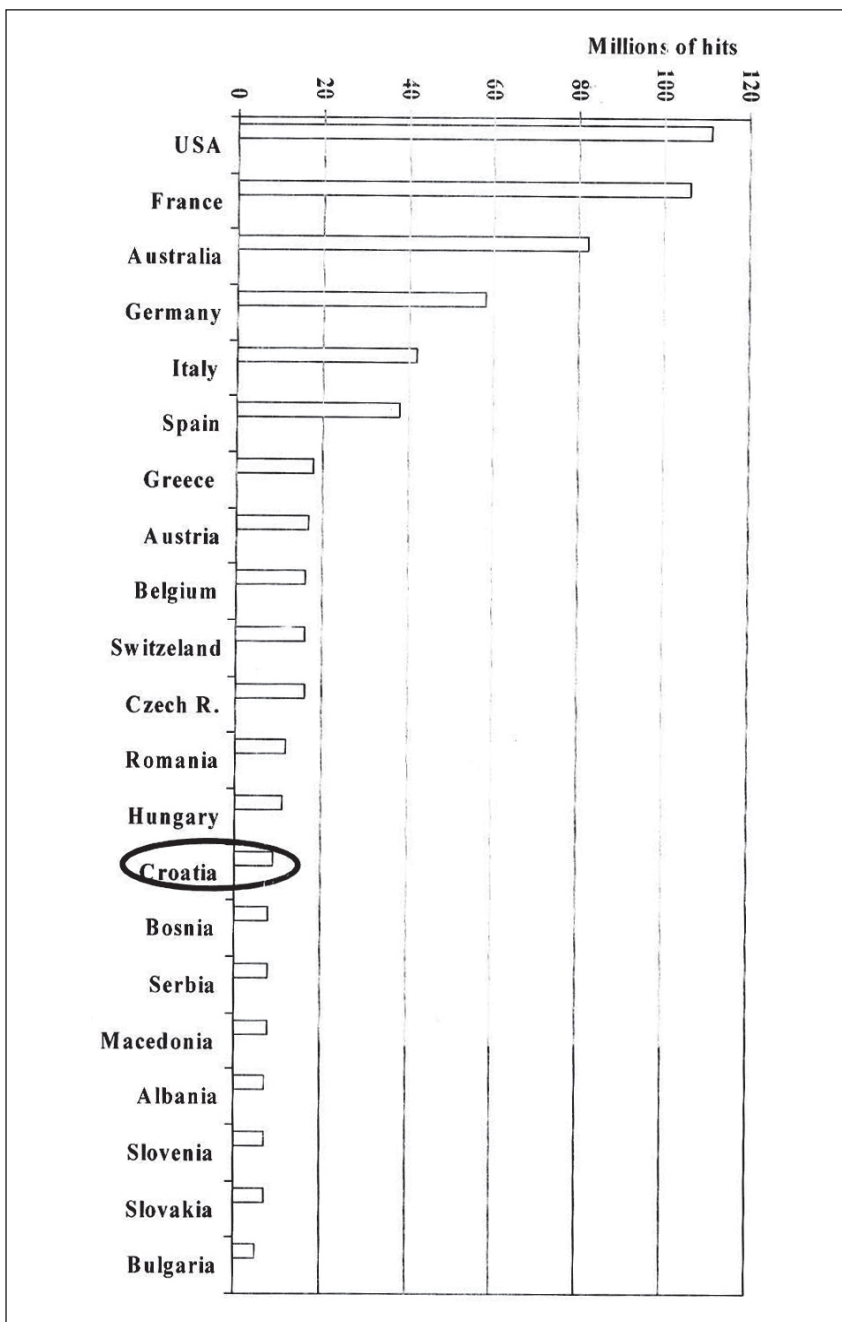
Coming back to **nation branding** I tried with classical terms like *Tourism* and *Culture* (**Charts no. 4 and 5**). Again, more or less the same situation. We see *Australia* made a strong promotion of itself as a touristic destination – resulting in 38 million hits, and *Croatia* less than, for example, *Hungary* or *Romania*.

When we check the Internet for links on “*Culture & Croatia*”, we notice that rich cultural and historical heritage is at least not seen enough on the Internet. There are approximately 19 million hits, similarly for *Slovenia*, but significantly less than *Czech Republic*, *Bulgaria* or *Austria*.

Analysing the results, three groups of countries have emerged:

- 1) strong, rich countries as well as others that depend on tourism,
- 2) smaller European countries, but aware of importance of providing information through media and
- 3) most of Eastern and South-Eastern countries that are simply not present enough in media.

These results are, of course, just an indicator, not the real – scientifically proved – data. They just indicate a certain trend. To summarize, with modern expansion of the media, new means of branding have become not only available but necessary. Therefore, **diplomacy is required to follow**. Having in mind the involvement of media in ordinary people’s life – *Public Diplomacy* also should utilise opportunities offered by modern technologies. In order to be present and visible, eventually to change perception of itself in the eyes of tourists, investors or businessmen – the countries of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe have to put more effort in providing reliable information about itself.



“Beautiful & ...”

Chart no. 1



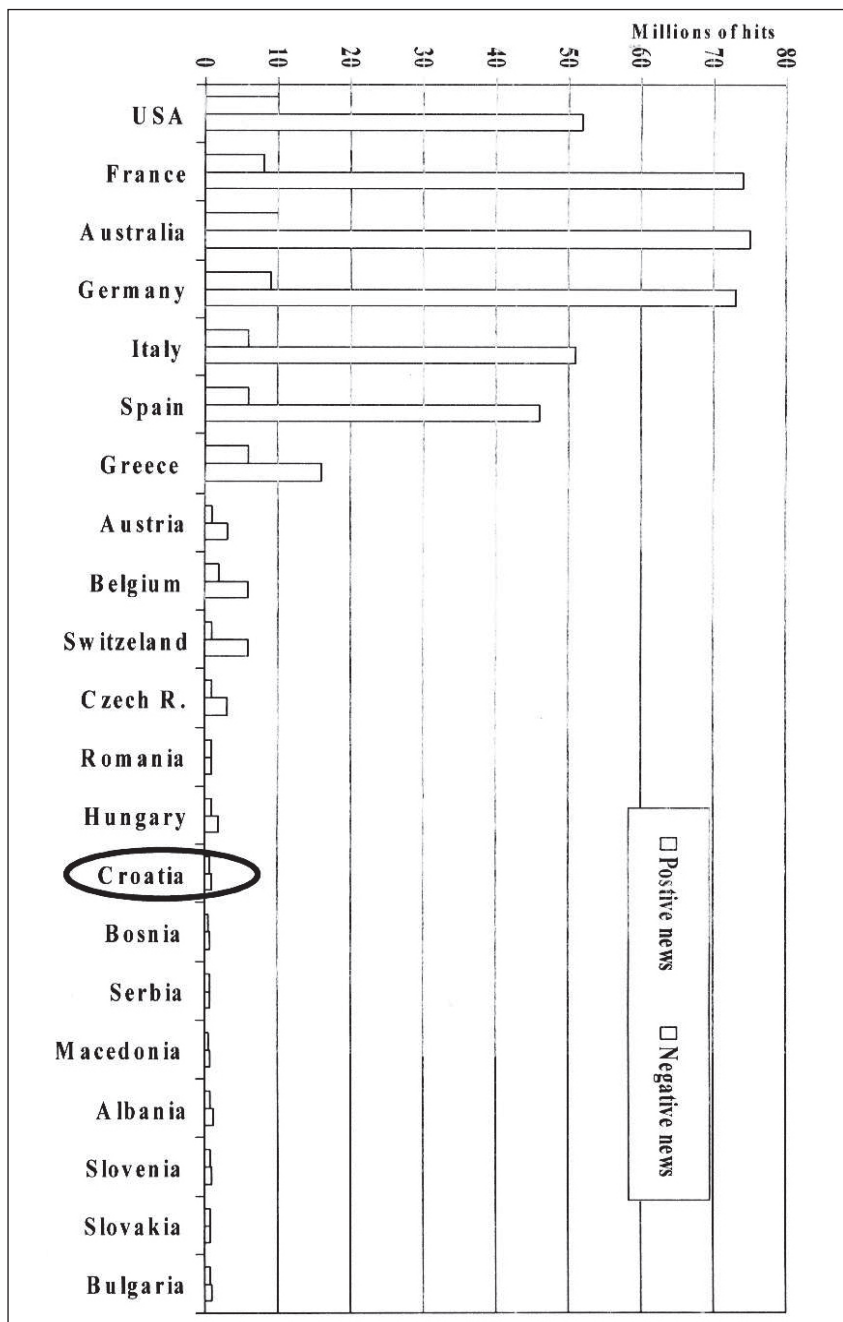
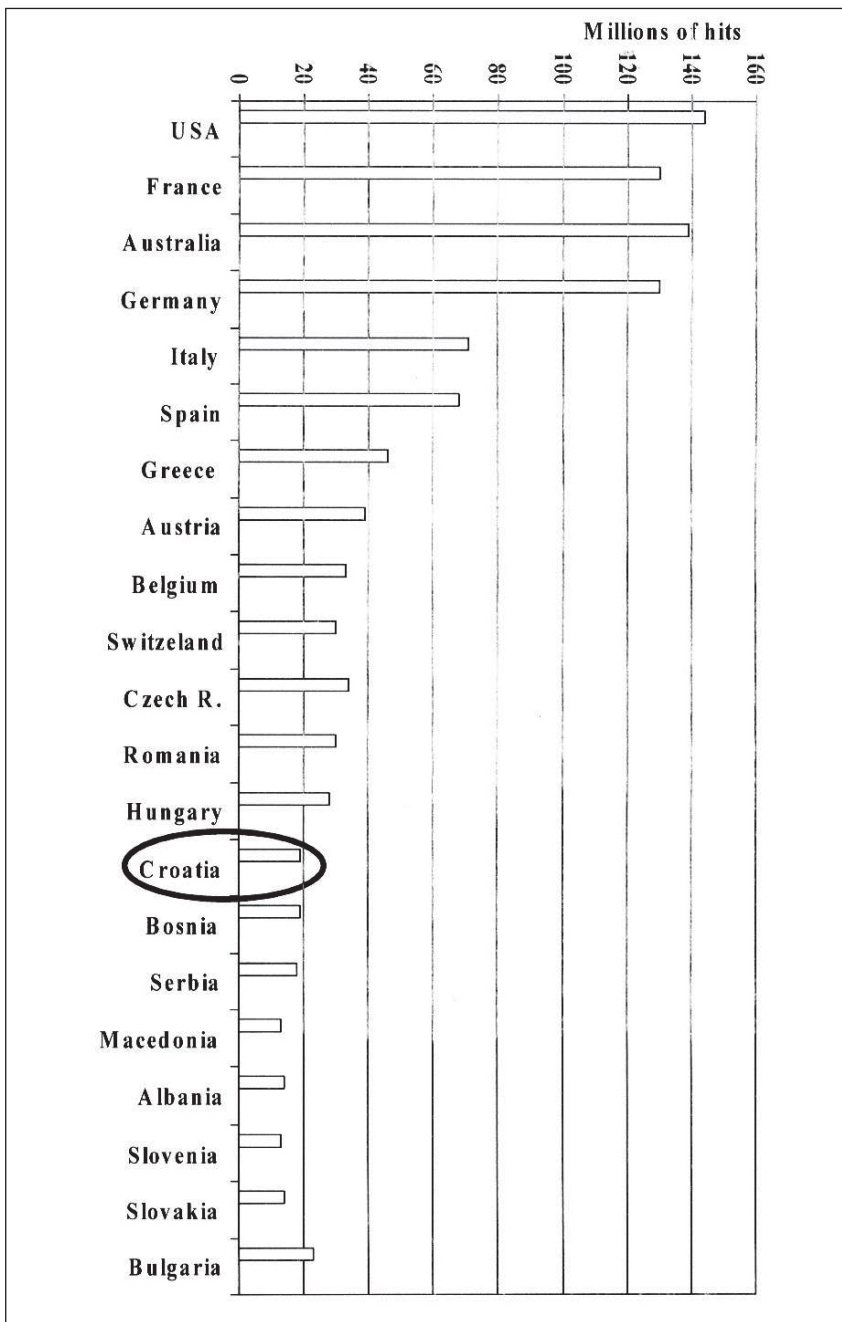


Chart no. 2

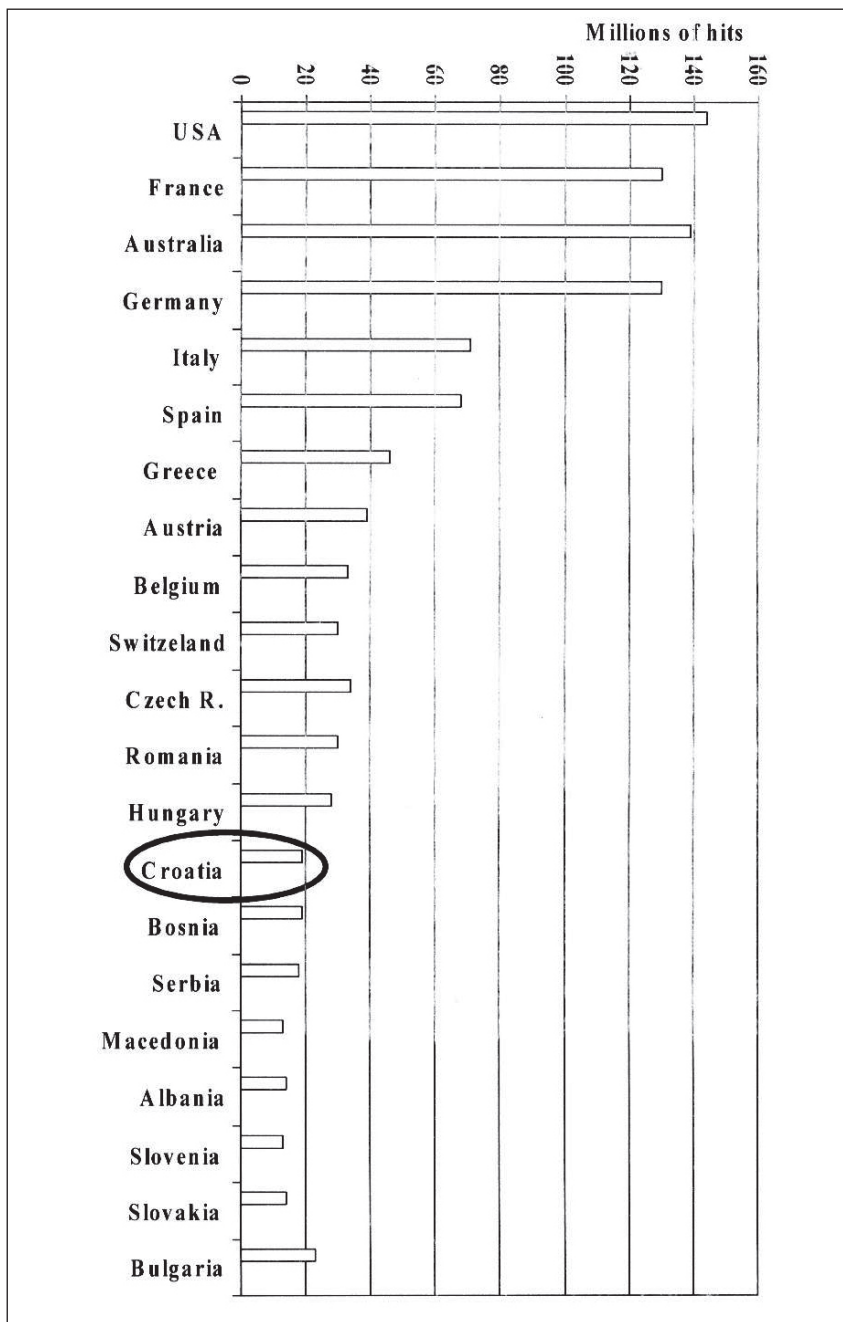
“Positive news & ...”

“Negative news & ...”



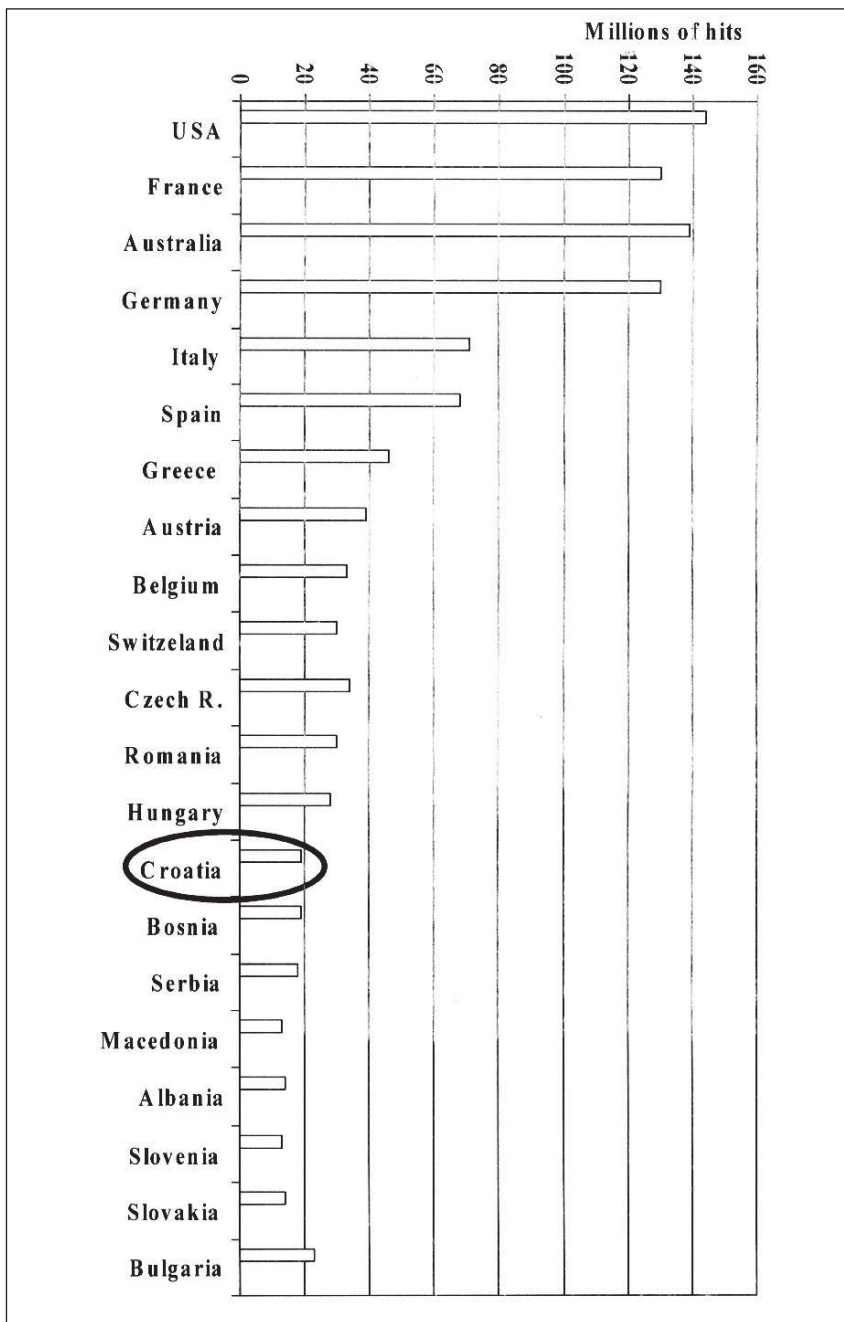
“War & ...”

Chart no. 3



“Tourism & ...”

Chart no. 4



“Culture & ...”

Chart no. 5

# Nation Branding: Branding Croatia

Sanja Bach\*

## Why Is so Important for a Country to Become a Brand?

Croatia has a good basis to become a powerful brand in the world. We have top level sportsmen, we have world famous towns like Dubrovnik, rich tradition, we have companies which are not, frankly speaking, world giants, but some of them are regional giants, high quality products, clean sea, healthy food, ... All mentioned should serve as a good basis for creating a strong national brand. But if Croatia wants to become really competitive compared to other countries, it must invest in the promotion of its values – working on its image.

National branding is a hot but sensitive issue and an important concept in today's world. Countries are complex products and market place is very, very large. It is the rest of the world. Globalisation means that countries compete with each other for attention, respect and trust of investors, tourists, consumers, donors, immigrants, the media and governments of other nation. Therefore, a powerful and positive nation brand provides a crucial competitive advantage. It is essential for countries to understand how they are seen by various publics around the world – how are their achievements and failures, their assets and their liabilities, their people and products reflected in their brand image.

But what is branding? What is actually a brand? Creating the brand is creating a mental picture of products, services, corporations, countries in the minds of the consumers or wider public. A brand is not only slogan, trade mark, advertisement, media campaign, public relations and so on. It is more than all that. It is, let's say, **intellectual property**. Because everything is inside our heads, and brands as well.

We have to make a clear distinction between what an image is and what an identity in branding is. An image is a perception about country, town, region, politician, person, ... An identity is what a country, let's say, thinks of itself.

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\* Spokeswoman, Ministry of Finance, Zagreb, Croatia.

What somebody thinks of themselves. Image and identity should be equal. At the same level. At the present time consumers are bombarded with products from all over the world, and knowing which country they come from can greatly influence their decision to purchase them. As we know some of the most powerful company brands in the world usually come from strongly branded countries. In fact it is hard to find any international brand that does not come from such countries.

On the other hand, most of the leading product brands and company brands are more popular than countries. For instance, Nokia than Finland, or Sony than Japan, Coca Cola than USA, ... State authorities nowadays understand the importance of using the brand marketing as a powerful tool for increasing the competitiveness in the world market. For this reason a number of countries have actively started the branding process. But branding a country is more complicated than branding company or a product. Country is a complicated thing. It is very complex.

Furthermore, there is a **strong link** between images of the states and company or product brands. Thus, Disney and McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Levi's and Pepsi are known to come from the U.S. and it is still one of the factors of their success among consumers, according to some world experts in marketing. Therefore, no wonder large U.S. efforts to improve its image in the world. And some other countries have a clear, consistent and recognizable image in the world as well. For example, England – the tradition and social values; France – quality of life and chic; Italy – style and sexuality; Germany – high quality engineering and reliability; Switzerland – precision; Sweden – cleanliness and efficiency; Japan – Technology, entertainment and design. In all these countries successful national brand products have been created and they have conquered the world by linking quality and originality. Thus England, for example, gave us Burberry and British Airways, Chanel and Citroen come from France, Italy gave Ferrari and Armani, Germany Bosch and Mercedes-benz, Switzerland Swatch and Swissair, to name but a few.

However, “neutral” country brands such as Belgium, Portugal, Austria, Chile and Norway have also produced several important leaders in the international market. There are also countries that successfully change their image, like Spain, Ireland or South Africa, and those like the UK or Germany, which invest huge efforts to change and improve their images. Thus Spanish marketing experts, along with the traditional Miró's Sun, recently say: “Smile! You're in Spain”, where besides sun and sea, you can play golf or simply relax in one of the hotel. Those from South Africa are struggling mightily to convince business people around the world that this country has a dynamic economy. They say: “In South Africa, business is not just a briefcase”, but can contain incredible ideas, plans and business opportunities.

In recent years a great investment resources and effort can be perceived in the development of distinctive and attractive brands of the states. **Companies specializing in branding states** are mushrooming all over the world. It has been proved that with the right combination of marketing expertise, government support, high-quality manufacturing base, investment and creative branding strategy, the basic resources can be given for the development of a healthy state and the brand-based export economy.

The essential skills for a strong synergy between countries and national brands of products are brand development, marketing sense and understanding of the psychology of target consumers. All of these are currently skillfully used by the largest national brands in the development, such as China, India, Russia or Brazil, whose companies and products are becoming recognized by consumers worldwide. States can strengthen its brand value in the same way as companies and products do, with appropriate branding strategies. Japan, for example, has in this way improved its image. 30 years ago, the “Made in Japan” label had a negative connotation, and today it is a synonym for advanced technology, quality manufacturing, competitive price, style and status. South Korea is undergoing a drastic transformation of the image due to corporations such as Hyundai, Deawooa, Samsung and LG. Other countries also take credit for profiling successful brands, such as Finland and its Nokia. The country has quickly capitalized on the importance of origin of Nokia in an effort to create a strong national brand, while combining high quality products, speed to market, great marketing and distribution. Nokia has been transformed from a successful domestic manufacturer of rubber boots into one of the most high-tech brands in the world.

Launching a global brand requires **great skills**, especially if it’s not the brand from some “major” countries. It is important to have the ability of objective perception of yours, or the way others see you, and to accept that this is more important than how you see yourself. Also it is necessary to have the government support. The continuous investment in the brand of the country should be based on cooperation and effective synergy among the main promoters of the country in the global media, usually the national tourist board, airline, leading manufacturers, ... because these are the ways in which the national brand is mainly produced and exported. Some branding specialists emphasize the importance of the country to focus on brand management rather than promotion in managing its image. Others point out that managing their image should go deeper, “levelling” of its foreign and internal policies with well-researched perception of the country. Managing so that the country really lives in a way that its brand promotes.

Anyway, today all the countries are competing for the attention of the **world public**, and branding has become an important part of their positioning in the

world. Therefore, governments are doing everything within their capabilities to ensure the consistency of participants' behavior in each area of the branding process. The goal is to be different from others!

Even a few years ago, there was dominating belief that creating a global brand requires a lot of money for paying ad placements in the media, and that it can not even be conceived to create a global brand with less than 50 or 100 million U.S. dollars per year. However, the development of the internet and various marketing and public relations methods have brought handful of new possibilities, new communication channels and cheaper advertising. It goes in favor of **Croatia**. Good news for Croatia as well is that global consumers have become closer to many developing countries due to the production of the world's leading brands in these countries. All this contributes to the changing perception by consumers of brands like "Made in Mexico", "Made in Romania", "Made in Taiwan" ... '**In**' become ethnic, organic and exotic. Growing interest in the alternative, to the east and pseudo Eastern medicine such as acupuncture, Shiatsu, aromatherapy and many other things, like healthy food, untouched nature and clean water. Marketing strategists of India are familiar with all of this and they invest great efforts in showing the world that their country is "Incredible" place where we can relax from the stress and do yoga through media campaigns in the world's leading televisions.

**Global consumers** are encouraged by healthy lifestyle and are attracted as never before by cultures and products from distant countries, and by ecology. That is why now it is time for completely exotic and new ecological national brands. These trends, too, come in favor of Croatia. When a country finds courage, inspiration and creativity to go away from the classical paradigm of "national product" and starts to produce brands that will inspire us to think about the country they come from, the results can be very noticeable and very profitable, marketing experts believe.

**Successful brands** often occur from where they are least expected. Like Brazil which is currently one of the most strongly "new branded" countries in the world. It produces almost everything as a leading industrial nation. Brazil does not want to be only recognisable for samba dancing at carnival times, rainforests, like exotic country with sex, beaches, sport and adventures. With negative associations like pollution, overpopulation, poverty and the like. Upcoming Olympic game will do a face-lifting of the Brazil which has already started to attract world's attention. However, the branding of a state does not depend solely on government promotions. National branding is composed of two at first quite different areas: marketing and diplomacy. First of all, public diplomacy, and ways of presenting the country – its tourism, products, culture, promoting exports and attracting investment, people and government policies – abroad. The best results are achieved when all this have to be found "under



a common umbrella, or when there is a relationship between them, as well as coordination.

The nation brand is the sum of people's perceptions of the country and its people apart from six usual areas of national assets, characteristics and competence. Together, these areas make the **Nation Brand Hexagon**. There are:

- **Tourism** – often the most visibly promoted of the nation brand. But it is only a part of the reality of the country.
- **Export** – this is the power of “Made in” label to add value to products and services.
- **Governance** – it means people's perception of the government sense of responsibility. The best describes the government in each country.
- **Investment and immigration** – people's personal willingness to live and work in each country for a substantial period of time. The best description of the country's current and social condition.
- **Culture and heritage** – measuring of the country's cultural heritage, as well as people's appreciation of or intention to consume its popular, more commercial cultural products and activities. Also the country's sporting excellence.
- **People** – to understand how the human capital of each country is viewed. Also the best description the people in each country.

**Indexes**, as the Anholt Nation Brands index, measure the power and appeal nation's brand image. It tells us how consumers around the world see the character and personality of the brand. Precisely, an index measures nation brand, state brand and city brand. The studies poll includes nearly 20,000 people in 20 countries each year, asking them more than 40 questions about their perception of 50 countries.

For example, the **top ten country brands** in the world according to the index in **2007** were Germany, United Kingdom, Canada, France, Australia, Italy, Switzerland, Japan, Sweden and United States. In **2008** those were Germany, France, United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, Italy, United States, Switzerland, Australia and Sweden. And in **2009**, for the sake of comparison, the “best” country brands were United States, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Japan, Italy, Canada, Switzerland, Australia, Spain and Sweden.

Today, it seems, that before we go on vacation to a country or make a decision on investment, we should follow the brand index and ranking on the list of national brands. Highly ranked on such lists, according to numerous studies in the world, is Australia, with a strong media campaign in tourism. “We polished silver. Illuminate the rock. Sure under the table no lizards. So where the hell are you?” teaches us in ads and there is a way to emphasize the value of Australia by using

humour. Olympic Games in Sydney contributed to the creation of the country's image of as the one with an ideal climate mixed with the sense of humour, open-minded people, talented athletes and outstanding organizational skills.

No doubt, brand, **branding and rebranding** are words that still resonate strongly on the planet. The battle for public attention is increasingly leading to web pages, blogs and digital media. The image of a country, whether good or bad, usually reflects the current state of the country and it should always be measured. Therefore, the rise of a country's topmost brands does not mean an end of the branding journey. On the contrary, it means starting a new story.

So, which are **the main trends in branding states**? Firstly, never before has there been such a vogue for the ethnic, the organic, the exotic. According to many brand gurus around the world, it is time for the truly exotic nation brands. Secondly, strong development of internet and different marketing and public relations methods bring us so many opportunities. New ways of communication and cheaper advertising. Everything has become simpler, cheaper and cheaper. Finally, people and consumers all around the world always look for new brands. New tourist destinations. New cities. All the above mentioned is very good news for small and new brands, like Croatia. Over the last few decades consumers have become very familiar with new branded countries and goods. Branded products "Made in India", "Made in Taiwan", "Maide in Thailand", "Made in Mexico", or "Made in South Korea" become new brand stars.

## Global Branding Is a War!

And there is lot of branding offensives in the world. For instance, Germany is also among the top brands in the world and has invested major efforts in changing its image in the world. Thoroughly it tries to delete public perception associated with the Holocaust and the Third Reich, and to introduce itself as more "sexy" or "cool". German's marketing experts want to draw our attention to a new Germany. Sexier than the old one. Germany has started a series of campaigns to improve country's image abroad. The Goethe institute has got a key role in branding. The Institute is trying to define the key icons, and corporate brands that can delegate an attractive image of Germany to another country. In order to move from its past, Germany tends to emphasize new and more positive aspects of German culture and society in marketing campaigns. Present us Germany as an attractive country in which the "Love Parade" takes place in Berlin techno festival, a country that has world-famous stars such as supermodel Claudia Schiffer, who wrapped the German flag around herself, adoring ads with the message "Follow your instinct. Invest in Germany.". All this contributed to the Football Championship, which was a great opportunity to present Germany in a new, more modern light.

It is known that world sports events are an integral part of branding strategy of the host country and a great opportunity to change or improve their images. The branding has been extremely important tool to attract attention and to host world sports events, especially football championships, and is one of the best opportunities for it. Sport spectacles have proved to be a great opportunity to attract public attention around the world and economically very beneficial.

Some countries successfully use world sport events or world famous sportsmen for promotion. Portugal used the advantage of EURO 2004 championship, world class football event for the promotion of the country. Greece did the same with the Olympic Games a few years ago. Or China as well. The promotion of the Olympic game in 2010 will probably be a new opportunity for the Great Britain to promote itself – for rebranding of this country. Britons have started promotion of the Olympic Games around the world through sport events like Sport reliefs and playing cricket. South Africa is currently working hard on its branding due to the world class football event this summer. It started a few years ago by promoting its economy and tourism.

## What Is “In” this Year in the Process of Branding a State?

Many countries put emphasis on attracting investors. They are aware that without foreign investments economic growth and employment can not increase. The branding seeks to create a strong synergy between the state and national brand products in international advertising. Creating strong links by promoting companies, products and the state at one stroke, for the benefit of all, promoting the state and products from that country.

In such a way of promotion investment promotion agencies, backed by governments, have the key role and they should invest a lot of effort, money and time to attract investors. In doing so, they should widely use the internet, filmed commercials and promotional films of the highest standards and production. Increasingly demanding consumers spend a lot of time on the internet and watching TV. In doing so, they should not save on advertising in world leading media, and they should use the most powerful marketing guru and world agencies for public relations.

There is no lack of inventiveness in marketing. Using and mixing everything which is the most valuable in a country. For example, writers and Nobel Prize-known artists with innovation and business experience, as in the case of sophisticated promotions by the Irish government agency of promoting exports, with the main message “Ireland, Knowledge is in our nature.” Furthermore, alluding to the locational advantages as in the case of Poland, which is presented as “The Heart of Europe”, referring to “Meet in Warsaw to search for answers to

the challenges of the future.”. The slogans of the word ‘tomorrow’ and ‘future’ are very common in branding. This year “in vogue” are “green” country brands sending messages about untouched nature and clean environment. The countries in the region are also very aggressive in promoting.

But, let’s go back to the **branding Croatia**. Firstly, branding is a very important issue for every country in the world, especially for a small country like Croatia. Secondly, how can we do it? Thirdly, what do we expect as an end result from the branding process?

So, why is branding such an important issue? In the globalized world the success can be achieved by being different. By being able to face changes. The key for success is to be unique and absolutely, absolutely competitive. Today, in Croatia it is not clear – what kind of image is Croatia trying to project into the 21<sup>st</sup> century? That’s why branding is such an important issue for Croatia. In the branding process the key question must be – how to present Croatia in the world.

Each branding process starts with and is based on examining the perception of a country, both in the country and abroad. **We are not what we think we are, we are what we are perceived to be!** Some researches performed several years ago, clearly showed that Croats would like Croatia to be recognised for its tourism, for its good results in sports, for agriculture and for healthy food, for the beauty of its national parks,...

According to the research, carried out by the agency Media net, 28% of respondents believe that tourism can represent Croatia in the world in the best way. Then following sea, coast, islands, Adriatic Sea, maritime and marine products (13%) and food, national cuisine, cuisine and gastronomy (12%). In the fourth place, there was Podravka and its most famous product Vegeta (10% of respondents).

Among the top 20 most frequent responses, there were even agriculture and agricultural products, Dubrovnik, wine, national parks and natural beauty, sport and athletes, Kraš products, Plitvice lakes, Pliva company, cheese (and ham and Pag lace) olives, olives and olive oil; artistic monuments and cultural heritage; pure nature and natural beauty; Slavonia, kulen, breads, and specialties.

Considering natural beauties, the most cited were the Plitvice lakes, Bjelolasica, Cetina, Kornati, Krka, Kopacki Rit, Brijuni, cave Vranjača, Paklenica, Velebit, Zadar peninsula.

Along with many answers that are generally related to Croatian culture, history, monuments and works of art, individually referred to: Arena, the Diocletian’s Palace, St. Donat in Zadar’s Cathedral. Jacob’s Cathedral, St. Blaise and Rector’s Palace in Dubrovnik, gold and silver of Zadar, the castle Trakošćan.

There are also cultural – entertainment facilities such as the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, Varazdin Baroque Evenings, the Rijeka carnival. Among

Croatian towns well represented in the world the respondents were pointing out Split, Dubrovnik, Trogir, Varazdin, Samobor, Šibenik, ...

All of the above can be good “material” for the creation of a strong brand Croatia. But it must be clear that creating a national brand lasts for years and requires a bit of efforts and investments.

In addition, the experiences of other countries show that it can be only carried out by joint efforts of everyone and by sending a clear and coordinated message about the country. Everyone in Croatia understands that no institution, person or company can work alone on branding Croatia. Everybody must work on it and must participate in this process!

## Finally, Why Branding Croatia?

Basically, we have no choice. This is an absolute must! Competitors are doing it and they have undertaken initiatives – countries in the region, European Union and the USA, ... and others have taken great steps. And they probably spend a lot of money, energy and time on branding.

Because of globalisation (which is a great challenge for all of us). The importance of creating a positive image of the country – which influences products and services of its companies. The branding influences both the perception and emotions of the consumer.

Perception and emotions of the public. It influences practically everything in the country. All of this refers also to Croatia! Strengthening competitiveness – if we have to climb on the top we have to fight a fierce competition. Promotion of economic interests – it’s a sink or swim situation. Attracting foreign investments, tourists, increasing exports, employment, ... all lead to economic growth – there is a need for a stronger economic growth. Croatia would like to join the European Union. Because of the membership in the European Union in the future Croatia should work on developing an easily recognisable public image among member states of the European Union.

## How to Start a National Branding?

It is essential for Croats to understand that branding must start at home – in Croatia! Firstly, we should develop a brand awareness among Croatians. Through presentations, conferences, seminars, discussions, articles, in different magazines and newspapers – to get full attention on the importance of national branding. It could be a very, very tough job. Secondly, we should form a team – a working group or some kind of a council for the creation of a recognisable Croatian image. Thirdly, we should create an efficient communication strategy.

Good news for starting a branding process is that Croats think that we need to invest more in creating a positive image of Croatia. According to some polls the majority, 64%, thinks that we don't invest neither enough money nor enough work into branding Croatia. Experiences of some countries show that a successful branding of the country requires a combination of strong, clear government support and leads politicians to encourage the private sector and all other parts of society to engage themselves in the process. They must all be found under the umbrella of daily work to improve the country's image.

Because of that, one of the most important aspects of this is creating some kind of an umbrella. Under this umbrella representatives of the government and the private sector have to work on daily bases. Public relations and marketing professionals should be on the top of the umbrella. They should work for both sides. Under the umbrella there should also be representatives of major towns, regional authorities, ... Other institutions like, for example, Croatian chambers of commerce, representatives of business sector, sports, media, design, art, culture, ...

## The Key Stages in Branding

There has been a research carried in the country and abroad, to find out how Croatia is seen in the eyes of Croats and foreigners. We need to establish good and bad sides of the country and compare them with other countries in the world. Creating a central and powerful idea. Creating a visual identity – it means creating a logo to be used in advertisement, in the promotion of tourism, embassies – anywhere possible. One of the most important aspects of this is the coordination of all participants in the branding process. The attention focuses mainly on the promotion of Croatia. To insure a strong marketing support for the program. To apply it gradually into different areas of life. To do a monitoring to see how the message of the brand is perceived in diplomacy, tourism, attracting investments, increasing export and among wider public.

What is particularly important for us in Croatia is to **draw attention to Croatia**. We have to be incredibly intelligent, nice people, but if nobody knows that, our quality has no value. All this is true for all countries. Wrapping the largest tie in the world around the Pula Arena few years ago, for instance, promoted the tie as a part of the Croatian and world cultural heritage, and Pula as tourist destination.

So, how can Croatia catch attention? By strong, clear and attractive identity. By efficient promotion in the world and international press relations. Furthermore, more efficient diplomacy has to play an important role and help in the branding process and vice versa. Better image of the country should make

diplomacy work much easier and that should contribute to the realization of government aims.

Finally, **Croatia must rebrand itself and intensify its promotion in the world.** Croatia has good grounds to grow into a strong brand. Why should not Croatia be a more recognisable, unique and absolutely, absolutely competitive. But, to achieve that, Croatia must strenghten its own brand! There is no choice. The world's consumers are constantly hungry for new and different brands and destinations. The brand "Croatia" has all the prerequisites to conquer their hearts.





# Cultural Dialogue as an Important Factor in Public Diplomacy: the Case of Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prague

Hrvoje Kanta\*

## Introduction

The beginning of the work of the Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) in Prague has proved that there was a big need of its citizens to get an institution which they would, being here abroad, consider a part of their homeland. Bosnians and Herzegovinians have been going to the Embassy not only to regulate the consular formalities but also because they believed that they could, at least partly, satisfy their own needs for being culturally self-validated through their Embassy.

Public Diplomacy does not have specific place in the B&H foreign policy. Naturally, this fact does not strengthen the foreign policy of the country which tries to find with full right, its place in the European Union. Things are changing however, and each new step towards full membership in EU unveils necessity of relying on varieties offered through public diplomacy. What does it practically mean?

1. Firstly, B&H diplomatic missions do not have prior obligation to use the public diplomacy as a mean of their own action.
2. Secondly, since public diplomacy is not being used as a tool for realisation of prime foreign policy aims, very modest budget funds are available.
3. Thirdly, in these circumstances positive moves can be expected only in the diplomatic missions that have inovative and ambitious staff led by enthusiastic HoM.

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\* Minister Counsellor, Head, Office for Diplomatic Training, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These facts mostly have as a result modest experiences and achievements in sphere of public diplomacy. However positive cases can serve as a light example and encouragement for the future importance role of public diplomacy in foreign policy service of B&H, we dare to say. One of those examples is engagement of B&H Embassy in Prague in first four years after the opening in 2005. Until 2009 this Embassy has constantly supported unique interaction of B&H Diaspora especially the young people with the well-known empathy of the Czech Republic public society towards culture.

The **culture** was a media of public diplomacy promoted by the innovative first ambassador in Czech Republic. This interaction has been founded on two simple premises. Firstly, in Czech Republic there is a highly educated young B&H Diaspora who managed to resist to the challenges of national influences. This social group has natural need to promote Bosnia and Herzegovina in its new homeland and represents in the best possible way. From the other side, Czech society is well known for its involvement at all kinds of cultural events.

For establishing logical interaction, missing link was only institutional coordination. 2005, year of the opening of B&H Embassy in Prague, was the very convenient moment for the “kick off” of interaction between Czech public society and B&H Embassy activities in the field of public diplomacy.

This presentation is a small chronology; witch on the specific way witnesses the bright example of the multidimensional achievements of the B&H contemporary public diplomacy.

## Cultural Events Review

- Opening ceremony of the B&H Embassy in Prague.
- Promotion of the poetry collection *Sarajevo Writings and Other Poems* by Stevan Tontić, Prague.
- Painting exhibition by three B&H painters, Prague.
- Photo and painting exhibition *Bosnia on Photographs* by Rudolf Bruner-Dvoržak, Brno.
- Paintings and documents’ exhibition by painters Helena Vančurova and Aldin Popaja, Prague.
- Exhibition *Recycling on the Sarajevo Art Scene*, Bratislava.
- Concert of Ambassadors, Prague.
- Exhibition *Modern B&H Painters* at the Painters Association Gallery of Slovakia, Bratislava.
- Exhibition of the B&H painter Safet Zec, Prague.
- Exhibition of the B&H photographer Milomir Kovačević, Prague.

- Exhibition *Portraits* by the B&H painter Mario Mikulić, Pieštani.
- Exhibition *Paintings* by the B&H painter Nerica Abdulić Osmančević, Prague.
- Exhibition *Watercolors* by the B&H painter Enver Krupić, Prague.
- Film projections *Three – Tri* by Goran Dević, and *Informative Conversations – Informativni razgovor* by Namik Kabil, Prague.
- Film projections within the International Film Festival *New Waves – New Ways*, Prague.

## Note

Purposely skipping, because of shortage of time, valuable facts regarding numerous beforehand mentioned B&H Embassy activities, like opening ceremony, promotion of poetry, ten pressures painting and photo exhibitions, concerts and film projections, I would like to present here some deep impacts and impressions of participants, stressing the importance of cultural events, an important content of public diplomacy as an unavoidable part of contemporary diplomacy.

## The Words of Visitors

### Introduction

All the cultural events, organized during this four year period, brought big attention and lot of visitors. People were excited waiting for the new events, repeated encounters with the friends and expecting new acquaintances.

### Interpretations of Impressions

#### **Jiri Kudela, former Czech ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina**

To Bosnia and Herzegovina Czech culture has always been one of the favorite keys for entering wide field of European culture as a whole. On the other hand for the Czechs, culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina has always been interesting as an inspiration as well as a way for cultural enrichment. In conclusion, culture is most logic space for exercising bilateral mutuality. Our two embassies are on the right track in terms of utilizing this opportunity.

**Dr. Franisek Mikes, Deputy Minister, Czech Ministry of Culture**

Eleven Safet Zec paintings have changed my view about Bosnia. These paintings have reminded me that Bosnia is not just part of evening TV news but a country with its own culture where talented artists are growing up and whose artistic achievements are reflecting the same perception and values of life that we have. That is why we need to keep developing cultural cooperation between two countries having in mind that we have to see reflection of the others in the uncovered mirror.

**H.E. Mr. Franc But, Ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia**

Besides strengthening political relations and economic cooperation among countries, one of the very important areas of activities of each embassy is organizing various cultural events. The B&H Embassy has been very active in this area in the last several years. Numerous actions which represented works of different authors and artists were a good opportunity to get mutually better acquainted with the richness of diverse creations of this country. In this metropolis of the world's culture, what Prague is, in the mosaic of the world's cultural events, it is very important that everybody add their own and recognizable artistic contribution. With the significant strain ambassador Orlić invested and the engagement of enthusiasts involved, the B&H Embassy has accomplished it... indeed, and it has been confirmed by the great interest of the numerous visitors.

**Igor Čokorilo, Journalist**

The B&H Embassy with a great help of some individuals has commenced an extremely vivid activity on organizing painting exhibitions. Those exhibitions have become a place not only for affirmation of both B&H and the Czech artists and their works but it has also become a place where people have spontaneously expressed their cultural and geographical affiliation towards the country named – B&H. Once again, the art has shown itself being our destiny, our pride, good cause to provoke memories. Perhaps this is going to seem very insignificant to someone, but it is that tiny grain of sand which the wind sometimes inserts in our eye.

**Nada Govedarica, MA**

For us who have been living in the Czech Republic for a longer period of time, this four-year long period of the B&H Embassy's activities in Prague, have meant a new mode of contacts with our homeland, it represented a good source of information and also cultural meetings and unforgettable socializing. It is important to mention the significant number and the variety of actions, sensible and proficient choice of authors, and above all, an excellent organization. Each exhibition has represented something special. Not only that those manifestations have brought us closer together, but they brought colors and scents of the home to our souls, they brought us the sound of the sea and the atmosphere of certain far

away towns and landscapes that have been seen by the eyes of our artists. Close encounter with the works of **Safet Zec** represented something extraordinary for me. Well organized exhibition of probably the most famous living B&H painter in one of the most attractive exhibition halls in Prague – really provokes admiration! I was so happy for having the opportunity to show my Czech friends only a small piece of the artistic opus by the artists from my homeland, those artists whose paintings I carry in my inner being. I have come several times to see the exhibition together with my friends.

### **Lidija Grebo**

Let the experts make an assessment of political and economic results of the B&H Embassy in Prague, headed by the Ambassador, Ivan Orlić. I would like to use this opportunity to say a few words about those activities of the B&H diplomatic team which are very important for creating a *general impression* about one country and its citizens – I am referring to organization of numerous extraordinary exhibitions, concerts, film projections, etc. By their great endeavors, they succeed in representing Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Czech public as a country in which very smart, talented and interesting people are creatively engaged, as a country which represents an inseparable part of the European cultural heritage... I want to thank them so much for that.

### **Edib Jaganjac, Medical Doctor**

The best way of bringing nations closer together, for their mutual better understanding is by bringing their cultures closer together. It always results in mutual respect because in other nation's cultures we are always able to find some fragments of our own. For this reason I regard each action which is being undertaken in that direction as a needed and good one. We have become aware of this, here in the Czech Republic, by all the actions that were organized by the B&H Embassy.

### **Ljubomir Jakšić, Journalist**

Along with what the main task of each diplomatic mission – to represent its own country within the host country – the B&H Embassy has engaged itself with one more but not less important task: In an atmosphere which is still lightly overburdened by historical memories, the B&H Embassy has done its best in helping B&H people who live in the Czech Republic to build the bridge of good communications with Czech people, and all of these through affirmation of culture.

### **Jana Jaskmanická, Doctor of Pedagogy**

*A Painting* – I heard for this word in 2006, for the first time. One March evening the premises of the B&H Embassy looked totally different. All its walls

were covered with paintings – some of them big and the others small. It was imaginative, modern, energetic and multifarious. I was impatiently waiting for this idea to be repeated? And it did. In a small baroque palace in the very heart of Prague. Canvases with many-colors bouquets and canvases with so many people on them – it was so friendly and fresh. That was the moment I realized that each new action with B&H scenario will be powerful event and not an everyday opportunity for us to understand a little bit better people who come from B&H. In the fall of 2007, organizers who were gathered around the B&H Embassy showed us how their creativity had no limits. It is not enough only to watch – we need to listen to our friends too. And then – *Deaf Dancing from the Glamoč Area* – “Deaf”?!?! Yes, because one was left speechless with its beauty. And it has turned into something regular with each new presentation of B&H painters, with their magnificent palette and human dimensions.

### **Dulsa and Suad Hadžić**

We, Bosnians and Hercegovinians, often seemed to ourselves and probably to the others too, as a boat without compass and the mother harbour. We have found that harbour within the B&H Embassy. We have got the opportunity to present B&H through exhibitions, concerts and other manifestations, as a part of European tradition and cultural heritage what B&H actually has always been.

### **Omer Karabeg, Journalist**

I think that the B&H Embassy, in the previous four years, has done a lot in affirming B&H culture in the Czech Republic. The best representation for each country is through its culture and the B&H Embassy with its modest financial funds but with a great enthusiasm of its members have managed to show to the Czech public at least one small piece of the B&H culture and its rich cultural tradition and heritage.

### **Bohuslava Marková**

Each Embassy has many assignments but the best thing embassy could do for its country, as well as for the host country, is to organize cultural events which present its artists. Therefore, I appreciate very much the exhibitions of B&H painters and photographs here in Prague, and those, led by life circumstances to Czech Republic or to some other countries. Their works have always been not only the evidence of exceptional talents, but they witness, in a special way, about the bonds they have with B&H. All the exhibitions were excellently organized and were very interesting, not only thematically, but by interesting encounters they have enabled. So, I am very grateful to the B&H Embassy for spreading such a good impression about its country within our country. I would like to add that this type of manifestations should continue in future times too, because they have been very useful not only for Bosnians and Herzegovinians, who live here,

but for us Czech people too. The art is the bridge for bringing closer these two countries.

**Jasenka Medenčević, Psychotherapist and Hadis Medenčević, IT Consultant**

The current comprehensive political and economic situation in B&H leads people to sluggishness, lethargy and to a general notion that nothing can be changed for the better. This kind of approach is both destructive and untrue. The last four years – the period of the B&H Embassy’s existence in Prague – are the best proof that with the limited funds but with a great will and enthusiasm small manifestations could become very important cultural events. We are especially proud for the fact that all cultural events which were organized by the B&H Embassy were colored by the B&H multi-ethnicity, which is so specific for B&H, and at the same time they were of the highest artistic value. All exhibitions, concerts and films, we have the opportunity to see here, did us a great honor, but, above all, it was a great achievement and honor for the B&H Embassy, and of course for all the artists who participated. At the end, we would like to pay our respect to the B&H Embassy staff for their engagement and their enthusiasm, and because they have proved us that the B&H diplomacy could function in such a way which provokes the feelings of pride among us, B&H citizens here, and a feeling of our readiness to help and to be engaged in some future projects, promoting our common homeland.

**Tatjana Micić, Ph.D.**

I am not so-called *Yugo-Nostalgic*, yet I think that it is of mutual benefit to maintain the contacts among those who are close, regardless the differences and eventual unpleasant experiences which inevitably come with historical flow. Diversities, changes, tolerance, mutual understanding and recognition – these are all concepts we should think about and learn their essential meanings – again and again. I think that it is exactly where the B&H Embassy made a success – with its cultural events they have organized during this pretty short time of the B&H Embassy’s existence in the Czech Republic: by gathering all nations from the former Yugoslavia, Czechs and Slovaks and the others too, offering us the opportunity to contemplate on similarities and diversities, offering us a possibility for better mutual understanding, and opening those inevitable issues of the present time – issues of identity and belonging. The world is big enough for all us and the beauty of the world lies in its diversity. It is necessary for those who understand the comprehensive meanings of these thoughts to permanently engage themselves and thus to make the world a pleasant place of living for all of us.

## Conclusion

### **H.E. Mr. Ivan Orlić, Ambassador, MA**

Through the first four years of B&H Embassy's existence in this city we built the bridge. Not from the stone but from words, culture, exhibitions, concerts, films and tribunes. Across it walk our citizens in this beautiful and friendly country, curious hosts and foreign colleagues from the Diplomatic Core.

*With courtesy of H.E. Mr. Ivan Orlić, first B&H ambassador in Prague (2005 – 2009)*



# Macedonian Chairmanship to the Council of Europe

Lenche Mitevaska-Avramova\*

I would like to give a contribution to this Forum and especially to the public diplomacy of the Republic of Macedonia with this brief information about the Macedonian Chairing with the Council of Europe. As the Chair country of the Council of Europe, let me present you the Macedonian priorities that we will pursue the following six months.

Figuratively speaking, each chairmanship tends to be a bridge between the former and the succeeding Chairmanship, and as bridges connect two sides, provide communication between two banks of a river; similarly chairmanships are to secure smooth functioning of the Committee of Ministers by providing a logical continuity in the activities of the decision-making body of the Council of Europe. And as bridges are the symbol of connecting people and forging stronger ties, our organization has contributed also to building greater unity among peoples. Ever since its foundation the Council of Europe has remained the leading force for integration on the European continent. It deserves to be described as the *Common European Home*, since the Council of Europe provides protection for the human rights of more than 800 million Europeans.

Our Chairmanship coincides with the year marking the **60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the European Convention on Human Rights**. This has inspired us to draft our Chairmanship's priorities starting from with most unique and recognizable legal instrument of the Council of Europe, which has influenced the development of the Organizations' legal apparatus. The need to strengthen human rights protection is particularly relevant in these challenging times when economies suffer and European citizens are faced with a decline in the standard of living. This is the time when we have to rethink and reinforce the system of human rights protection at the national level and at the level of the Organization. We have to make the best use of the existing resources and monitoring mechanisms in order to reach the maximum effect. That is why our priorities rely on and

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\* Director, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Skopje, Macedonia.

emphasize a cooperative approach, an approach that can be beneficial for the national authorities, but also for the Organization itself, especially in light of the reform process initiated by the Secretary General.

Another reform which is strongly needed, referred to in our priorities, is the reform of the European Court of Human Rights. The Interlaken process has set up deadlines for actions to be undertaken by State Parties, the Court and the Committee of Ministers for an effective implementation of the Interlaken Declaration and Action Plan.

As our contribution towards the Interlaken process, the Macedonian Ministry of Justice will organize a conference on the topic **“Strengthening subsidiarity: integrating the Court’s case-law in the national law and practice”** in November 2010. Participants from all member-states of the Council of Europe will be invited to take part in this event and contribute towards a productive discussion on this very important issue related to the reform of the European Human Rights Court. Let me remind you that ensuring the continued effectiveness of the European Human Rights Convention, strengthening the principle of subsidiarity by fully integrating the Convention into national legal systems in order to secure its direct application, as well as the Court’s case-law, are the decision we have adopted at this Ministerial session.

Our second priority focuses on the **multiculturalism in Europe** and the effort to achieve more integrated and cohesive societies, while respecting all types of diversities that exist in our societies (cultural, ethnic, linguistic, etc.). While the Council of Europe has set standards in this area, in parallel we need to learn more from the ever-changing reality in Europe. In our action we should not be bound exclusively by the legal framework of the Organisation that is at our disposal because relying only on the legalistic approach could not provide answers to the raising challenges of the political realities in our countries. Neither is it in consistency with the greater political role the Council of Europe wants to play in today’s and future Europe. The combination of both approaches is a recipe for successfully coping with the new challenges and, here, the expert monitoring mechanisms of the Organization play a significant role.

We hope that this idea of cooperation, synergy and complementarities within the Organization and with other international partners will be promoted too at the Conference organized by the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 7–8 June in Skopje, with a focus on **“Strengthening the cohesion of European societies: effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in the decision-making process”**. The goal of inviting State Parties and those that are not Parties to the Framework Convention on National Minorities to this Conference is to learn more from each other on how to have better integrative policies.

There are some who think that the Council of Europe needs rejuvenation. Therefore, one of the Macedonian priorities promotes youth participation in the region of South East Europe. We consider this initiative important since it brings a new opportunity for young people in South East Europe to break with the turbulent past and to build stronger ties among them. The concept of the process, to be launched in Ohrid on 10–11 September, centred on providing an organized setting for exchange of views of young people, which could further foster their participation in the political processes and democratic reforms in their respective countries. It has been conceptualised to offer shared ownership by all the countries of South East Europe ensuring thus their interest in participating. This initiative comes at a time when the Region is taking new and progressive course in shaping its future based on the Council of Europe standards. Let us hope that the enthusiasm and the energy of young people will spread all over the Region and will transform it into prosperous South East Europe. I call on the countries from the Region to embrace this process and to support it as actively as possible. Here, we will need the support of other countries beyond our Region to share with us their experiences and to help us sustain the process.

I sincerely hope that Macedonia will be able to bring our **specific contribution** to the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers and to communicate our political messages which bear the national and regional stamp. I am particularly glad that our priorities fit well into the reform process initiated by Secretary General Jagland, the success of which should be our joint endeavour.



# Defence Diplomacy Training

Davor Čutić\*

In past twenty years military diplomacy has changed its role. Through the history military has its role for internal and external purposes.

For internal *domestic* purposes, military has its role to:

- deter – with large military capacities, personnel number, weapons and other material equipment, reduce the *appetite* for aggression of neighbors;
- defend – in the case of aggression to protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- assist to the civilian authorities – in case of natural or man made disasters.

The role abroad was:

- to conquer directed by political interests (military units in role of expansion policy of the territory or to help the allies);
- in military diplomacy – officers of armed forces in diplomatic mission in role of advisers to the ambassador on military and defense issues, as point of contact in receiving country with ministry of defense and armed forces;
- in intelligence environment – collect information for intelligence community of sending country.

Today the role of military diplomatic personnel has change. The change in the light of membership in international organizations: UN, NATO, EU, OESS... were the preconditions in change of philosophy of military as whole, and specifically in the area of work of military diplomatic representatives.

The new approach in military engagement did not change for internal purpose but its role has significantly changed for external purpose. Additional value of membership in international organizations was lesser need for large standing army where the deterrence is gained by membership in alliance.

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\* Director, Department for International Defence Cooperation, Ministry of Defence, Zagreb, Croatia.

The role and engagement of military of the countries in the alliance turned into peacemaking as the tool of international organizations to prevent or stop conflicts and maintain peace in crises areas and fallen states according the UN resolutions and operationalization of resolution implementing forces.

Military diplomatic representatives function for better bilateral cooperation or in multilateral military bodies of international organizations. The role of military representatives has changed from standard military diplomatic role in wider context where operating area significantly changed.

Here are some of the broad **activities' areas of military diplomacy**:

- **Joint exercises** – to exercise the joint actions through better coordination of skills and capabilities with creation of join standards;
- **Defense Attaché (DA)** represents more countries – represents several countries in activities of mutual interest and with this approach accredited attaché has more power of action in receiving state;
- **Joint assistance** actions – two countries through military diplomacy representatives jointly act towards third state offering financial assistance/ assistance in kind;
- **Specialists' Joint assistance in fallen states reconstruction** – Specialists – assistance through specialist working in defense system of partner country to improve and develop certain organization or functional area;
- **Embedded military personnel** – embedded officers work in the partner country military organization as regular personnel of host country;
- **Defense industry sales**;
- **Ship visits** – during the ship visits of the navy to the ports of partner countries the sailors contribute to the local community with building or refurbishing the local administration infrastructure and many others.

## Defense Diplomacy School

For the purpose to prepare military and civilian personnel for new duties and challenges, Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia initiated International Defense Diplomacy School. The school started with it s new curriculum this year for, military and civilian personnel and foreign participants. The working language is English and works in cooperation with the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations. The lecturers in the school are reputable Croatian and foreign lecturers from the area of defense and international relations (MOD, MFA, academic community) from Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland and NATO. The school

accepts 24 participants, of which up to 12 could be foreign participants from the region and wider. In previous years the school attended students from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Ukraine. The full program is 12 weeks with modular approach. Ad to this comprehensive approach, for the next year the Croatian Defense Academy is developing additional *predeployment modules* in spring and autumn and senior official course with flexible curriculum.

## Purpose and Topics

The purpose of the program is to educate officers, NGOs and civil servants in the area of international relations with an emphasis on defense diplomacy through the following unit topics:

- Organization of MOD bodies in the area of international defense cooperation,
- International organizations (UN, NATO, EU, OESS),
- International relations,
- Diplomatic rights and techniques,
- Organization and working methods of diplomatic and defense diplomatic missions,
- Financial management,
- Protocol activities,
- Psychology,
- Mental capability training,
- Communication Skills and Public Appearance,
- Relation of the Defense Attaché (DA) to security intelligence services,
- Basic principles of intelligence work,
- Basics of personal security and family protection,
- Office security,
- Open source analysis,
- Second language (English or French) and
- Program with spouses.

## Methods of Evaluating Participants

During the program participants are evaluated through practical exercises from topics of the units and final written and oral exam in front of a committee which evaluates: **1.** Knowledge, **2.** Resourcefulness and **3.** Appearance and

behavior. Throughout the program students are monitored through their activities and behavior during the course, course attendance, fulfilling obligations.

## Objective

The objective is to affirm the MOD and AF in an untraditional military environment prepare personnel for new challenges and create a basis required for filling positions in: **1.** military diplomatic network, **2.** NATO and EU and **3.** in MOD and AF organizational units.

## Organization of the Education

1. Croatian Defense Academy in cooperation with M1/IDCD,
2. Carried out at the Croatian Defense Academy,
3. Denmark sponsored foreign participants.

## Conclusion

Due to expansion of international military cooperation and the modern conception of the role of military diplomacy, the future of military diplomatic education implies an optimal coverage of all relevant aspects of defense and security area, and other areas as well, that are essential for successful, efficient and dignified presentation of country through military diplomacy.



# Diplomatic Training in Central and East European Countries: Some Lessons of the Hanns Seidel Foundation

Aleksandra Markić Boban\*

## Introduction

To say that the main task of the Hanns Seidel Foundation in Croatia or other CEE countries is diplomatic training would be false. To say the Hanns Seidel Foundation is present in CEE countries in order to foster diplomatic training would be equally false. Yet through its activities the Hanns Seidel Foundation has contributed with its work in CEE to the diplomatic training in a variety of ways which could prove as an addition to in-career training through non-state actors to the training offered by diplomatic academies or like institutions.

## What is the Hanns Seidel Foundation

The Hanns Seidel Foundation is a German political foundation (**GPF**) whose main aim is political adult education. The HSF occupies together with other German political foundations perhaps a most unique status in that they are at the crossroad between the official politics and civil society. The foundations in its work abroad compose a net of German public diplomacy.

## History – after Second World War

The German political foundations were established by the political parties in the late 1950s and early 1960s as instruments to foster adult political education and to promote democratic values. There is a consensus in Germany that only a politically educated citizen can make right decisions at the election and it is also the only means which enable citizens for social and political engagement.

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\* Project Coordinator, Hanns Seidel Foundation, Zagreb, Croatia.

## Development Policy – a Distinct Component of Overall German Foreign Policy

GPF got engaged in providing developing aid after the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development was founded in 1961. This is also the beginning of German development policy which was carried out in the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. With it the role of the political foundations was extended to foreign policy instruments.

German foreign policy acts through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt). A variety of actors make the German foreign policy, one of the most recognizable actors are the German political foundations which “represent worldwide one of the most interesting instruments of such a foreign policy which is based on civil influence”.

The experience, expertise and skills they gained in development policy in formerly mentioned countries enabled them to provide necessary help in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the communist system. Since the Fall of Iron Curtain the German political foundations have commenced their work in Central and Eastern European Countries. Their scope of activities encompassed almost all levels and fields of societies. They were one of the first institutions which opened their offices already in the countries of Central and Eastern European countries in late 80s and early 90s with the aim of supporting them to overcome transitional difficulties, helping them establish and strengthen democratic structures as well as provide help and support on the way to the EU and NATO.

### Regarding Financing

They are financed largely from the federal budget through the BMZ (Federal Ministry for economic cooperation and development), and partly by AA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The Bundestag approves the budget. GPF are closely linked to the political system of the Federal Republic of Germany in the sense that BMZ has to approve the projects of the foundations for each country and allocate funds.

### Conclusion

Political foundations occupy the unique status of publicly funded NGOs. They are established by the parties, but legally and financially they are independent from the parties. They are aligned to parties, but more ideologically

and on a personal level. Member of parties are usually in the executive board of a foundation. Relation to party is foremost ideologically and personally. It should be pointed out that the activities of the foundations are not in any way defined by the parties.

They support the process of democratization through commissioned policy studies, consultancies, the provision of short and long-term experts, field trips to neighbouring countries, Germany and Brussels, scholarships, the production of teaching materials, and the organization and funding of seminars, symposia, workshops, and serve often as a platform for dialogue or forum for topics that have been overlooked or deliberately ignored in target countries. They try to assist in consolidating post-conflict and transformation democracies through maintenance of offices in partner countries. For example our foundation is present in more than 70 countries world-wide.

Their position **on the border line between civil society and official policy** is what makes them different from other NGOs. This provides flexibility to Germany's democracy promotion policies. In those cases where, due to strategic, economic, or diplomatic concerns, the *official* hands of the German government are tied, political foundations serve as the ideal vehicle for democracy promotion. They can continue there where the official diplomacy would be considered as intruding in the domestic affairs of the hosting country.

Through their relation to political parties they are also part of domestic, foreign and international policy, however they act as NGO. In the project countries there is hardly a major civil or political group to which working contact is not established. Five political foundations, when present in a country with their offices, cover not only the whole of parliamentary spectrum, governmental bodies, units of local self-administration, but also universities and scientific institutions, media, trade unions, civil society sector and partly economical sector.

So networking of the GPF offices in the world is perhaps a unique social and political network *sui generis*. This enables them to be flexible establishing all sorts of contracts and also to mediate positions and interests, even of both sides. GPF served also as a model for establishing similar foundations in other countries as well, Austria, Sweden, Netherlands, Hungary, Croatia... All together they build the Network of the European political foundations. Those European foundations which share the same values form an association of foundations within the EU, such as Center for European Studies, political foundation of the European Peoples Party.

To conclude, **the GPF are a relevant actor in the spectrum of German foreign policy** in that they:

- provide information basis and communication network of foreign policy;
- enrich German presence, its political offer and its profile internationally;

- represent various values, ideas and concepts;
- have different ways of influence of German foreign policy.

So in the very sense of the meaning they are recognized instruments and actors of German foreign policy.

## Introduction in Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

It is a common place that the position of the national state has significantly changed by the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The global interdependence of states has grown whereas the influence of the national state alone has somewhat decreased. The role of non-state actors and networks on the international scene has increased. So the vocation of a diplomat has changed as well. Diplomats today have to be interconnected with the non-governmental actors more than ever before.

However, not only diplomacy and the diplomatic vocation changed significantly since the end of 20<sup>st</sup> century but a diplomatic training as well. Globalization has affected the way the foreign policy works. The role of national states in the international politics is weakening whereas the multi stakeholder politics is gaining ground.

As Talbott says, global interdependence is affecting the way virtually all governments think about international relations and practice diplomacy. International affairs are not solely a government affair. As Sucharipa mentioned it traditional diplomacy cannot shut out NGOs activities. Foreign policy is done, according to *Geoffry Wiseman*, at the international, multilateral and polyilateral level.

## Diplomatic Training

States are not more the sole subjects of international relations. There is a multitude of different actors engaged in international affairs. NGOs gain a new role in a way that they can represent a democratic element much needed for diplomacy to retain its legitimacy. Diplomats act in a new environment, not any more within limited and closed diplomatic circles (*Kurbalija*). They interact with an increasing number of professional groups: officials from other ministries, business people, journalists, civil society activists, representatives of professional groups and associations. So the diplomat of the future will need to operate at the bilateral level, the multilateral level and increasingly the poly lateral level.

What the **German political foundations** may provide in the field of diplomatic training, and have so far done in the countries they were asked for

it, is an addition to in-career training. Especially from the background of their flexibility and ability to provide cross sectional as well as multi-stakeholder approach.

It is not prescribed for the German political foundations to be active in the field of diplomatic training. The methods used include seminars like the Seminar of European Integration Processes for young diplomats, also rhetoric and communication seminars, targeted seminars on specific issues such as European External Service or Treaty of Lisbon, study trips to Brussels. The foundation tries to include diplomats in other activities with other partners such as the Atlantic Council regarding seminars on NATO, conferences and summer schools aiming at developing networks among young leaders from the region, where they have the opportunity to connect with journalists, economists, scientists and party members and in this way encouraging international and cross-sectoral cooperation. Some conferences serve as a platform for dialogue and exchange of ideas, others enable the countries in the region to get involved in envisaging the future of European integration process or Euro-Atlantic relations supporting them to be actors and not only affected by those processes.

## HSS – in the Service of Freedom, Development and Prosperity

The Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF) is one of the six German political foundations, the only Bavarian foundation, founded in 1967 in Munich with the aim to foster political adult education. With this task it is present in more than 70 countries worldwide with more than 90 projects.

The Hanns Seidel Foundation started its work **in Croatia** in 1996 and opened its office in Zagreb at the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1997. The aim of its work in Croatia is to support the then young democracy in setting up and strengthening democratic structures, overcoming transitional difficulties and to provide its help and support on the way to the EU as well as to promote its integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. The foundation has done it in cooperation with a wide variety of partners in Croatia: Constitutional court, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Police academy, Association of Cities and Municipalities, Universities in Zagreb and Rijeka, political foundations, Institute for International Relations, Center for Catholic Social Teaching and others.

However, one of the first partners was the Diplomatic Academy of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integrations. When the foundation commenced its cooperation with the Academy in 1997 Croatia was in a specific situation – Croatia's Foreign Service started anew in the early 90ies, the Diplomatic Academy itself was founded in 1994, it was a post-war time and Croatia was exposed to some extent to international isolation.

## Networking of Professionals

One of the first projects of the Hanns Seidel Foundation in Croatia was the seminar for young diplomats from Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe upon the initiative of the **Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs** and its director, Ambassador Andrić. In those days it was important for Croatia to become an active participant in its image-making in order to position itself as an open European country and that was one of the reasons why Ambassador Andrić has approached us and proposed this – as it proved later – very successful project.

Dubrovnik was the right place to choose for this seminar serial being a cradle of centuries-old diplomacy. The first written document of the Dubrovnik diplomacy can be found already in 1272 in the Dubrovnik Statute, stating the role of envoys and the need to establish diplomatic courier service, while the codes dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contain many provisions on the structure and organisation of the diplomatic and consular service. The seminar was envisaged to deepen the insight into the European integration process. It first started at the time when Croatia was exposed to international isolation at the end of last century. This was one of the ways to improve an international image of Croatia. Topics concerning different aspects of the European integration processes were discussed such as regional economic cooperation in countries in transition, introduction of Euro, enlargement of the European Union, CFSP, introduction into negotiation tactics with multilateral negotiation workshop. Lecturers are experienced diplomats and professors from Germany, Austria and Croatia. There will be further more one from Bulgaria and Hungary, Slovenia, Netherlands and other countries. Up to now more as 400 diplomats attended the seminar. This *Dubrovnik model* proved a good and useful additional training for diplomats so the model was transported to other countries as well. A similar serial of diplomatic seminars in a form of a winter school of diplomacy was set up in Bulgaria, carried out by the Hanns Seidel Foundation, Bulgarian Diplomatic Academy and Central European Initiative encompassing young diplomats from the Black Sea Region under the title: Aspects of the Security Policy in the Countries from South East Europe and the Black Sea Region.

## Instead of a Conclusion

There are a lot of quotations about diplomacy, but one seems to be appropriate for the diplomacy and diplomatic training of today: diplomacy is like a weaving of a carpet – you do a lot of knots but proceed in a millimetre steps forward. To be a good diplomat, one needs a lot of skills. The Hanns Seidel Foundation with its activities offers a tiny, but useful knot.

# Workshop on Public Diplomacy in the CEI Region for Junior Diplomats: Shaping Public Attitudes towards NATO and EU Integration

Vivian S. Walker and Robert Post\*

We challenged the junior diplomats to create a public diplomacy strategy to shape public attitudes towards NATO and EU integration in their respective countries. The following are their observations, conclusions and recommendations.

- Define the issue and the audience and develop appropriate messages and tools.
- Build effective social networks within and links to key audiences.
- Define national interests at the outset.
- Develop consolidated messages, as well as messages that are true and realistic in nature.
- Draw on existing models and experiences in the region in order to avoid making the same mistakes, avoid duplication of effort and build on accumulated wisdom.
- Effective market research through focus group and polling to define the issues and design effective messages.
- Incorporate elements of national identity into the messaging.
- Articulate the costs as well as the benefits of a particular policy or strategy and provide a framework for constructive, open debate that explores both sides of the issue.
- Address media reactions, especially negative stories, immediately and honestly.
- Employ cutting edge social media tools such as face book and twitter while at the same time employing more traditional outreach tools such as newsletters, list serves and networking events.

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\* Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy in Zagreb, Croatia.

- The need for focused, interactive training to develop PD skills within diplomatic corps.

I encourage the junior diplomats in the region to form a core group to share PD strategies, best practices, experiences, resources, etc. and to build on each other's efforts to create a regional body of expertise on PD.



# DDF 2010 Discussions: Summaries Prepared by Junior Diplomats

## **Working Session 1: Public Diplomacy, Its Strategy and Tactics**

### **Petra Zupančič, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Slovenia**

Traditionally, the game of power in politics was about whose military or economics would win. In today's information age, politics is also about whose story wins and more important, if it is understood in the way the storyteller wants it to be.

**Vivian S. Walker**, Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy in Zagreb, tried to present us the challenges American Public Diplomacy is facing today and which include the above mentioned dilemma, t.i. how to inform the foreign public about the USA story in terms that are understandable and how to provide others with truthful and credible information. First she started with some history of USA public diplomacy, speaking about United States Information Agency, which was established in 1953 and some 46 years later closed down and disbanded as an agency. Its people, programs and resources were folded into the Department of State. However, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 the need for effective public diplomacy took on new urgency. The Americans couldn't understand the depth of hatred behind the attacks and thus needed a new strategy of public diplomacy. The Americans feel compelled to explain themselves, to tell their story, because they want to influence how their audiences respond to them and in that sense, public diplomacy is about the practice of influence. The USA is confronted with hatred and disapproval of their policies all around the world. And that is the crux of America's public diplomacy challenge. The perception of the United States is shaped by its policies and their impact on their primary audiences, so the main role of the public diplomacy practitioners is to explain their policies in candid, accessible terms and not to justify them in moral and cultural terms, nor to persuade others of their rightness. USA should be engaged in developing and promoting partners and not ideological adherents, and rather to preach to foreign public about greatness of their values, they should practice them. To sum up, Ms. Vivian's view of public diplomacy is to provide access to information, education, training and experience that will in time enable the people of a nation to make change in their own time and on their own terms.

**Lisen Bashkurti**, President of the Albanian Diplomatic Academy, Tirana, presented his view of the Democratization of the Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy in the Western Balkans, which are integral parts of overall democratization process of the entire state and society and cannot be separated from other aspects of democracy. He started with historical background, explaining the two main trends: conspiracy diplomacy, which prevailed in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and populism, which was transformed into machinery of totalitarian leaders to pave the way to Second World War. These historical experiences can partly still be realized as alive in different shapes and levels in the Western Balkans, due to many contradictory dynamics that characterized the Balkans in the 90's. The dissolution of Former Yugoslavia by political fragmentation through bloody confrontation, the establishment of newly independent states, transformation of political system from totalitarian to democracy, integration to Euro-Atlantic institutions and free markets reforms happened within very limited time in a rather small region. These dramatic changes dissolved bad legacy from the past, such as nationalism and racism, totalitarian mentality and populism with western democratic values. As a result two main negative legacies have been presented overall the Western Balkans concerning foreign policy and public diplomacy during its transition: the lack of transparency and populism by provoking mass rallies in very critical times. Newly established legitimate democratic institutions, factors and actors – influence foreign policy making through dividing power and through diverse, plural political system and society, thus avoiding bad legacies from the past. The consolidation of modern democratic political system is gradual and takes very long time, needs much energy and faces a lot of challenges. Democracy creates grounds for individuals and groups to be involved in foreign policy making through sovereign legitimate and democratic institutions as well as through direct participation, by public opinion, media, civil society, think tanks, academics and prominent and influential individuals.

### **Working Session 3: Public Diplomacy and Media**

#### **Milena Mitić, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Serbia**

**Věra Jeřábková**, Deputy Director of Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Czech Republic – Czech Republic is not well presented and concise concept of public diplomacy does not exist, nor the systematic approach. They do have diplomatic representations abroad, information centre, tourism offices and trade centre. Also, presence of some people, like sportsman, is strong enough to be competitive. Initiative to establish Commission for Communication was unsuccessful and creation of an Agency is seen as expensive project. To sum up, content is not yet defined because each body sees it differently and Czech Republic does not have concept of public diplomacy.

**Hrvoje Kanta**, Head of Department for Diplomatic Training, MFA, Bosnia and Herzegovina – Public diplomacy does not have specific place in B&H foreign policy, it does not straighten the foreign diplomacy. Some changes come up with more active diplomatic representations abroad and a good example is case of Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prague. Embassy supported unique interaction of Bosnia and Herzegovina diaspora in Czech Republic. In the Embassy framework, they organize a lot of cultural activities like exhibitions, concerts, guest visits, special evenings etc. It is assessed by its diaspora by saying that it is a new mode of contacts with their homeland. To sum up, there is no *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, but in practice they have some good examples. Public diplomacy in these two countries is not developed enough. There are good examples, but in order to have national branding they need strategic concept and organized structure.

#### **Vesna Vercon Ivić, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Serbia**

**Andrea Gustović-Ercegovac**, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Croatia – We are living in time of localization and globalization in the same time. Instead of close-mind, we all need open-mind strategy and new significant of national branding is reality. Main things that Croatia should base its national branding are: beautiful, untouched, sunny, thousand islands, paradise, reserved nature, rich in culture and historical heritage. We can compare countries based on their presence in media – in positive news and negative news; there are three groups of countries: rich, big countries, smaller countries and countries in Western Balkan region (which are not enough presented in media and should work on their branding).

**Sanja Bach**, Spokeswoman, Ministry of Finance, Croatia – We are surrounded by branding, we live in a world of brands and we have to have a brand; important parts of the brand are: tourism, people, culture and heritage, export, governance, investment and immigration. People are always looking for a new brand, but global branding is a war. In promotion of national brandings it's very important to have attractive slogan (for example, *Smile, you are in Spain*). Croatia is recognizable by: tourism, sport results, natural beauties and nice places to visit. Problem in good branding is absence of the *umbrella* for branding that should consider of government and private sector. Branding is not developed enough in all countries in the region and we should all work harder on strong, clear and attractive identity, promotion and effective diplomacy.

## **Working Session 4: Public Diplomacy and Diplomatic Training**

### **Ioana Cristina Mihail, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Romania**

This Session started with an overview of the evolution of public diplomacy starting from self promotion, going through propaganda during the Cold War and finally in present days – adapted to the public needs and actively communicating in every possible way in order to modify the way we talk by the way the public listens. In that respect, training in public diplomacy is very important for EU member states because of the need for the creation of EU identity. Then we had an introduction to the 5 new actors on the international scene that cannot and should not be ignored when talking about public diplomacy. They are as follows: big multinational companies, the media, powerful individuals, rebel groups, NGOs. Each and every one of them has to be approached by its own way because the task of public diplomacy is to open doors and to allow diplomats to be able to talk to everyone. From the global point we went local by identifying the need for a common Balkan strategy for public diplomacy of the region which can only be achieved by overcoming the differences in the name of a greater common cause – creating a positive image of the Balkan Peninsula – a region known for centuries as *The Powder Keg of the Balkans*. On a more concrete level, the priorities of Macedonian chairmanship of the Council of Europe shall be marked by continuity, cooperative approach and active multiculturalism. In terms of diplomatic training, new opportunities arise as it becomes more and more open for a wide variety of audiences even for a close institution as the military. The Defense Diplomacy Training organized by the Ministry of Defense of Croatia is nowadays open for people from all over the world and provides the participants with a 12-week program that includes essential information for Military Attaches and for those working in close connection with the military.

**Alexander Titolo**, Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy in Podgorica, Montenegro – The presentation underlined the importance of social media tools in the communication activities of a ministry of foreign affairs. Mr. Alex Titolo revealed the importance of incorporating communication channels such as Twitter, Youtube, Flickr, Facebook, official blogs, web chats in public diplomacy strategies, by using the example of the US Embassy in Podgorica, Montenegro. The advantages of those media are that they are user-friendly and cost effective, they reach broad audiences (youth, government, general public) and they increase the transparency of governments and organizations. The institution can answer promptly to public queries and can disseminate rapid information, press releases, pictures and movies. Ministries of foreign affairs are encouraged to use those tools in their daily activity.

# APPENDICES

## 13<sup>th</sup> CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum 2010

Programme  
Final Report  
List of Participants  
CVs and Abstracts  
Family Photo

## Activities of the Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Republic of Croatia

Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum, 1998 – 2012  
International Francophone Diplomatic Seminars, 2002 – 2011





**13<sup>th</sup> CEI DUBROVNIK DIPLOMATIC FORUM**  
**“Strategic Public Diplomacy”**  
**Dubrovnik, Croatia, 20–22 May 2010**  
*– in cooperation with the US Embassy in Zagreb –*

PROGRAMME

**Day 1: Thursday, 20 May 2010**

**08.30–09.00 Registration of the Participants**

Centre for Advanced Academic Studies (CAAS), Don Frana Bulića 4

**09.00–09.45 Opening of the 2010 CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum**

**Welcome addresses:**

Ms. Vlasta Brunsko, Head of the CAAS Office, Dubrovnik

Dr. Andro Vlahušić, Mayor of the City of Dubrovnik

H.E. Dr. Gerhard Pfanzelter, Secretary General, CEI Executive Secretariat, Trieste

H.E. Dr. Mladen Andrić, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Zagreb

**09.45–10.00 *Family photo in the courtyard***

**10.00–12.30 PLENARY SESSION**

**Moderators:** H.E. Dr. Mladen Andrić, H.E. Dr. Gerhard Pfanzelter, Ms. Vivian S. Walker

**10.00–10.15** Public Diplomacy in the CEI Area: Some Reflections – H.E. Dr. Mladen Andrić, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Zagreb

**10.15–10.45** Promotion of Regional Cooperation in South East Europe: Role of Public Diplomacy – H.E. Mr. Hido Bišćević, RCC Secretary General, Sarajevo

**10.45–11.15** *Coffee break*

**11.15–11.45** Academic Diplomacy in the Union for the Mediterranean – Prof. Dr. Joseph Mifsud, President of EMUNI University, Piran

**11.45–12.30** *Comments and discussion*

**12.30–14.00** *Lunch*

**14.15–16.30** **WORKING SESSIONS 1 & 2**

**14.15–16.30** **Working Session 1: Public Diplomacy, Its Strategy and Tactics**

**Moderators:** H.E. Dr. Lisen Bashkurti, Ms. Andrea Gustović-Ercegovac, Prof. Dr. Joseph Mifsud

**14.15–16.00** The Challenges for US Public Diplomacy Today – Ms. Vivian S. Walker, Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy in Zagreb

Rethinking Strategic Public Diplomacy in the Age of Fear – Prof. Dr. Nabil Ayad, Director, Diplomatic Academy of London, University of Westminster

Democratisation of Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy in the Western Balkans – Prof. Dr. Lisen Bashkurti

*Comments and discussion*

**16.00–16.30** *Coffee break*

**14.15–16.30** **Working Session 2: Public Diplomacy and the EU Accession Processes**

**Moderators:** Prof. Dr. Sieglinde Gstöhl, H.E. Dr. Peter Vrsansky, Dr. Daniela Zaharia

**14.15–16.00** Economic Aspects of the EU Accession: Public Perception and the Reality – Prof. Dr. Boris Vujčić, Deputy Chief Negotiator & Deputy Governor, Croatian National Bank, Zagreb

Pre-Accession Experiences of the Slovak Republic – H.E. Dr. Peter Vrsansky, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Bratislava

Developing Public Diplomacy for Supporting EU Accession: Lessons to Be Learned at the Western Balkans – Ms. Jasna Jelisić,



Political Adviser, MA, EU Special Representative in B&H,  
Sarajevo

*Comments and discussion*

**16.00–16.30** *Coffee break*

**17.00–18.30** *Sightseeing of Dubrovnik – Guided Tour*

**19.30–20.30** *Dinner*

**21.00** *Concert at the Rector's Palace*

<b>Day 2: Friday, 21 May 2010</b>
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**09.00–12.15** PLENARY SESSION

**Moderators:** Prof. Dr. Joseph Mifsud, Prof. Dr. Boris Vujčić, Dr. Daniel Warner

**09.00–09.30** Public Diplomacy: Some German Views – H.E. Dr. Bernd Fisher,  
German Ambassador in Zagreb

**09.30–10.00** New Technologies and Social Media – Mr. Alexander Titolo,  
Public Affairs Officer, Embassy of the United States of America  
in Montenegro, Podgorica

**10.00–10.30** *Coffee break*

**10.30–11.00** From Public Diplomacy to Transnational Communication – Dr.  
Gerlinde Manz-Christ, Head of Communications, Government of  
Liechtenstein

*Comments and discussion*

**12.30–14.00** *Lunch*

**14.15–16.30** WORKING SESSIONS 3 & 4

**14.15.–16.30** Working Session 3: Public Diplomacy and Media

**Moderators:** H.E. Ms. Věra Jeřábková, Mr. Hrvoje Kanta, Dr. Gerlinde Manz-Christ

**14.15–16.00** Public Diplomacy in the Czech Republic – H.E. Ms. Věra  
Jeřábková, Deputy Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Prague  
Nation Branding and New Public Diplomacy – Ms. Andrea  
Gustović-Ercegovac, MA, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Zagreb

Nation Branding & Branding Croatia – Ms. Sanja Bach, Spokeswoman, Ministry of Finance, Zagreb

Cultural Dialogue as an Important Factor in Public Diplomacy: the Case of Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prague – Mr. Hrvoje Kanta, Head of Department for Diplomatic Training, MFA, Sarajevo

*Comments and discussion*

**16.00–16.30** *Coffee break*

**14.15–16.30** **Working Session 4: Public Diplomacy and Diplomatic Training**

**Moderators:** Ms. Lenche Mitevaska-Avramova, Dr. Shaban Murati, Prof. Dr. Vlad Gheorge Nistor

**14.15–16.00** Public Diplomacy in a Post-modern World: an Engaging Action – Dr. Daniela Zaharia, Scientific Secretary, Institute for Diplomatic Studies, University of Bucharest

The Challenges of New Diplomacy – Dr. Daniel Warner, Director, Centre for International Governance, Geneva

Public Diplomacy and Globalisation in the Region – Dr. Shaban Murati, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Tirana

Macedonian Chairmanship to the Council of Europe – Ms. Lenche Mitevaska-Avramova, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Skopje

Defence Diplomacy Training – Mr. Davor Čutić, Director, Department for International Defence Cooperation, Ministry of Defence, Zagreb

*Comments and discussion*

**16.00–16.30** *Coffee break*

**16.30–18.30** **Workshop for junior diplomats from the CEI member states on “Shaping Public Attitudes Towards NATO and EU Integration”** – **moderators:** Ms. Vivian S. Walker and Mr. Robert Post

**18.30–20.00** *Dinner*

**20.30** ***Reception of the Mayor of Dubrovnik for the participants of the Forum***

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<b>Day 3: Saturday, 22 May 2010</b>
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**09.00–11:15 PLENARY SESSION**

**Moderators:** Ms. Sanja Bach, H.E. Dr. Svetlan Berković, Ms. Nina Obuljen

**09.00–09:45** Cultural Promotion and Public Diplomacy – Ms. Nina Obuljen, State Secretary, MA, Ministry of Culture, Zagreb

**09.45–10.30** Importance of Diplomacy – Case Study: Republic of Dubrovnik – H.E. Dr. Svetlan Berković, Croatian Ambassador in Ljubljana

**10.30–11.15** Comments and discussion & *Coffee break*

**11.15–12:30 Closing Session of the 2010 CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum**

**Moderators:** H.E. Dr. Mladen Andrić, Ms. Vlasta Brunsko, Ms. Vivian S. Walker

*(Brief summaries on the contents and findings of the Forum sessions presented by junior diplomats from the CEI member states, with final remarks of the organisers of the Forum, including additional comments of other participants, as well as with the ceremony of presenting the Certificate of attendance to the junior diplomats.)*

**12:30–14.00** *Lunch*

(Free time)

Departure of the participants





## 13<sup>th</sup> CEI DUBROVNIK DIPLOMATIC FORUM

### “Strategic Public Diplomacy”

Dubrovnik, Croatia, 20–22 May 2010

– in cooperation with the US Embassy in Zagreb –

### FINAL REPORT

**Summary:** The 13<sup>th</sup> Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum of CEI traditionally took place at the Postgraduate Studies Centre in Dubrovnik, organised by the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia with the support of CEI. Titled “Strategic Public Diplomacy”, from 20 to 22 May, it included discussions about trends, cases, techniques and potentials of public diplomacy. There were 47 participants from 22 countries, of which 13 CEI Member States.

1. The Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum of the Central European Initiative (CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum) titled “Strategic Public Diplomacy” was officially opened by **Ambassador Dr. Mladen Andrić**, Director of the Diplomatic Academy, on behalf of the MFAEI, and **Ambassador Dr. Gerhard Pfanzelter**, Secretary General of the CEI Executive Secretariat. On behalf of the host, the participants were addressed by **Mr. Andro Vlahušić**, Mayor of Dubrovnik, and **Ms. Vlasta Brunsko**, Director of the Postgraduate Studies Centre in Dubrovnik, and the program of the Forum was introduced by **Ambassador Dr. Mladen Andrić**, Director of the Diplomatic Academy of the MFAEI.

2. The participants included diplomats, directors of Diplomatic Academies and Institutes, experts in international relations, foreign policy and diplomacy from CEI Member States and other European countries. This year, we were also joined by experts from the U.S.A. who showed us, in a workshop for junior diplomats, some guidelines and examples of public diplomacy. A three-day forum had seven sessions, four of them working sessions, an introductory keynote, a debate and a workshop.

3. Following the introductory address and welcome, **Ambassador Dr. Gerhard Pfanzelter** expressed his satisfaction with taking part in yet another Forum and with the topic, emphasising that this year's topic was an excellent choice, and indicating that public diplomacy has become an imperative of international life. He explained it simply as governments reaching the conclusion that international relations can no longer be managed through traditional diplomatic practices alone i.e. that they needed to be assisted by public diplomacy. Such a conclusion leads to the question: "What is public diplomacy, then?". The answer is that public diplomacy, other than traditional diplomacy, is an open-end process, a process of Government's communication with the public in foreign countries, in an attempt to bring foreign institutions and cultures to understand the ideas and ideals of its nation. He closed his keynote noting that public diplomacy has become the key element in modern foreign policy, i.e. that as part of the public opinion it has become the key factor in international relations, impacting the decisions and actions of the government.

**Ambassador Dr. Mladen Andrić** first expressed his satisfaction with the large number of participants and esteemed guests, and in his presentation stated the essence and purpose of this year's Forum. Better understanding between nations and states, including regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations, makes the foundation of any modern international relations at large, so that diplomacy and diplomatic training aim at achieving those standards, and public diplomacy is appearing here as the only adequate factor. He also mentioned that public diplomacy was necessary for better mutual understanding because most CEI states already are or are striving to become EU Member States. He also said that public diplomacy was an inexhaustible topic because in two of the previous Forums (2000 and 2003) it was also a topic, and he confirmed that the Diplomatic Academy would continue its successful cooperation with CEI in following new trends in diplomacy, and in publishing a collection of papers of the Forum and its international distribution. In this sense, this Forum can also be seen as a valuable step forward in this direction through a mutual exchange of knowledge, experience and estimate of new steps to be taken to the benefit of all.

The next presentation was given by **Mr. Hido Bišćević**, Secretary General of RCC in Sarajevo. Mr. Bišćević looked back on the work of the Regional Cooperation Council that, although created within the framework of the SEECP, also cooperates with other regional initiatives, in particular with CEI. The advantage of the RCC is that it carries out operative tasks free of any political connotations and successfully brings together all the representatives from the region. He stressed that the European prospects are key to the cooperation in the region and that it is owing to such prospects that radical ideas have hard time flourishing, which might not be the case if the European Union did not continue

to support the countries of the region on their path to full membership of the EU. The vital interest of the region is economic linkage, and consequently, working towards strengthening the infrastructure and the legal framework to make it possible. The biggest shortcoming is not only insufficient road links but also the poorly utilised potentials resulting from too dense a distribution of airports. As regards the areas of activity to encourage mutual public diplomacy in the region, there are many projects of cultural cooperation within the region taking place independently of the politics, and Mr. Bišćević believes that this area offers room for deepening further cooperation.

4. The first working session dealt with the “**Strategy and tactics of public diplomacy**”, where public diplomacy was generally discussed. This was initiated by **Ms. Vivian S. Walker**, Deputy U.S. Ambassador to Croatia, who pointed out the challenges of U.S. public diplomacy and how to deal with them today. This gave rise to the question of how to inform the foreign public about the U.S.A. and how to provide true and authentic information. She further said that in public diplomacy it is the most important to enable access to information, education, training and experience that over time will enable people to make adjustments at their own pace and terms.

Her presentation was followed by **Prof. Dr. Lisen Bashkurti** who spoke about how he saw the democratisation of foreign policy and public diplomacy in the West Balkans that are integral part of the general process of democratisation of the state and society and cannot be separated from the other aspects of democracy.

5. The first working session was followed by the second one titled “**Public diplomacy and EU accession processes**”. This session dealt more with public diplomacy within the context of the EU i.e. accession to the EU. **Dr. Boris Vujčić** discussed the economic aspects, whereas **Dr. Peter Vrsansky** and **Ms. Jasna Jelisić** spoke about public diplomacy as one of the possible tactics of approaching the EU. **Dr. Vrsansky** spoke about the general trends in diplomacy that are closely related to public diplomacy and briefly commented on the pre-accession process of admission of the Slovak Republic to the EU. The Foreign Ministry of Slovakia had recognised the importance of public diplomacy to their country and they set up the Public Diplomacy Department in 2008 to regularly organise various conferences on the subject of public diplomacy attended by civil servants, academic experts, and NGO activists. He also stressed that the Foreign Ministry of Slovakia saw public diplomacy as a “long-term process of communication with the national and international communities, aimed at the improvement of Slovakia’s trustworthiness, as well as an explanation of its foreign policy goals”. **Ms. Jelisić** spoke about the states of the West Balkans and their reputation created in the 1990s, during the war, and how this reputation should be mended to make them desirable as future EU Member States.

An interesting presentation on the subject of the “**New technology and the social media**” was given by **Mr. Alex Titolo**, public relations officer of the U.S. Embassy in Podgorica, who explained the role of the media and how to use the social media, both in diplomatic service and in ministries. As an example he took *Facebook*, stressing that this social network has become the basic tool of public diplomacy for many U.S. Embassies. He also mentioned that it was *Facebook* that owing to its popularity among the young people has become the leading social network in the region, imposing itself as the basic tool of public diplomacy for many U.S. embassies.

**Dr. Gerlinde Manz-Christ** said that the confidence of the public in the state is waning and that for this reason the occupation of diplomacy has dramatically changed, the reasons being the globalisation and new actors in international relations, as well as the communication revolution and ubiquitousness of the media.

6. In the third session on “**Public diplomacy and the media**” the participants discussed the national branding of the states, specifically Croatia. Deputy Director of the Prague Diplomatic Academy **Ms. Věra Jeřábková** spoke about the problem in her country, notably that the Czech Republic did not have a concept of public diplomacy, meaning that although they had their representation and tourist offices throughout the world they did not use public diplomacy to promote their country. **Ms. Andrea Gustović Ercegovac** gave a lecture on the national branding, emphasising that we were living at the time of the globalisation, and that there were rich and big, small, and West Balkans countries that should work on their branding because it is no longer enough to only be represented in the newspapers. Speaking about Croatia she highlighted its untapped potentials such as pristine nature and rich cultural and historical heritage.

**Ms. Sanja Bach**, Spokeswoman, Croatian Ministry of Finance, spoke about national branding and its potentials in promoting a country. She showed the ways in which branding can help a country and how powerful it can be, stressing its ubiquitousness, because we are living in the world of branding. She further mentioned the main parts of branding: tourism, people, culture and heritage, export, management, investment and immigration. She particularly stressed that the national branding requires a good and catchy slogan (the example of Spain: *Smile, you are in Spain*).

The third session was closed by **Mr. Hrvoje Kanta**, Head of the Department for Diplomatic Training, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sarajevo, speaking about culture and saying that it is an important factor in public diplomacy. He further said that public diplomacy had no particular place in the foreign policy of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but some new developments were noticeable, e.g. the role of the Embassy in Prague in promoting the culture of Bosnia-Herzegovina



through cultural activities such as organising concerts, special evenings and socialising with the emigrant community.

7. The closing working session was titled “**Public diplomacy and diplomatic training**”. The contribution of **Dr. Daniela Zaharia** of the Diplomatic Studies Institute in Bucharest included a general review of the development of public diplomacy beginning with self-promotion and continuing with propaganda during the Cold War and up to now. She further stressed that public diplomacy training is particularly important to EU Member States for the sake of creating EU identity. **Dr. Daniel Warner**, Director of the International Management Centre in Geneva, familiarized us with five new actors that should not be ignored when speaking about public diplomacy: large multinational companies, the media, strong individuals, rebelling groups, and NGOs. He stressed that the task of public diplomacy was to open the door to diplomats, to give them opportunity to talk to each individual.

Director of the Diplomatic Academy in Skopje **Ms. Lenche Mitevska-Avramova** said that there was the need for joint public diplomacy in the region that can only be achieved by overcoming the differences and creating a positive image of the Balkans instead of the *powder keg* stereotype. Finally, she spoke about the priorities of the Macedonian presidency of the Council of Europe that would be in the sign of continuity, cooperation and active approach to multiculturalism.

Head of Department for International Defence Cooperation **Mr. Davor Čutić** from the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia briefly presented the diplomatic training at MoD, saying that their training in diplomacy was open to all the persons who engaged in diplomacy or planned to engage in diplomacy in the near future. They offered a 12-week program that included information essential to military attaches and to those who were closely related and worked for the Army.

8. During the Forum, a workshop for junior diplomats took place titled “**Creating public views of NATO and the EU**”, hosted by **Ms. Vivian S. Walker**, Deputy U.S. Ambassador to Croatia, and **Mr. Robert Post**, Public Affairs Adviser of the U.S. Embassy in Zagreb. This workshop’s intention was to encourage young diplomats to devise a public diplomacy strategy in order to create public views of NATO and the EU in their respective countries. The workshop was very dynamic and successful, and it was an ideal opportunity for the junior diplomats to present their own views, opinions, proposals, as well as a chance to exchange experience and discuss the key topics of public diplomacy. The conclusion of the diplomats during the workshop was: it was necessary to develop a strategic plan, the national identity was of great importance, as well as market research, and it was also very important to quickly and effectively respond to the media.

9. The Forum had seven sessions in all, of which four were working sessions, and in the closing session the participants discussed the promotion of culture and the importance of diplomacy at large. **Ms. Nina Obuljen**, State Secretary at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, spoke about the promotion of culture stating that cultural diplomacy is undergoing change and that cultural relations were *soft power* and could help bring about considerable change in international relations. Diplomats active in the field of culture are focused on the representation and promotion of their own countries, and simultaneously, on becoming familiar with other cultures, among other things to recognise, overcome and eliminate false stereotypes.

10. During the Forum, the participants also discussed the possible topic and structure of the next, 14<sup>th</sup> Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum, and generally agreed that the 2011 Forum shall be dedicated to **“European Diplomacy and EU Policies”** (*working title*).



**13<sup>th</sup> CEI DUBROVNIK DIPLOMATIC FORUM**  
**“Strategic Public Diplomacy”**  
**Dubrovnik, Croatia, 20–22 May 2010**  
*– in cooperation with the US Embassy in Zagreb –*

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

**Albania**

**H.E. Dr. Lisen BASHKURTI**, President, Albanian Diplomatic Academy, Tirana (Tel: +355 69 21 82 713 lbashkurti@yahoo.com, lbashkurti@albdiploacademy.com)

**Mr. Shaban MURATI**, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Tirana (Tel: +355 4 23 73 796, shmurati@mfa.gov.al)

**Mr. Alban PERMETI**, Assistant to the President, Albanian Diplomatic Academy, Tirana

**Belgium**

**Prof. Dr. Sieglinde GSTÖHL**, EU International Relations and Diplomatic Studies, College of Europe, Bruges (sieglinde.gstoehl@coleurope.eu)

**Bosnia and Herzegovina**

**Mr. Hrvoje KANTA**, Minister Counsellor, Head of Office for Diplomatic Training, MFA, Sarajevo (Tel: + 387 33 281 143, hrvoje.kanta@mvp.gov.ba)

**Mr. Muhamed ČENGIĆ**, Counselor, Department for Diplomatic Training, MFA, Sarajevo (muhamedcengic@mvp.gov.ba)

**Bulgaria**

**Mr. Garo MARUKYAN**, Senior Expert, Training Programme Department, Diplomatic Institute, MFA, Sofia (garomarukyan@gmail.com)

## Croatia

**H.E. Dr. Mladen ANDRLIĆ**, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 4599 200, [mladen.andrlic@mvpei.hr](mailto:mladen.andrlic@mvpei.hr))

**Mr. Sanja BACH**, Spokeswoman, Ministry of Finance, Zagreb ([sanja.bach@mfin.hr](mailto:sanja.bach@mfin.hr))

**H.E. Dr. Svjetlan BERKOVIĆ**, Ambassador, Croatian Embassy in Ljubljana ([svjetlan.berkovic@mvpei.hr](mailto:svjetlan.berkovic@mvpei.hr))

**Ms. Vlasta BRUNSKO**, Head of the CAAS Office, Dubrovnik (Tel: +385 20 326 380, [brunsko@caas.unizg.hr](mailto:brunsko@caas.unizg.hr))

**Mr. Davor ČUTIĆ**, Director, Department for International Defence Cooperation, Ministry of Defence, Zagreb ([davor.cutic@morh.hr](mailto:davor.cutic@morh.hr))

**Ms. Andrea GUSTOVIĆ-ERCEGOVAC**, MA, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 4599 412, [andrea.gustovic-ercegovac@mvpei.hr](mailto:andrea.gustovic-ercegovac@mvpei.hr))

**Ms. Melita MULIĆ**, Third Secretary, Head of Section for Communication Support for EU Accession Negotiations, MFAEI, Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 4598 016, [melita.mulic@mvpei.hr](mailto:melita.mulic@mvpei.hr))

**Ms. Nina OBULJEN**, MA, State Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 48 66 301, [nina.obuljen@min-kulture.hr](mailto:nina.obuljen@min-kulture.hr))

**Ms. Petra RADOJEVIĆ**, Attaché, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 4599 407, [petra.radojevic@mvpei.hr](mailto:petra.radojevic@mvpei.hr))

**Ms. Suzana SIMICHEN SOPTA**, Third Secretary, Department for Analytics and Speeches, MFAEI, Zagreb ([ssimichen@mvpei.hr](mailto:ssimichen@mvpei.hr))

**Mr. Sanjin SOLDATIC**, Third Secretary, Spokesman Office, MFAEI, Zagreb ([sanjin.soldatic@mvpei.hr](mailto:sanjin.soldatic@mvpei.hr))

**Ms. Iva TARLE**, Attaché, Division for Multilateral Affairs, MFAEI, Zagreb ([itarle@mvpei.hr](mailto:itarle@mvpei.hr))

**Prof. Dr. Boris VUJČIĆ**, Deputy Chief Negotiator for Croatian Accession to the EU & Deputy Governor, Croatian National Bank, Zagreb ([boris.vujcic@hnb.hr](mailto:boris.vujcic@hnb.hr))

## Czech Republic

**H. E. Ms. Věra JERÁBKOVÁ**, Deputy Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Prague (Tel: + 420 224 186 252, [Vera\\_Jerabkova@mzv.cz](mailto:Vera_Jerabkova@mzv.cz))

## Germany

**H.E. Dr. Bernd FISCHER**, German Ambassador to Croatia, Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 630 0121, [I-vz@zagr.diplo.de](mailto:I-vz@zagr.diplo.de))

### Liechtenstein

**Dr. Gerlinde MANZ-CHRIST**, Head of Communications, Government of Liechtenstein, Vaduz (manz-christ@liechtenstein.li)

### Macedonia

**Ms. Lenche MITEVSKA-AVRAMOVA**, Director, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Skopje (Tel: +389 232 17 571, lance.mitevaska@mfa.gov.mk)

**Mr. Dimitar MITREVSKI**, First Secretary, Directorate of European Union, MFA, Skopje (dimitar.mitrevski@mfa.gov.mk)

### Moldova

**Mr. Dorina ROMAN**, Deputy Head of Mass-Media Department, MFAEI, Moldova (Tel: + 373 22 57 8254, dorina.roman@mfa.md)

**Ms. Mariana ROIBU**, Head of Regional Cooperation Division, MFAEI, Moldova (Tel: + 373 22 57 8301, mariana.roibu@mfa.md)

### Montenegro

**Mr. Pavle KARANIKIĆ**, First Secretary, Department for Multilateral Relations, MFA, Podgorica (pavle.karanikic@gov.me)

### Romania

**Ms. Ioana Cristina MIHAIL**, Attaché, Romanian Diplomatic Institute, MFA, Bucharest (Tel: +4021 431 14 51, ioana.mihail@mae.ro)

**Ms. Ruxandra IVAN**, Romanian Diplomatic Institute, MFA, Bucharest (Tel: +4023 39 955, nicoleta.druta@idr.ro)

**Prof. Dr. Vlad NISTOR**, Dean, The Institute for Diplomatic Studies – University of Bucharest (Tel: +4021 314 53 89, g.v.nistor@gmail.com)

**Dr. Daniela ZAHARIA**, Scientific secretary, The Institute for Diplomatic Studies – University of Bucharest (Tel: +4021 314 53 89, daniela.zaharia@yahoo.com)

### Russian Federation

**Mr. Victor LAPTEV**, First Vice President, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Moscow (Victor.Laptev@dipacademy.ru)

### Slovak Republic

**H.E. Dr. Peter VRSANSKY**, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Bratislava (Tel: +421 2 5978 2146, peter.vrsansky@mzv.sk)

### Slovenia

**Mr. Iztok SIMONITI**, Minister Plenipotentiary, MFA, Ljubljana (iztok.simoniti@gov.si)

**Ms. Petra ZUPANČIČ**, Third Secretary, MFA, Ljubljana (petra.zupancic@gov.si)

### Serbia

**Ms. Milena MITIĆ**, Second Secretary, Sector for European Union, MFA, Beograd (milena.mitic@mfa.rs)

**Ms. Vesna VERČON IVIĆ**, Third Secretary, Service for International Legal Affairs, MFA, Beograd (verconivic@yahoo.com)

### Switzerland

**Dr. Daniel WARNER**, Director, Centre for International Governance, Geneva (daniel.warner@graduateinstitute.ch)

### United States

**Ms. Maša CRNJAKOVIĆ**, Cultural Affairs Assistant, US Embassy in Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 661 2200, CrnjakovicM@state.gov)

**Mr. Robert POST**, Counsellor for Public Affairs, US Embassy in Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 661 2200, PostJR@state.gov)

**Mr. Alexander TITOLO**, Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy in Podgorica

**Ms. Vivian S. WALKER**, Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy to Croatia, Zagreb (Tel: +385 1 661 2200, irczagreb@state.gov)

### CENTRAL EUROPEAN INITIATIVE

**H.E. Dr. Gerhard PFANZELTER**, Secretary General of the CEI Executive Secretariat, Trieste (Tel: +39 040 77 86 777, cei-es@cei-es.org)

**Mr. Bogdan BIRNBAUM**, CEI Assistant Officer, Central European Initiative (CEI) Executive Secretariat, Trieste (cei-es@cei-es.org)

**European Union**

**Ms. Jasna JELISIĆ**, Political Adviser, EU Special Representative in B&H, Sarajevo (jasna.jelisc@eusrbih.eu)

**EMUNI**

**Prof. Dr. Joseph MIFSUD**, President, EMUNI University, Piran (joseph.mifsud@emuni.si)

**RCC**

**H.E. Mr. Hido BIŠČEVIĆ**, RCC Secretary General, Sarajevo (jasna.sinancevic@rcc.int)







**13<sup>th</sup> CEI DUBROVNIK DIPLOMATIC FORUM**  
**“Strategic Public Diplomacy”**  
**Dubrovnik, Croatia, 20–22 May 2010**  
*– in cooperation with the US Embassy in Zagreb –*

**CVs AND ABSTRACTS**

**H.E. Dr. Mladen Andrić**

Ambassador, PhD, Director, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Zagreb, Croatia

2007–: Director of the Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Croatia;

2002–2007: Ambassador of Croatia to the Swiss Confederation and the Principality of Liechtenstein;

2000–2002: Assistant Minister, Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Zagreb;

1997–2000: Ambassador, Director of the Diplomatic Academy, MFA, Zagreb;

1996–1997: Deputy Head of the Mission of the Republic of Croatia to the European Communities, in the rank of the Ambassador;

1996–: Interim Head of the Division for Multilateral Affairs, MFA, Zagreb;

1993–1996: Minister Counsellor, Head of the Department for European Integrations, MFA;

1993–: PhD in Macroeconomics, Faculty of Economics, University of Zagreb;

1989–1993: Research Coordinator, Institute for Development and International Relations, Zagreb;

1981–1989: Research Fellow, Institute for Developing Countries, Zagreb.

***13<sup>th</sup> CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum: Preface, Opening Address, Report  
Public Diplomacy in the CEI Area: Some Reflections***

**Prof. Dr. Nabil Ayad**

Professor, Director, London Academy of Diplomacy, University of East Anglia, UK  
Director of the Diplomatic Academy of London, United Kingdom

Professor at the University of Westminster. Founder and director of the Diplomatic Academy of London, which is composed of student diplomats from 84 countries. He is

also the Chair of the Department of Diplomacy and Applied Languages, Humanities, and Languages, and of the School of Social Sciences. He has advised governments on setting up institutes for diplomatic training. Lectured on Diplomacy, International Relations, the Media and the Impact of Information Technology on Diplomatic Missions and Government Departments, at various Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Institutes and Universities. In 1986 he pioneered the concept of exploring the impact of Information Technology on diplomatic practice and government departments and coined the phrase “virtual diplomacy”. Professor Ayad has organised twelve international symposia which explored the emerging patterns in diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. He received two Honorary Degrees of Doctor of Science in recognition of his contributions to the development of educational programmes in the field of international relations as well as the creation of new models for diplomatic personnel.

### ***Rethinking Strategic Public Diplomacy: the Role of Social Media***

#### **Ms. Sanja Bach**

Spokeswoman, Ministry of Finance, Zagreb, Croatia

Graduated from the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb, later attended Reuters Financial Journalism Training (2001), training for government spokespersons (USA) and training at the Academy for Government Information and Communication, the Netherlands. She was rewarded for her special contributions to the development of the Zagreb Stock Exchange. She was also a journalist specialized in economy – domestic and foreign financial markets and in privatization. Within the framework of the World Bank project, she worked on the scenario for an educational series on capital market and coupon privatization in Croatia. She is the permanent lecturer at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Croatia, lecturing on public performances and relations with media and trends in branding countries

### ***Nation Branding: Branding Croatia***

National branding as a new view of promoting nations; branding Croatia – new ways of promoting Croatia; Croatia as a really strong brand; national branding is a hot but sensitive issue and a long-term process.

#### **H.E. Dr. Lisen Bashkurti**

Ambassador, prof. PhD, President, Albanian Diplomatic Academy, Tirana, Albania

Also the Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences, International Relations and Diplomacy, Mediterranean University, Tirana; Rector of the Royal Illyria University of Kosovo, Rector of the International University of Struga Macedonia; Deputy Director General of the IBC for Europe; Deputy Governor of the ABIRA, USA.

Holding various positions in the MFA, he was appointed as Ambassador of Albania in the Republic of Hungary and Permanent Representative of Albania to the Council of Europe. Member of the Albanian Parliament (1992).

He lectured at the College of Europe, Croatian Diplomatic Academy, Turkish College in Tirana, New York University in Skopje and many others. Author of books and about

150 articles, studies, research and essays published in: Albania, Macedonia, Kosovo, Croatia, Finland, and USA. Member of many boards.

***Democratization of the Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy in the Western Balkans***

**H.E. Dr. Svjetlan Berković**

Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana

Graduated from the Faculty of Law, where he also earned a master's degree and doctoral degree (University of Zagreb). He was Croatian Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden, Lithuania and the Republic of Latvia, as well as the first Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the State of Israel.

Founder and director of the Croatian Diplomatic School (1995–1997). Participant in numerous diplomatic conferences, member of many diplomatic delegations. Author of *Diplomatic and Consular Law* (1995), the first textbook in the field of diplomacy in Croatia; the *Asylum in International Law* (1989), *Diplomacy and the Diplomatic Profession* (2006), and *Diplomacy of the Republic of Dubrovnik* (2009). Organiser of several symposiums and professional gatherings, including the symposium “Diplomacy of the Republic of Dubrovnik”. Permanent lecturer at diplomatic academies in Croatia and Montenegro.

***Importance of Diplomacy – Case Study: Republic of Dubrovnik***

**H.E. Mr. Hido Bišćević**

Ambassador, Croatian diplomat, appointed as the first Secretary General of the newly established Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) in 2008

Previously served as the State Secretary for Political Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Croatia (2003–2007), Ambassador to the Russian Federation (1997–2002), Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs (1995–1997), Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey, accredited to the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan (1993–1995), Ambassador and Adviser to the Foreign Minister (1992). As the SEECP Coordinator during the Croatian Chairmanship-in-Office in 2006/2007, Mr Bišćević actively participated in bilateral and multilateral forums in South East Europe and intensively cooperated with the Stability Pact for South East Europe. He took an active part in international conferences on the Bosnia and Herzegovina Peace Accord in 1994/95. Mr Bišćević served as foreign affairs correspondent, columnist, journalist and diplomat. He is author or co-author of several books, as well as of numerous articles and political essays.

***Promotion of Regional Cooperation in South East Europe: Role of Public Diplomacy***

**Mr. Davor Ćutić**

Director, Department for International Defence Cooperation, Ministry of Defence, Zagreb, Croatia

He holds MA degree from University of Economy in Osijek. Military Education he got at: European Training Course in Security Policy, Geneva Center for Security Policy,

George C. Marshall, European Center for Security studies; Military Diplomacy School, Zagreb, Croatia; International Institute for Humanitarian Rights, San Remo, Italy; Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey California, US; NATO School SHAPE, Oberammergau, Germany; B&H Security&Cooperation Course.

Before being a Director of the International Defence Cooperation Department he was Deputy Director, Defence Policy and Planning Department and to Finance and Budget Department. Also he was Deputy Director, Program Analysis and Evaluation Office in the Ministry of Defence of Croatia.

### ***Defence Diplomacy Training***

#### **H.E. Dr. Bernd Fischer**

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb

Studied at Universities of Heidelberg, as recipient of Fulbright Scholarship he attended University of Arizona. London School of Economics and Political Science and gained PhD at the University of Heidelberg.

During his diplomatic carrier he was on various positions in MFA. Abroad he served in German Embassies in New York, in German delegation to the Conference on security and cooperation in Europe Vienna; was Head of Economic and Scientific Department in German Embassy in Washington, and as Head of the Political, Press and cultural Department and DCM in Tokyo. The Editor of the Book: *Zwischen Wilhelmstraße und Bellevue: 500 Jahre Diplomatie in Berlin*, 1998.

### ***Public Diplomacy: Some German Views***

#### **Prof. Dr. Sieglinde Gstöhl**

Professor, PhD, Department of EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies, College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium

Before joining the College in 2005, she was, *inter alia*, Assistant Professor of International Relations at Humboldt University Berlin (1999–2005). She is a graduate in Public Affairs from the University of St. Gallen and holds a Master's and a Ph.D. degree in International Relations from the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva.

Fields of interests: theories of regional integration and of international relations, global governance, international political economy, EU external relations and in particular trade policy, and small states.

### ***The EU Accession Processes and Public Diplomacy***

The accession process requires a public diplomacy effort from both sides: the candidate country and the European Union. In order to be successful, public diplomacy must rely on listening and engaging in a dialogue with the target audience, it must (net)work with non-state actors and it must be credible. Such a communication strategy goes beyond creating a positive image through 'nation branding' (or 'EU branding'); it must be sustainable in the long run and aim at delivering also after the day of EU membership.

**Ms. Andrea Gustović-Ercegovac**

Ambassador, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Zagreb, Croatia

After teaching and practicing psychology she joined diplomatic service eighteen years ago. Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the Slovak Republic (2001–2006). Among other functions she was a Director of the Directorate for International Economic Cooperation, MFAEI (2007–2008), as well as the National Coordinator for South – East European Cooperation Process (SEECF) and a Member of the Regional Cooperation Council Board (RCC).

She holds a master's degree in Clinical Psychology from the University of Zagreb and graduated at Diplomatic Academy Vienna. Participant in numerous diplomatic conferences, member of many diplomatic delegations. Being also active in diplomatic training her priority interests are in the fields of economic diplomacy and psychological approach to public diplomacy & nation branding.

***Nation Branding and New Public Diplomacy***

We are all aware of the new significance of nation branding as a part of the national promotional programme. But at home people tend to think locally: *Why to spend on promotion when we are already known?* I made a small experiment to see how many hits one will get when searching the Internet. Analysing results, three groups of countries crystallized: a) big countries as well as others that depend on tourism b) smaller European countries, but aware of importance of giving information through media, and c) most of Eastern and South-Eastern counties that are simply not present enough in media. In order to be present and visible, eventually to change perception of itself in the eyes of tourists, investors or businessmen – the countries of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe have to put more effort in ensuring reliable information about itself.

**Ms. Jasna Jelisić**

MA, Political Advisor to the EU Special Representative in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

She holds BA degree in Political Science and Journalism from the University of Belgrade, MA studies in International Relations in New York and finished postgraduate diplomatic studies at the University of Oxford. Began her career as a journalist working in the region of the Western Balkans and later in the US. She was awarded journalist and editor, consultant for the World Bank and the European Commission, as academic advisor has been engaged with the Freedom House. She regularly publishes in *Nations in Transit*. She has lectured at various seminars and workshops related to the EU strategic policies in the South-Eastern Europe, and Stabilization and Association Process in the Western Balkans. She has been actively involved in building human capital in South-Eastern Europe by establishing the prestigious “SEE and EU – Leadership Development Programme” in cooperation with the College of Europe, Bruges.

***Developing Public Diplomacy for Supporting EU Accession: Lessons to Be Learned at the Western Balkans***

Due to the image of the Western Balkan countries created during “the Balkan bloody 90’s” each of them, to some extent, has some sort of image and reputation problem. On the other side, numerous public opinion polls have been published within the EU which has clearly indicated negative sentiments towards enlargement. The “enlargement fatigue” and “absorption capacity” issues frequently mentioned by the EU institutions, and especially some Member States, after the last wave of enlargement, call for WB countries to make an appealing case for their accession. This article intends to present a case for proactive policy approach that would, as a mid- to long-term aim, create a reputation of all Western Balkan (WB) countries as a desirable future member states and affect positively how those countries are seen among EU institutions, EU member states’ governments and their populations. The article indicates some **recommendations** that would enable government structures and non-governmental actors to effectively and efficiently promote WB countries’ EU reform successes, focuses on changing their current negative reputation via well organised, effective and coherent Public Diplomacy suitable for 21<sup>st</sup> Century and capable of supporting the achievement of top foreign policy goal, at the same time becoming a strong pillar of their modernised diplomacy. It also argues for the necessity of taking a proactive course in developing the most suitable structures for taking responsibility for a policy of promotion of the WB countries’ membership in the EU within the EU Member States. It also indicates the elements of such a policy, which would secure effectiveness and efficiency of the policy implementation. These indications are based on the most valuable “lessons learned” from the practices of the “EU first rank countries” (those with the longest and most successful experience in implementing public diplomacy).

The article also aims to promote within the WB a widespread understanding among the most advanced foreign policy (FP) practitioners and experts that traditional diplomacy focused on government-to-government relations and intergovernmental international organisations is no longer enough for meeting FP objectives, and that it has become increasingly necessary to develop mechanisms for influencing the opinions and attitudes of citizens abroad.

**H.E. Ms. Vera Jeřábková**

Ambassador, Deputy Director, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prague, Czech Republic

Ambassador of the Czech Republic in the U.A.E.

Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, Human Rights Department.

Ambassador of the Czech Republic in the Cyprus.

***Implementation of a Concept for the Unified Presentation of the Czech Republic*****Mr. Hrvoje Kanta**

Minister Counsellor, Head, Office for Diplomatic Training, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

2001–2005: Director of the Department for information system and communication, MFA, B&H.

1998–2001: Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, MFA, B&H.

### ***Cultural Dialogue as an Important Factor in Public Diplomacy: the Case of Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prague***

Public Diplomacy does not have specific place in the B&H foreign policy, which naturally, does not strengthen the foreign policy of the country which tries to find its place in the European Union.

Things are changing however, and each new step towards full membership in EU unveils necessity of relying on varieties offered through public diplomacy.

What does it practically mean – firstly, B&H diplomatic missions do not have prior obligation to use the public diplomacy as a mean of their own action. Secondly, since public diplomacy is not being used as a tool for realisation of prime foreign policy aims, very modest budget funds are available. Thirdly, in these circumstances positive moves can be expected only in the diplomatic missions that have innovative and ambitious staff led by enthusiastic HoM.

These facts mostly have as a result modest experiences and achievements in sphere of public diplomacy. However positive cases can serve as a light example and encouragement for the future importance role of public diplomacy in foreign policy service of B&H, we dare to say.

One of those examples is engagement of B&H Embassy in Prague in first four years after the opening in 2005. Until 2009 this Embassy has constantly supported unique interaction of B&H Diaspora especially the young people with the well-known empathy of the Czech Republic public society towards culture.

The Culture was a media of public diplomacy promoted by the innovative first ambassador in Czech Republic. This interaction has been founded on two simple premises. Firstly, in Czech Republic exists highly educated young B&H Diaspora who succeeds to resist to the challenges of national influences. This social group has natural need to promote Bosnia & Herzegovina in its new homeland and represents in the best possible way. From the other side, Czech society is well known for its involvement at all kinds of cultural events. For establishing logical interaction, missing link was only institutional connection.

2005, year of the opening of B&H Embassy in Prague, was the very convenient moment for the “kick off” of interaction between Czech public society and B&H Embassy activities in the field of public diplomacy.

This presentation is a small chronology; witch on the specific way witnesses the bright example of the multidimensional achievements of the B&H contemporary public diplomacy.

#### **Dr. Gerlinde Manz-Christ, MBA**

Head of Communications, Government of the Principality of Liechtenstein, Vaduz

Being with Government of the Principality of Liechtenstein since 2001, she has developed and implemented the new communication strategy for Liechtenstein. Before, during her 15 years as Austrian career-diplomat, she served in Dakar, Tel Aviv, New York, and headed the Press and Information Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Vienna. Manz-Christ studied law, as well as English and Spanish, followed by post-graduate studies in Oslo, Vienna and Madrid. In 2008 she finished her Executive MBA at TU München with a master thesis on *Liechtenstein and the German Tax Affair*. Manz-Christ, President of the European Association of Political Consultants, is

particularly concerned with an interdisciplinary approach to her work. She teaches Public Diplomacy at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna and Integrated Communications at the Management Center Innsbruck.

### ***From Public Diplomacy to International Communication***

With globalization and new actors in international relations, the communication revolution, omnipresence of the media, and declining public confidence in the state, the profession of diplomacy has changed dramatically. “Communication between states” is the logical evolution of the diplomatic profession from traditional to public diplomacy to international communication. This new form of diplomacy uses more and more concepts and tools that up to now were known in the private sector and in political consulting, such as nation branding, agenda setting, issue management and framing, making interdisciplinary one of its main characteristics.

### **Prof. Dr. Joseph Mifsud**

President of Euro-Mediterranean University in Piran, Slovenia

The most important functions he has performed so far:

1998 to date: EU Evaluation Consultant (European Commission, Brussels, Belgium);

2000–2005: Director of the European Unit at the University of Malta;

2005: Director of the International Office, Representative of Malta to Research Committee, EU and to Bologna Process; Chair, External Dimension of the BFUG, University of Malta;

2006: Chef de Cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Coordinator of Malta in the Commonwealth Strategy to 53 Commonwealth States;

2008: Director of International Relations, Link Campus University, Rome.

### ***Academic Diplomacy in the Union for the Mediterranean***

### **Ms. Lenche Mitrevska-Avramova**

Director, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Skopje, Macedonia

Graduated in Languages, University St. Cyril and Methodius (Skopje, Macedonia). Modern Greek language (Scholarship, Government of Greece), University *Aristotelis* (Thessalonica, Greece).

1989–1992: General Consul of Yugoslavia in Cleveland, Ohio, USA;

1997–1999: Political Counsellor Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Vienna, Austria and Non-resident diplomat for Hungary, Slovak and Czech Republic;

2006–2008: State Counsellor/Director MFA – Republic of Macedonia;

2008–2010: Minister Plenipotentiary Embassy of Republic of Macedonia.

Study visits: Clingendael Institute (Haag, Netherlands); Harvard University – John F. Kennedy School of Government (SAD); George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies (Garmsh Partenkirhen, Germany); Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Política (Madrid, Spain); Panepistimion Aristotelios (Solun, Greece); Croydon Technical College (London, UK); Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs (Oslo, Norway).



### ***Macedonian Chairmanship to the Council of Europe***

#### **H.E. Mr. Shaban Murati**

Ambassador, Director, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tirana, Albania

2008–2010: Director of the Diplomatic Academy of the MFA, Albania;

2002–2007: Ambassador of Albania to Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland;

2001–2002: Director of the Balkans Department, MFA;

2000–2001: Director of the Analysis-Prognosis Department, MFA;

1998–1999: Director of the International Relations Department of Democratic Party;

1993–1997: Ambassador of Albania to Macedonia; 1991–1992: Director of the Press

and Information Department, spokesman of the MFA; 1984–1990: Head Foreign policy department in the newspaper *The Voice of the People*; 1967–1983: Head of the editorial board of the Balkans, U.S. and Western countries department, Radio Tirana, World Service.

Author of a number of publications on foreign policy issues and international relations.

### ***Public Diplomacy and Globalisation in the Region***

#### **Ms. Nina Obuljen**

State Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Zagreb, Croatia

Holds a master's degree in Political Science from the University of Zagreb. Until her appointment as Assistant Minister of Culture in 2006, she worked as a research fellow at the Institute for International Relations in Zagreb. She is the author of several articles in the field of cultural policy. In 2004 she won the European Cultural Policy Research Award for her research on the impact of the EU enlargement on cultural policies which was published in the book *Why we need European Cultural Policies: impact of EU enlargement on countries in transition*, Amsterdam, 2006. In collaboration with Joost Smiers, she edited a book entitled *UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Making it Work*, Zagreb 2006.

### ***Cultural Promotion and Public Diplomacy***

Culture has always been an important tool in establishing and promoting relations between states. However, the perception of the role of culture has significantly changed. There is a major shift from representative to more participative forms of cultural exchanges, where culture is no longer seen just as a tool for creating an image of a country but also as a tool for fostering exchanges including promotion of cultural industries as an important sector of the economy. This new concept of cultural exchanges requires new models of cooperation and a change of practices in public diplomacy.

#### **H.E. Dr. Gerhard Pfanzelter**

Ambassador, PhD, CEI Secretary General, CEI Executive Secretariat, Trieste, Italy

He is a prominent Austrian diplomat, has taken up his duties as Secretary General of the Central European Initiative in January 2010. He was Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations in New York (1999–2008). In 2000 he served as Vice-President

of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and in 2002 he became Vice-President of the 57th United Nations General Assembly.

During the first half of 2006 he chaired the European Union in New York during Austria's Presidency of the Council of the EU. He has successfully led Austria's campaign for a non-permanent seat in the Security Council for the period 2009–2010. Previously, he had served as Austria's Ambassador to Senegal, Gambia, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Guinea and Mauritania (1983–1989). Then he was appointed Ambassador to Syria for a four-year term, ending in 1993, when he became Head of the Department for International Organizations in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He started his diplomatic career in Rome.

He has a law degree obtained at the University of Innsbruck and an M.A. in International Relations from the School of Advanced International Studies in Washington D.C.

### *13<sup>th</sup> CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum: Statement by the CEI Secretary General*

#### **Mr. Robert Post**

Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy in Zagreb, Croatia

He has previously worked at U.S. Embassies in Slovenia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan and at U.S. Consulate in Yekaterinburg, Russia. While at the State Department in Washington, he coordinated the public diplomacy activities of our Embassies in the Nordic and Baltic states. Prior to joining the Department of State, he worked as a case officer on refugee resettlement issues and worked on a multi-million dollar exhibit that was shown across five former Soviet republics. He has a B.A. degree in Soviet Studies and an M.A. degree in Russian language from Middlebury College.

### *Workshop on Public Diplomacy in the CEI Region for Junior Diplomats: Shaping Public Attitudes towards NATO and EU Integration*

#### **Mr. Alexander Titolo**

Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy in Podgorica, Montenegro

In his currently capacity, he is responsible for overseeing exchange and cultural programs, outreach to the broader Montenegrin community, and press relations. Joined the State Department in 2002. His first post was Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. His second post was Vilnius, Lithuania, where he worked in the Political Section, focusing mainly on political military affairs and Lithuania's efforts to promote democracy in Belarus, and in the Consular Section.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service he worked for the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) during 2000 and 2001 on a USAID-funded program to strengthen independent media in the Balkans. He completed his BA in International Studies from American University in 1998.

### *New Technologies and Social Media*

#### **H.E. Dr. Peter Vršanský**

Ambassador, PhD, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bratislava, Slovak Republic

Former Ambassador of Slovakia in Japan also was Representative of the Slovak Republic to the European Court of Human Rights, Head of Department of Human Rights in MFA and also served in Slovak Embassy in Hague.

***Public Diplomacy and Pre-Accession Experiences of the Slovak Republic***

Introductory Remarks on General Trends in Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy – General trends in Diplomacy – Public Diplomacy – Public Diplomacy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic – Pre-Accession Process and Experiences of the Slovak Republic – Pre-Accession process – Pre-Accession experiences – Lessons learned.

**Prof. Dr. Boris Vujčić**

Deputy Chief Negotiator for Croatian Accession to the EU  
Deputy Governor, Croatian National Bank

Associate professor, Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, Zagreb (since 2004)  
Associate professor, Graduate School of Economics and Business, University of Zagreb (since 2003)

Lecturer, Diplomatic Academy, MFAEI, Zagreb (since 2001)

Assistant professor, Graduate School of Economics and Business, University of Zagreb (since 1997), Assistant (since 1989)

Director, Research Department, Croatian National Bank (since December 1996)

Consultant to the European Commission (1996)

External Collaborator for the International Labour Organization (ILO), Central and Eastern European Team (1994–1995 and 2000–2001)

Visiting scholar, University of Kentucky, USA (May-June, 1994)

Visiting lecturer, University of Freiberg, Germany (November, 1993)

Visiting fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton (September-October, 1992)

***Economic Aspects of the EU Accession: Public Perception and the Reality***

**Dr. Vivian S. Walker**

PhD, Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy in Zagreb, Croatia

She took up her duties in August 2007. Previous to this assignment, she served as Director, Office of Press and Public Diplomacy for Europe, in the Department of State. She also served as Deputy Chief of Mission in Yerevan, Armenia (2002–2004); State Department Senior Fellow at the U.S. Atlantic Council (2001–2002); Public Affairs Officer in Almaty, Kazakhstan, with regional supervisory authority for public diplomacy operations at the U.S. embassies in Tajikistan and Turkmenistan (1998–2001); Cultural Affairs Officer in Tunis, Tunisia (1994–1997); Information Officer in Port-au-Prince, Haiti (1991–1994); and Junior Officer Trainee in Rabat, Morocco (1989–1990).

Her next assignment is in Kabul, Afghanistan, where she will serve as Afghanistan/Pakistan Border Assistance Coordinator.

A career member of the Senior Foreign Service, she joined the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1988, following completion of a PhD in English Language and Literature from the University of Chicago. She also has a BSFS from Georgetown University.

**»*From the Bottom of Our Souls, We Hate You*”: the Challenge for American Public Diplomacy Today**

***Workshop on Public Diplomacy in the CEI Region for Junior Diplomats: Shaping Public Attitudes towards NATO and EU Integration***

On any given day, in media outlets around the world, you can find an article, editorial, television report, radio commentary or blog post that contains a harsh condemnation of the United States. Does this mean that the U.S. Public Diplomacy efforts have failed? If so, what can Public Diplomacy practitioners be doing better? In the aftermath of the devastating effects on 9/11, when the American public learned in very graphic terms what it means to be vulnerable to hatred, what does it mean to engage in public diplomacy? The lecture explores some answers to these questions.

**Dr. Daniel Warner**

PhD, Director, Centre for International Governance, Geneva, Switzerland

Daniel Warner is a leading academic at Geneva’s Graduate Institute (HEI), a regular commentator on international relations and advisor to governments. After more than three decades in Switzerland, the blunt New Yorker and former tennis pro is finally settling down to citizenship in a country that he describes as “very liveable”. As an expert on international relations, Daniel Warner can engage world leaders and top diplomats on a few continents. As a student, Warner worked on Bobby Kennedy’s campaign in the 1960s when the US senator was assassinated. He left the US in 1972.

The *Centre for International Governance* is a key entity of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. Its mission is to enhance the capacity of stakeholders to function at regional and international levels. The Centre focuses in expertise in two areas: training and institutional development, and multi-stakeholder facilitation dialogues. The Centre’s activities are designed for professionals from the public and private sectors as well as civil society.

***The Challenger of New Diplomacy***

**Dr. Daniela Zaharia**

PhD, Scientific secretary, Institute for Diplomatic Studies, University of Bucharest, Romania  
Senior Lecturer, Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, Romania  
Training Director, Romanian Diplomatic Institute, MFA, Bucharest

***Public Diplomacy in the EU Accession Processes***



Family Photo – 13th CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum “Strategic Public Diplomacy”  
(Dubrovnik, Croatia, 20–22 May 2010)

**DUBROVNIK DIPLOMATIC FORUM**  
Dubrovnik, Croatia, 1998 – 2012

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- 2011: EU AND ITS NEIGHBOURS: MEDITERRANEAN, RUSSIA AND EASTERN PARTNERSHIP**
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- 2007: LIFE-LONG LEARNING AND DIPLOMACY**
- 2006: BUILDING CAPACITY FOR NEGOTIATING WITHIN AN ENLARGED EU**
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- 2000: DIPLOMACY IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION**
- 2000: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND MEDIA**
- 1999: DIPLOMACY FOR THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY: KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT**
- 1998: THE ROLE OF DIPLOMACY IN COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

INTERNATIONAL FRANCOPHONE DIPLOMATIC SEMINARS =  
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*Cette série de séminaires internationaux diplomatiques francophones est organisé dans le cadre de la coopération de l'Académie diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires étrangères et de l'Intégration européenne de la République de Croatie avec l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, l'Ambassade de France en Croatie ainsi qu'avec l'Ambassade du Royaume de Belgique en Croatie et avec le soutien du Centre des études européennes de l'ENA.*

- **2011 (Zagreb): DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN EUROPE: EMERGENCE OF NEW ACTORS AND EVOLUTION OF INFLUENCE STRATEGIES = *LES RELATIONS DIPLOMATIQUES EN EUROPE: EMERGENCE DE NOUVEAUX ACTEURS ET EVOLUTION DES STRATEGIES D'INFLUENCE***
- **2010: COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (CFSP) = *LA POLITIQUE ETRANGERE ET DE SECURITE COMMUNE (PESC)***
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- **2008: EU ACTIVITIES IN THE AREAS OF ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE = *L'ACTION DE L'UE DANS LES DOMAINES DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT, DE L'ENERGIE ET DU CHANGEMENT CLIMATIQUE***
- **2007: EU FINANCIAL FRAMEWORK AND ITS PRINCIPAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE POLICIES = *LE CADRE FINANCIER DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE ET SES DEUX PRINCIPALES POLITIQUES D'AIDE FINANCIERE***
- **2006: LEGAL TOOLS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION = *LES OUTILS JURIDIQUES DE L'UNION EUROPEENNE***

- **2005: CFSP AND ESDP = *LA PESC ET LA PESD***
- **2004: INSTITUTIONAL FUTURE OF THE EU = *L'AVENIR INSTITUTIONNEL DE L'EUROPE***
- **2003: EU AND MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS = *L'UNION EUROPEENNE DANS LES NEGOCIATIONS MULTILATERALES***
- **2002: CFSP – COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY = *PESC – LA POLITIQUE ETRANGERE ET DE SECURITE COMMUNE***