

# POWER AND DEMOCRACY

---

Rivista internazionale  
di Politica, Filosofia e Diritto

7

1 (2023)



Tocqueville-Acton  
Centro Studi e Ricerche



# POWER AND DEMOCRACY

---

Rivista internazionale  
di Politica, Filosofia e Diritto

7  
1 (2023)



## POWER AND DEMOCRACY

Rivista internazionale di Politica, Filosofia e Diritto

---

**Periodicità:** semestrale

**Modalità di raccolta degli articoli:** comitato scientifico, call for paper, invio spontaneo

**Tipo di selezione e valutazione degli articoli:** double-blind review

### **Progetto grafico a cura di**

EDUCatt – Ente per il Diritto allo Studio Universitario dell'Università Cattolica

### **Contatti**

Direzione Generale  
TOCQUEVILLE-ACTON Centro Studi e Ricerche  
Via Giosuè Carducci 12 – 20123 Milano  
e-mail: [redazione@poweranddemocracy.it](mailto:redazione@poweranddemocracy.it)

### **Website**

[www.poweranddemocracy.it](http://www.poweranddemocracy.it)

**POWER AND DEMOCRACY** è una rivista online a carattere scientifico promossa dal Tocqueville-Acton Centro Studi e Ricerche. La Rivista è inclusa nell'elenco ANVUR delle Riviste scientifiche dell'Area 12 - Scienze giuridiche e dell'Area 14 - Scienze politiche e sociali.

ISSN 2724-0177

La rivista è registrata presso il Tribunale di Milano  
(Aut. n. 1901 del 19 ottobre 2020. Reg. Stampa n. 136).

Lo sviluppo e la manutenzione dell'installazione di OJS sono forniti da A2i Open Journals, divisione e-publishing di A2i Srl.

La rivista è presente in:

- Catalogo italiano dei periodici ACNP (<https://acnpsearch.unibo.it/journal/3493844>)
- Google Scholar (<https://scholar.google.it/>)
- CORE (<https://core.ac.uk/>)



# POWER AND DEMOCRACY

Rivista internazionale di Politica, Filosofia e Diritto

[www.poweranddemocracy.it](http://www.poweranddemocracy.it)

## DIRETTORE

Flavio Felice, Università degli Studi del Molise

## COMITATO EDITORIALE

Fabio Giuseppe Angelini, Università Internazionale Uninettuno di Roma

Antonio Campati, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

Maurizio Serio, Università degli Studi Guglielmo Marconi

---

## COMITATO SCIENTIFICO INTERNAZIONALE

Daron Acemoğlu, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Andrew A. Abela, Catholic University of America (USA)

Angelo Abignente, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Brian Anderson, Manhattan Institute (USA)

Dario Antiseri, LUISS Guido Carli

Nicola Antonetti, Università degli Studi di Parma

Angelo Arciero, Università degli Studi Guglielmo Marconi

Mauro Barberis, Università degli Studi di Trieste

Marco Bassani, Università degli Studi di Milano

Léonce Bekemans, Università degli Studi di Padova

Giovanni Belardelli, Università degli Studi di Perugia

Massimiliano Bellavista, Università degli Studi di Siena

Arthur C. Brooks, Harvard University (USA)

Rocco Buttiglione, Instituto de Filosofia Edith Stein Granada (Spagna)

Davide Cadeddu, Università degli Studi di Milano

Alejandro Chafuen, Acton Institute (USA)

Alessandro Campi, Università degli Studi di Perugia

Josepf E. Capizzi, Catholic University of America (USA)

Paolo Carozza, University of Notre Dame (USA)

Fabio Ciamarelli, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Riccardo Crespo, Universidad Austral, Buenos Aires (Argentina)

Lorenzo Cuocolo, Università degli Studi di Genova

Attilio Danese, Centro Ricerche Personaliste di Teramo

Stefano De Luca, Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa

Gianni Dessì, Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata

Giulia Paola Di Nicola, Centro Ricerche Personalistiche di Teramo

Enzo Di Nuoscio, Università degli Studi del Molise

Franco Maria Di Sciullo, Università di Messina

Jude P. Dougherty †, Catholic University of America (USA)

Federica Fabrizzi, La Sapienza – Università di Roma

Damiano Florenzano, Università di Trento

Francesco Forte †, Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”

Lothar Funk, University of Applied Sciences di Duesseldorf (Germania)

George Garvey, Catholic University of America (USA)

Mary Ann Glendon, Harvard University (USA)

Nils Goldschmidt, University of Siegen (Germania)



Maurizio Griffo, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II  
André Habisch, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt (Germania)  
Stefan Kolev, Hamburg Institute of International Economics e Wilhelm Röpke Institute (Germania)  
Antonio Masala, Università di Pisa  
Guido Meloni, Università degli Studi del Molise  
Roberto Miccù, La Sapienza – Università di Roma  
Alberto Mingardi, Università Iulm  
Roberta Modugno, Università degli Studi Roma Tre  
Flavia Monceri, Università degli Studi del Molise  
Michele Nicoletti, Università di Trento  
Lorenzo Ornaghi, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore  
Damiano Palano, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore  
Claudio Palazzolo, Università di Pisa  
Luca Raffaello Perfetti, Università degli Studi di Bari  
Rocco Pezzimenti, LUMSA Università  
Aristide Police, LUISS Guido Carli  
Giovanni Puglisi, Università degli Studi di Enna 'Kore'  
Marcelo F. Resico, Universidad Católica Argentina (Argentina)  
James Robinson, University of Chicago (USA)  
Eugenio Yanez Rojas, Universidad San Sebastian, Santiago (Cile)  
Robert Royal, Faith and Reason Institute di Washington DC (USA)  
Mónica Rubio García, Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla (Messico)  
Giulio Maria Salerno, Università degli Studi di Macerata  
Paolo Savarese, Università degli Studi di Teramo  
Lorenzo Scillitani, Università degli Studi del Molise  
Stefano Salvatore Scoca, Università per Stranieri 'Dante Alighieri' di Reggio Calabria  
Mario Tesini, Università degli Studi di Parma  
Tommaso Valentini, Università degli Studi Guglielmo Marconi  
Dario Velo, Università di Pavia  
Andreas Widmer, Catholic University of America (USA)  
Alfred Wierzbicki, Catholic University of Lublin (Polonia)  
Michael Wohlgemuth, Walter Eucken Institut di Freiburg (Germania)  
Gabriel Zanotti, Universidad Austral di Buenos Aires (Argentina)  
Todd Zywicki, George Mason University (USA)

---

#### **REDAZIONE**

Giusy Conza, Università degli Studi Federico II di Napoli (Capo Redattore)  
Mauro Bontempi, Tocqueville-Acton Centro Studi e Ricerche  
Daniele Di Paolo (Segreteria di Redazione)

---

#### **DIRETTORE RESPONSABILE**

Nancy Squitieri, Ordine dei Giornalisti di Milano



## INDICE

**Flavia Monceri**

Parresiasti o Esperti?

Riflessioni su intellettuali e potere in democrazia 7

**Simona Fallocco**

Individualismo *versus* collettivismo 27

**Ishvarananda Cucco**

Raymond Boudon:

per una riscoperta del soggetto nella dimensione  
del politico e del sociale. Spunti di riflessione 41

**Sabina de Silva**

History and Evolution of Public and Cultural Diplomacy:  
From Nation Branding to Conflict Resolution 57

**Giuseppina Papini**

Semplificazioni procedurali e nuovi centralismi  
in materia paesaggistica e ambientale 93





SABINA DE SILVA\*

# HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: FROM NATION BRANDING TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION

**ABSTRACT:** The paper aims at providing a comprehensive view on the history and evolution of the practice of Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy over the last century. Through the analysis of case studies and existing literature, the paper traces the path from the born on Public Diplomacy, its evolution on Cultural Diplomacy and its use in Nation Branding activities. The paper has a special focus on the new concept of Cultural Diplomacy in Post-Conflict Reconciliation programs, delinando the main characteristics, crucial and problematic aspects and possible future developments.

**KEYWORDS:** Public Diplomacy; Cultural Diplomacy; Political Culture; Myanmar; Ethiopia.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS:** 1. Introduction. 2. Start From the Basis: The Concept of Soft Power. 3. Traditional Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy: A Shift of Perspective. 4. Cultural Diplomacy: birth and development of the term. 4. Conclusion

## 1. Introduction

In the last decades there has been an increasing attention to Cultural Diplomacy as a tool at disposal of national governments in their own international relations. In the Joint Communication of the European Commission and the European External Action Service entitled *Towards an EU Strategy for International Cultural Relations*, for example, Cultural Diplomacy is indicated as the main strategic tool to achieve EU goals<sup>1</sup>; at the same time, many governments are establishing special departments dedicated to Cultural and Public Diplomacy – the Directorate General for Public and Cultural Diplomacy established within the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-

---

\* Sabina de Silva is a PhD Candidate in Institutions and Policies at Università Cattolica di Milano. She is also researcher and project coordinator of the Balkan Focus section at Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (CeSPI ETS). E-mail: sabinadesilva@hotmail.it.

<sup>1</sup> Joint Communication of the European Commission and EEAS “Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations” JOIN (2016) 29 final.

peration in 2022<sup>2</sup>; the US Department of State has established in 1999 the position of Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, under his own direct control<sup>3</sup>. Even before an instrument, Cultural Diplomacy was born as a concept, as a new way of understanding international relations between States and the way in which they dialogue. Milton Cummings, a political scientist at Johns Hopkins University, provides a very precise definition of the concept:

Cultural diplomacy refers to the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. But cultural diplomacy can also be more of a one-way street than a two-way exchange, as when one nation concentrates its efforts on promoting the national language, explaining its policies and point of view, or “telling its story” to the rest of the world (Cummings, 2003; 1)

After being represented as an asset of Public Diplomacy, since the late 1990s Cultural Diplomacy has assumed a specific role and identity. To better understand the phenomenon, it is useful to first introduce two main concepts: the concepts of Soft Power and Public Diplomacy.

## **2. Start From the Basis: The Concept of Soft Power**

The term Soft Power was coined in 1990 – then improved – by the political scientist Joseph Nye. Nye describes Soft Power as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments” as it “arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies” (Nye, 2004; 256). In other words, “Soft Power rests on the ability to shape the preference of others”. Other countries will be willing to emulate the country which exercises Soft Power because they admire its values and aspire to its level of prosperity (Nye, 2004; 5). In the end, Soft Power is opposed to Hard Power – which has historically been the main measure of international relations – and it is based on credibility and legitimation (Nye 2004). Credibility and legitimacy come from the sharing among international audience of the values set out by a State and above all from the ability of the state to act consistently with these same values. But Soft Power can be a double-edged sword: values are not static over time and they are not universally shared. The message conveyed by one state may not interest or even be offensive to the population of another state (Cull, 2019)

---

<sup>2</sup> Please refer to: <https://www.esteri.it/it/ministero/struttura/dg-diplomazia-pubblica-culturale/>.

<sup>3</sup> Please refer to: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/index.htm>.



### 3. Traditional Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy: A Shift of Perspective

The term Public Diplomacy was first coined in 1965 by American diplomat Edmund A. Gullion, who understood the PD as “the whole of influences that social standpoints have in the implementation of foreign policy”<sup>4</sup>. Gullion sees Public Diplomacy as a sort of umbrella term for those aspects of international relations that fall outside the traditional concept of diplomacy, such as the art of “influencing public opinion abroad, mutual impacting by private groups and pressure groups in one another’s countries” (Ryniejska, Kielsanowicz, 2009; 3).

In more recent times, a useful definition is provided by Beata Ociepkka, a Polish political scientist, who sees in Public Diplomacy a “dialogical communication between governments and other actors on the stage of international relations via the mass communication media and non-mediated channels of contact with the foreign countries’ mass audience” (Ociepka, 2008: 39-56). According to the author, the aim of public diplomacy is to share a positive image of a State, by influencing public opinion of other States, in order to shape positive attitudes toward the country in question and to achieve international policy goals easier. On the same page, Robin Higham, a Canadian diplomat, describes Public Diplomacy “a government’s communication with foreign audiences in order to positively influence them” (Higham, 2001; 134-142).

On the basis of these definitions, it is possible to affirm that Public Diplomacy brings a real Copernican revolution within the assets of Traditional Diplomacy: in the latter, political communication takes place at the same level, the institutional one, between the governments of two different countries (Governmente to Government, G2G), in the former, political communication includes an additional level, the public one. National governments, through the instruments provided by Public Diplomacy, are able to dialogue directly with the foreign public (Government to Public, G2P). The goal is the same – to manage the international environment – the target of political action is changed (Cull, 2009).

This shift of perspective is appropriately emphasized by Jian Wang, Director of the USC Center on Public Diplomacy, who draws a distinction between traditional and public diplomacy, arguing that the former covers the interactions between governments, while the latter covers the relations between government of one country and citizens of another (Wang, 2006).

---

<sup>4</sup> Cull N. (2006), *Public Diplomacy’ Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*.

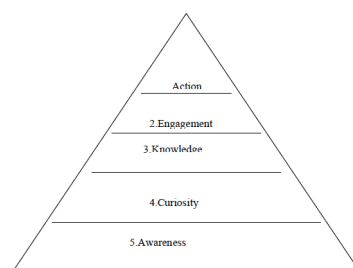
### 3.1 *Public Diplomacy as Nation Branding*

Public Diplomacy appears strongly anchored to the concept of Nation Branding: a tool with which a country can share its national narrative by interacting directly with foreign public opinion, in order to gain a strategic advantage.

According to Kerr and Wiseman, Nation Branding is “the application of corporate marketing concept and technique to countries, in the interests of enhancing their reputation in international relations” (Kerr, Wiseman, 2013; 354). The basic principles of commercial identity building are the same in country branding: both aim to create symbols often built on emotion-based values and attributable to that particular identity (Ryniejska, Kiełdanowicz, 2009). The brand of a country may be linked with its economy, exports, tourism etc. The most useful mean is popular culture, with the international distribution of desirable products (Schneider, 2004), in order to make a Country more attractive to foreign publics (Mark, 2009).

The focus on the activity of national promotion can lead one to think that the activities of Public Diplomacy are nothing but national propaganda activities: Michael McClellan, Advisor for Public Diplomacy at the US Foreign Service, warns against confusing the terms Public Diplomacy, “propaganda” or “public relations”. The difference, according to McClellan, lies in the active, planned use of cultural, educational and informational programming (McClellan, 2004).

In order to explain how Public Diplomacy works, McClellan developed the “Communications Pyramid of Public Diplomacy” (McClellan, 2004).



In the pyramid, each layer builds on the layer below and support the layer above.

- At the basis of the pyramid there is mass, who become aware of advocate country’s existence through news, foreign aid projects, military actions, public events, broadcasts etc. In this case, the relation is supported by the role of traditional media.
- On the next level, audience in target country have become aware of the advocate country’s existence and have developed a positi-



ve interest in it, moving to higher knowledge stage. This is a focal turning point because the audience begin an active member of the Public Diplomacy process, not only a passive participant. The key element is to realize there are benefits in knowing more about the advocate country or in recognizing the existence of shared values. Benefits and self-interest are the motivating factor in which the advocate country must invest.

- On the “knowledge” level, audience in target countries actively seeks to increase knowledge of the advocate country, through lecture, seminars, academic programs, cultural events and so on. At this stage, advocacy country has to make information available for the audience’s use and consumption. It is essential the coexistence of two factor: a wide range of information available about the advocate country and a widely knowledge of the advocate country’s language or, at least, the study of the language must be easily available.
- The second level requires a two-stage information: the image of the advocate country is supported by opinion maker who can influence public opinion. The Public Diplomacy tools must be intensely information – oriented, because people interested at this stage want to learn about culture, history, economy and politics of advocate country. Tools tend to be costly and long term (country study program, cultural centres, university partnerships etc.) The risk is to underestimate this tool because the results are not immediate nor measurable and they require a long term prospective and considerable investment.
- The apex of the pyramid includes G2G Communication. Here the difference between Traditional and Public Diplomacy is quite evident: in the former, officials of one country focus their effort on persuading officials of another country to undertake certain actions. In the latter, officials of one country focus their effort on shaping public opinion of another country in order to force officials to undertake certain actions.

The Pyramid shows that the audience is larger at the base of the pyramid and progressively smaller at the top of the pyramid. At the same time, the cost of communicating with the audience is lower at the base and higher at the apex. Reaching the basis is the most important step and it is important to share a positive awareness rather than a negative awareness (this can be the case in which media reports of wars or scandals).

### *3.2 Instruments of Public Diplomacy*

Once it has been established what Public Diplomacy is and how it works, it is important to understand which are Public Diplomacy’s tools.

Nicholas J. Cull, one of the leading theorists of Public Diplomacy, identifies five ways in which international actors are able to engage foreign publics: Listening, Advocacy, Cultural Diplomacy, Exchange Diplomacy, International Broadcasting (Cull, 2019).

Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents (Cull, 2006:1).

Listening is the main activity of any Public Diplomacy activity. It allows to collect data on feelings and opinions of the target audience, national governments are able to redirect their policy. After collecting the data and establishing its own narrative line, the Advocacy phase can start: a government is able to undertake targeted communication programs that promote its values, narrative and policies abroad through its official communication channels. At this point a government can start its operation of Cultural Diplomacy. Cultural Diplomacy concerns all the activities aimed at promoting knowledge of national culture abroad and it can include Exchange Diplomacy and International Broadcasting. Exchange Diplomacy concerns student exchange activities that act in two directions: on the one hand, domestic students traveling abroad act as real advisors on the lifestyle and values of their country of origin; on the other hand, foreign students hosted on national territory are target of promoting actions of national values and life style and, once they return to their country of origin, they will be able to share this information with their fellow citizens. Finally, International Broadcasting concerns the engagement activities of foreign publics carried on through the use of direct, immediate and easy to use means of communication, such as radio, television, internet (Cull, 2019)

Public Diplomacy is a proactive process with which a nation promotes its value system and culture abroad, developing long-term relations with foreign audience by way of culture art and education. Historically, diplomats and government instructed local artists to transmit values and culture abroad. The best example of this practice is the Jazz Ambassadors Program, created in 1956 by the U.S. State Department,



with the aim of financing artists to go on tour in Soviet Union. Artists became Ambassadors showing the wealth and prosperity of a democratic society, such as the U.S. during the Cold War, in juxtaposition to a totalitarian system, such as the Soviet Union (Schneider 2003).

### 2.3 *The New Public Diplomacy*

In the 2005 volume “The New Public Diplomacy”, Jan Melissen, professor at the University of Southern California, uses the term for the first time. Melissen explains that in recent years, with the increasing of non-governmental actors in the policy field, national governments have lost their ability “to speak exclusively for the country abroad” (Rosenau, 2003; 69). The world stage has seen the arise of a range of non-governmental actors that operate locally and globally, interact with each other through transnational communication network and often contradict the purposes of the governments (Rosenau, 2003). The result is the “diminishing authority and capacity of national governments to act as the pre-eminent representatives of the national interest” (Rosenau 2003; 69). Communication becomes multilevel: in addition to the official government channels, civil society actors communicate with the foreign audience (Governance and Public to Public, G/P2P).

Reasons that led to this paradigm shift are of various kinds and can be traced back to:

1. Civic society can access to new digital technologies and new information systems which bypass the official political communication of governments. The new non-governmental actors are able to reach directly – without the government filter – the foreign audience, conveying their own message.
2. Globalization and the consequent growth of exchanges of people who travel for work, study or tourism from one place to another in the world, has contributed to making the national borders more and more porous. Exchanges of ideas and information between people take place outside the official channels, escaping government control.
3. Political democratisation has led citizens to ask to be increasingly involved in the political life of their own Country, not only as recipients of national policies, but as agents.

Melissen sets a specific date as a turning point: 11 September 2001. The September 11 terrorist attacks opened for global debate among diplomats from different parts of the world, who “calling for transparency and transnational collaboration” in diplomatic practices (Melissen, 2005; 33). Moreover, the attacks revive the importance of explaining cultural values in foreign countries: the consequence was the Bush administration “War on Terror and a war over the hearts and minds of

the Muslim world” (Manor, 2019; 11) which led, in 2006 to the establishment of the Digital Outreach Team (DOT) with the primary objective to counter misinformation and to dialogue directly with the Muslim world in order to explain US policies (Constantinou, 2016; Pajtinka, 2014).

#### **4. Historical Application of Public Diplomacy**

Mariano Zamorano, Associate Lecturer at Open University of Catalonia, traces the first application of Public Diplomacy to the period between the two World Wars, under the pressure of two factors: the challenges to colonialism that emerged from the collapse of the balance of power after the First World War and the subsequent political antagonist between the European powers that led them to reaffirm their dominant capacity through the propagandistic use of culture (Zamorano, 2016). Specialised departments for cultural administration were created as a branch of the Foreign Ministries – such as the Department of Germans Abroad and Cultural Affairs in 1920, the French Office of Cultural Affairs in 1923, the British Council in 1934 and the US Division of Cultural Relations and the US Division of International Communications in 1938 (Zamorano, 2016 and Pajtinka, 2014).

The history and the transformations of the US Divisions during the 1900 provide an excellent case study to observe the evolution of Public Diplomacy over the twentieth century: from instrument of war during the First World War to means of pacification in the first after war, to become again an instrument of propaganda in the confrontation with the Soviet Union – Public Diplomacy demonstrates its ability to adapt to seemingly opposite purposes.

Milton Cumming, as well, traces the origin of US Public Diplomacy in the 1930s, as a response to the Nazi “cultural offensive” in Latin America. According to the US government, German propaganda were led in an anti-American way, being “well-organized and well subsidized, and designed to counteract and weaken US cultural relationships with the Latin American countries and discredit US motives and purposes in the area” (Cummings, 2003: 1) The US response was to strengthen the “inter-American Cultural Relations” with Buenos Aires: the result was the 1936 Buenos Aires Convention signed in occasion of the Pan American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace on the same year (Mulcahy, 1999). The 1936 Convention is an emblematic example for Public Diplomacy practice. It includes the specific objective of enhancing cultural relations and intellectual cooperation among the two nations involved through the specific means of Public Diplomacy: exchange of governmental and nongovernmental organization.

United States realized the potential provided by the media for war purposes: the US State Department started providing information on a daily basis on the national war efforts and the results obtained by the government with a dual purpose: on the one hand to mobilize the domestic audience by leveraging patriotic sentiments, on the other hand to show the enemy the superiority not only of their military strength, but above all of their ideology. In addition to war purpose, US Public Diplomacy was aimed also to networking: various artistic exchanges were organized: such the exhibitions of artists from Brazil, Argentina and Mexico at the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the sending of performing groups – such as the American Ballet Theater – in those countries (Cummings, 2009).

Moreover, in 1942 the Office of War Information was created, with the task of explaining “America’s purposes and objectives to the world” (Cummings 2009;3). The strategy led to a vast civic engagement: initiatives aimed at supporting and strengthening the governmental action arose spontaneously within civil society. Following the complaint by four Directors of the major American Cultural Centres – Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Sumner McKnight Crosby, President of the College Art Association; William B. Dinsmoor, President of the Archeological Institute of America; and David E. Finley, Director of the National Gallery of Art – on the pillage of European art collections conducted by the German Nazi government over the occupied territories, the government established the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas. The Commission took place from 1943 to 1946 and endeavoured to return stolen object of arts to the owner countries.

Once the war effort was over, Public Diplomacy replied to the need to achieve international reconciliation and moral recovery and the United States embarked a new purpose: to “re-educate and re-orient German people in the values of a democratic system” (Cummings 2009; 4). Once again, educational and cultural exchange programs were the favourite tool. Between 1945 and 1954, about 12,000 Germans and 2,000 Americans participated in the exchange programs between the two nations. For American policy makers “it became vital to the national security to understand the minds of people in other societies and to have American aspirations and problems understood by others” (Liping, 1999;6). Once again, educational exchanges fitted perfectly for the purpose, while post-war Europe was a perfect testing ground for US Public Diplomacy.

In the 1946, the Fulbright Act allowed the State Department to sell U.S. war surplus to finance academic and cultural exchanges – whi-

ch went under the name of Fulbright Program. Between 1946 and 1996, about 250,000 participants had benefited from Fulbright Scholarships (Cummings, 2009). Economic aids, military alliance and cultural exchanges were on a par fulfilment of American leadership, in the emerging idea of “total diplomacy” (Liping, 1999). In a Europe devastated by war, the winning US represented modernity and abundance: the American Dream became the European Dream. The control of channels of distribution of cultural capitals led to the domination of “Made-in-America symbols” and the “colonization of the European subconscious”. To reach the scope, especially in the occupied territories of Germany and Austria, U.S. established cultural propaganda agencies which exerted an absolute control over cultural centres – theatres, cinemas, operas and so on – involving the paradox “of enforcing democracy with potentially undemocratic methods” (Wagnleitner 1994). Hollywood films became the force eroding traditional customs and the means of communication of new values. After the Second World War, nine major American film companies – Allied Artists, Columbia Pictures, Metro Goldwyn Mayer, Paramount Pictures, RKO Pictures, 20th Century Fox, United Artists, Universal International, and Warner Brothers – founded the export cartel *Motion Picture Export Association* (MPEA). This symbiosis between Hollywood and Washington allowed U.S. government to have a direct control over the selection of film exports, in order to spread a positive message about the American way of life (Wagnleitner 1994).

During Cold War, the enemy-target of American Cultural Diplomacy shifted from Nazi Germany to the Soviet Union. Public Diplomacy became an instrument of ideological struggle: cultural competition between the two Countries was aimed at promoting their values, culture and lifestyle, trying to attract and consolidate the “loyalty” of the foreign audience in their respective blocks (Pajtinka, 2014).

In 1953, the United States Information Agency (USIA) was created with the aim of coordinating the cultural-diplomatic activities in U.S in order to “tell America’s story to the world”, with a massive use of medias – one above all the international radio station “Voice of America”. Moreover, the intent of the abovementioned Jazz Ambassadors Program was strongly anti-Soviet, highlighting social and cultural differences between the two countries. In return, Soviet government tried “to ban music and the mere mention of the word *jazz*”, but despite the efforts the Soviet public claimed to access to American products, as a “symbol of freedom and prosperity” (Grincheva 2010;174), in a contrast between music and totalitarianism, making American culture even more desirable.



First anti-German and then anti-Soviet, US Public Diplomacy has been built around a specific enemy that changed over time. It is not entirely wrong to say that the involvement of the government in Public Diplomacy needs an external input, often depending on a perceived external threat. The efforts result both in an international propaganda to the detriment of the enemy, and in a re-education of the enemy population according to the American values.

## 5. Cultural Diplomacy: birth and development of the term

Cultural Diplomacy has struggled to emerge as a concept *per se*. For a long time, it has been considered as a simple tool of Public Diplomacy. Nicholas J. Cull, as mentioned above, looks at Cultural Diplomacy as one of the five an element constituting the practice of Public Diplomacy – Listening, Advocacy, Cultural Diplomacy, Exchange Diplomacy and International Broadcasting. The American diplomat, Irving Sablosky, for examples, look at Cultural Diplomacy as a “part of public diplomacy that is concerned with the building of long-term relationship” (Mark, 2009; 6).

This difficulty is mainly due to the lack of agreement among experts on a clear definition of Cultural Diplomacy, often used as an interchangeable term with “Cultural Exchange”, “Cultural International Relations” and “Public Diplomacy”, often used as umbrella term. Although the boundary between the two disciplines often seems blurred and overlapped, over time Cultural Diplomacy succeeded in obtaining its own dimension and dignity beyond Public Diplomacy, become its natural evolution.

The diplomatic opening began in the early 2000s led to two main consequences:

1. The appearance of player from civil society, equally capable and entitled to communicate with foreign audience.
2. The progressive change in scope and purpose on international exchange: culture is no longer just a means of Nation Branding, but a tool for creating bridges of dialogue between different peoples. Diplomacy adopted the conviction that a raising awareness about a Country’s culture can help to better understand, respect and recognize cultural diversity and to find affinity between two different cultures, in a mutual exchange marked by mutual benefits rather than unilateral gain.

The first hint of this change was the US Department of State 2005 “Linchpin Report”, which argues that “Cultural diplomacy is the linchpin of Public Diplomacy; for it is in cultural activities that a nation’s idea of itself is best represented”. The Report comes at a tricky mo-

ment for American diplomacy: the government was dealing with a public opinion especially wary of the unsuccessful invasion of Iraq while it tried to juggle the accusations of “cultural imperialism” by international community. The Americanization of popular culture during Cold War led to a backlash in countries which feel the risk of an overrunning of their own culture<sup>5</sup>. A Survey conducted by The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt University, explains that “Globalization” became synonymous with “Americanization”, associated with the negative concept of “cultural assimilation”<sup>6</sup>. The Authors of the Survey highlights that what is missing in U.S. cultural policy is the concept of “mutuality” – a plan to design long-term relationships among nations based on trust and mutual satisfaction (Leonard et al, 2005). Since World War II, U.S. benefited of “substantial reserves of non-specific trust”<sup>7</sup>. The increase in negative perception toward the U.S. meant the erosion of this trust and the spread of a perception of lack of mutuality.

Linchpin Report answers this dilemma, arguing that culture – deployed through Cultural Diplomacy – can help to “reverse the erosion of trust and credibility that the US has suffered across the world and help shape global public opinion in favour of America and the values it claims to stand for”. The new concept of mutuality through culture is the “red thread” of the various existing definition of Cultural Diplomacy.

The Institute for Cultural Diplomacy describes it as “a course of actions, which are based on and utilize the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond”<sup>8</sup>.

Milton Cummings defines Cultural Diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding” (Cummings, 2003;1). Gyorgy Szondi, professor at Leeds University, emphasise the final objective of mutual understanding and cooperation between the societies, in order to achieve mutual benefit (Szondi 2008). According to Michael Reiterer, Ambassador of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, Cultural Diplomacy can be a “generator of dialogue and

---

<sup>5</sup> *Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating U.S. Public Diplomacy*, sponsored by Council on Foreign Relations, 2003, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest*, The Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt University: <https://cdn.vanderbilt.edu/vu-wp0/wp-content/uploads/sites/143/2012/04/03205005/Cultural-Diplomacy-FINAL-report.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en\\_culturaldiplomacy](https://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy).

mutual understanding, a vehicle for sharing values and promoting interests, and a prime source for developing trust and encouraging cross-fertilization between societies” and it “will allow cultural cooperation with stakeholders in third countries” (Reiterer, 2014; 140-141). In the 2013 Report “Influence & Attraction: Culture & the Race for Soft Power in the 21st Century”, British Council uses the term “Cultural Relations” to refer to Cultural Diplomacy, as “a space of mutual activity, where receiving the culture of others is as important as showing one’s own culture to the rest of the world”<sup>9</sup>. European Union prefers the term “Cultural Relations” instead of Cultural Diplomacy, as well. The 2022 European Parliament Resolution outlines a demarcation between Cultural Diplomacy – understood in the negative sense of unidirectional Nation Branding – and International Cultural Relations – understood as activities aimed at creating intercultural ties based on European values of solidarity<sup>10</sup>.

Maurits Berger, professor at Leiden University, provides a very precisely definition about the difference between Public and Cultural Diplomacy:

while public diplomacy is unilateral with an emphasis on explaining one’s policies to the others, cultural diplomacy takes a bi- or multi-lateral approach with an emphasis on mutual recognition. Cultural diplomacy is therefore explicitly not meant to be the promotion of a national culture. Cultural diplomacy focuses on common ground, and the condition thereto is that one needs to know what makes the other tick (Berger, 2008; 3)

Berger’s focus is on the use of diplomacy and culture to understand “the other by looking at the variety of ways that the other expresses itself [...] evading the trap of cultural relativism and remaining in dialogue with the other party while at the same time not abandoning one’s principles”. This makes Cultural Diplomacy not only a matter for diplomats, but “an interaction that requires diplomatic skills on a human level” (Berger, 2008;4).

To summarize, Cultural Diplomacy is: a series of activities carried out by both state bodies and civil society, with a view to mutual understanding and cultural dialogue, which have their pivot in the use of culture.

---

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/influence-and-attraction-report.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> European Parliament resolution of 14 December 2022 on the implementation of the New European Agenda for Culture and the EU Strategy for International Cultural Relations (2022/2047(INI)).

### 5.1 *The Role of Culture*

Before going into the heart of Cultural Diplomacy, it is appropriate to clarify the way culture is understood. Culture is a complex and dynamic concept, but referring to two of the most famous definitions of culture provided by two of the greatest scholars of cultural systems, it is possible to denote some recurring expressions. Raymond Williams, professor at Oxford University, defines culture as a “signifying system” through which a social order is “communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored”, where “signifying system” means a distinct way of life (Williams, 1963). Edward Said, professor at Columbia University, describes culture as “both a function and a source of identity” (Said, 1994). On these bases, it is possible arguing that culture is the set of values, habits, behaviours, system of laws, artistic expressions and manifestations (Olivares, Zafirova, 2019) which constitutes the way of life of a specific social group and the identity with which the members of the social group identify themselves. Joseph Henrich, professor at Harvard University, identifies four different dimensions of culture: the material one, represented by the tangible elements of a society’s identity, such as buildings, food, artifacts; the immaterial one, symbolized by language, beliefs, values and norms; the behavioural culture refers to the specific behaviour of a society; cognitive cultures includes knowledge system and worldviews shared by a collective identity (Henrich, 2015).

The 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity describes culture as “the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group that encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs”.

Assuming that sharing a similar background means sharing similar perceptions and values (Costigliola, 2004), in the field of International Relation, as well as cultural differences can create misunderstandings and conflicts, shared cultural values can facilitate cooperation and mutual understanding. As a consequence, understanding the role of culture and identity in international relations means identifying “the basis for interaction between states and societies” (Saaida, 2023; 51). The use of culture in international relations allow a Nation both to showcase its own identity abroad (Kitsou, 2011) both to stimulating cooperation (Alexandrov, 2003).

Richard Arndt, American Cultural Attache, tries to explain Cultural Diplomacy starting by the concept of culture. He explains the process with which cultural diplomats use culture to better comprehend the “complex of factors of mind and values which define a country or



group” Arndt also uses the term “Cultural Relations” to denote the relations between national cultures, that arise spontaneously from trade, tourism, student flows, migration, media access and so on, without government intervention. According to Arndt, Cultural Diplomacy takes place when diplomats, “try to shape and channel this natural flow” of Cultural Relations to advance national interests (Arndt, 2005;16).

Many authors (Conze, 2003; Kaiser, 2003) trace the moment when governments began to instrumentalized culture in the 19th Century World Exhibitions, when Nations used these Great Events as a global public competitive space in which spreading their culturally-shaped images of “stability, security or even hegemony” (Conze, 2003; 199). Kaiser, for examples, considers the 19th Century World Exhibitions as the birth of Cultural Diplomacy. As noted so far, culture in Public and Cultural Diplomacy may serve various purpose: a Nation can try to spread its own world vision making its own culture attractive, convincing other countries to share the same values and policy orientation. Culture can be used in international cooperation activities, as a meeting point between different countries in order to address urgent global challenges – climate change, transnational terrorism, poverty. Ultimately, culture can constitute a bridge of dialogue when different conflicting identities coexist in the same community.

## 5.2 *The Genres of Cultural Diplomacy*

Cultural Diplomacy can be declined in numerous genres such as Art Diplomacy, Music Diplomacy Theatre Diplomacy, Sport Diplomacy, Food Diplomacy, Exchange Diplomacy, Digital Diplomacy and Science/Space Diplomacy. Below is some examples of particularly successful application of these genres.

In 2005, British Museum hosted the art exhibition “Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia”, which included art loaded from the National Museum of Iran in Tehran. At that time, diplomatic channels of communication between the two Countries have stalled, due to Iran’s nuclear program. The main goal of the art exhibition was to reshape Iran’s global reputation, break down the perception of Iran as a hostile state.

In light of the failure of the communication channels of traditional diplomacy, the art exhibition was the only remaining field for diplomatic relations. This was possible thank to the “privileged position” of British museum: an international recognized incubator and generator of culture, but at the same time free from governmental constraints (ibid.). “Forgotten Empire” is one of the best examples of Arti Diplomacy.

Regarding Music Diplomacy, previous chapters have extensively discussed the role that music had during the Cold War. However, a more recent example is provided by the West Eastern Diwan Orchestra. Founded in 1999 by the Argentinean-Israeli pianist Daniel Baren-

boim and the Palestinian literary scholar Edward Saïd with the aim to encourage dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian cultures (McParland, 2012). Players are young Israelis, Arabs, and Palestinians, using culture and music to overcome the political hate in Middle East allowing a peaceful collaboration based on shared culture (Beecher, Washington, 2010). Finally, the best example of Theatre Diplomacy is certainly The International Theatre Institute, the world's largest performing arts organisation, founded in 1948 to advance UNESCO's goals of "mutual understanding and peace and advocates for the protection and promotion of cultural expressions, regardless of age, gender, creed or ethnicity"<sup>11</sup>.

Not only visual and performing arts, also activities that can catalyze the interests of a wide audience, such as sport and food, can be powerful tool of diplomacy. For example, forerunner of Sport Diplomacy is the so-called "Ping Pong Diplomacy", the exchange of visits between table tennis players from the United States and the People's Republic of China in 1971. The event was an important step in the process of normalizing relations between the two Super Powers, paving the way for US President Richard Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China from 21 to 28 February 1972 (Eckstein 1993). Regarding Food Diplomacy, one of the most successful examples is certainly the "Global Thai" program launched by the Thai government in 2002. The aim of the project was to increase the number of restaurants offering Thai cuisine in the world, in order to awareness of Thai cuisine and culture at the same time. Thailand government offered loans of up to \$3 million to Thai nationals hoping to open restaurants, giving a special 'Thailand's Brand' certificate to those that satisfy the criteria of Thailand's Ministry of Commerce (Qian Ng, 2015).

The success of the project is measured by the numerous repercussions, direct and indirect, on the spheres of Thai Economy and Soft Power: some dishes, such as Pad Thai, became iconic and immediately traceable to Thai culture; Thai restaurants, created in different parts of the world, served as social promoters and points of reference for the Thai diaspora abroad; cuisine became the driving force for Thai tourism. As a consequence, Thai restaurants has increased from 5,500 in 2001 to 15,000 in 2018 and the Country hosts the largest number of tourists in Southeast Asia<sup>12</sup>.

The base of each Cultural Diplomacy activities is the mutual exchange of informations, people and values. This type of exchange can occur in a physical manner – with, Exchange that have a long hi-

---

<sup>11</sup> <https://web.archive.org/web/20140316111954/http://iti-worldwide.org/mission.php>.

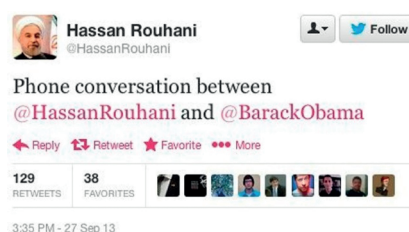
<sup>12</sup> *The Economist* (2002) *Thailand's Gastro-Diplomacy*. *The Economist*, 21 February 2002. <http://www.economist.com/node/999687>.

story of successful initiative, such as the Fulbright Program and, in more recent years, the Erasmus Program, which from 1987 promotes students' interchange between universities of Europe – or in a virtual manner, with the new tools provided by digitalisation and new technologies. Digital Diplomacy refers to “the use of the Web, ICTs, and social media tools to engage in diplomatic activities and carry out foreign policy objectives” (Sandre, 2015: 9). But the definition of Digital Diplomacy can also move in the opposite direction, changing the order of object and subject. This is how Digital Diplomacy becomes the ability of the new social medias to influence and manage diplomatic relations. The new social media have helped to shorten even more the distance between the world of politics and the world of civil society, dropping the aura of mystery and unattainability that has marked the old generations of politicians and diplomats, making them easily and directly accessible through their personal social pages.

The impact of new communication channels is such that Digital Diplomacy “makes a significant difference in how states pursue their foreignpolicy objectives and how they manage the relationships between them” (Bjola, 2016; 2), leading to the extreme consequences the abovementioned call for transparency and inclusivity.

James Pamment, Professor of the Lund University, outlines a clear distinction between the twentieth-century public diplomacy – in which radio and television allowed a “one-way flows of information”, with limited interaction between messengers and recipients and a tightly control on the message by diplomats, preventing the foreign audience from “the opportunity to respond to or contest public diplomacy messages” – and the new century “two-way communication” – that is “dialogical, collaborative, and inclusive as it no longer focused on elites, but rather on foreign citizens” (Pamment, 2013; 6-8). On the other hand, diplomats themselves have started to make use of digital tools to achieve their diplomatic goals (Manor, 2019).

Notably iconic is the 2013 episode that marked the first détente of the American-Iranian relations by means of a phone call between the Former US President Barack Obama and the Former Iranian President Hassan Rouhani. The news of the phone call was not given through press, but through a tweet of Rouhani (Bjola, 2016).



Lately, Space exploration is the new field of cooperation – and competition – between international Powers. Space Diplomacy is a term back in the limelight in very recent times, but that actually sinks its origins already in the Cold War, when Space, the object of competition between the two Superpowers of the time, the United States and the Soviet Union, became an unexpected field of cooperation between the two States. In 1975, with the Apollo Sojuz Program, the Soyuz capsule was docked in orbit by the Apollo spacecraft, to allow the transfer of crew from one spacecraft to another (Krasnyak, 2017).

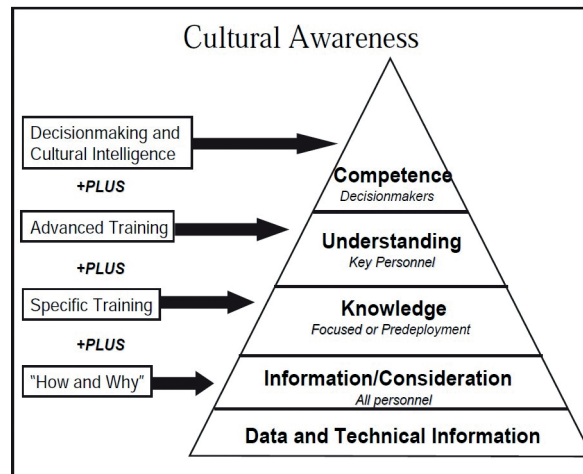
In recent years, the entry into play of important private actors in the territory of Space exploration – for example SpaceX by Elon Musk and Blue Origin by Jeff Bezos – has opened the way for new forms of transnational cooperation in a space that can be defined “neutral”, transcending the terrestrial geopolitical dynamics of the nations involved. The most recent example is the International Space Station, a joint project of the United States, Russia, the European Union, Japan and Canada. After the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the condemnation of Russia by the International Community, Russian threatened to withdraw from the program after 2024. The decision was then withdrawn (Cross, Pekkanen, 2023).

## **6. Cultural Diplomacy in Conflict Prevention and the Evolution of Peace Keeping Practices**

The ability of Cultural Diplomacy to act as a bridge between cultures, has led, in recent years, some ambassadors and scholars to investigate a new field of application of Cultural Diplomacy: the support for the activities of multi-ethnic Peace Keeping. The field of application is identified in multi-ethnic societies that experienced civil war and/or social conflict, where the cultural element is crucial for the reconstruction of the social fabric destroyed by war. The synergy between Cultural Diplomacy and Peace Keeping have followed the internal evolution that underwent the reflection on Peace Keeping in the early 2000s: after the failed experiences of the wars in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) many experts and military officials have advocates the necessity, for Peace Keeping Operators to improve cultural and social awareness of the targeted foreign community as a constitutive part of military strategy (McFate, 2005). In this context, Cultural Awareness is defined as “the ability to recognize and understand the effects of culture on people’s values and behaviours” and, as a consequence “the connections between culture and warfighting” (Wunderle, 2007;9).



William D. Wunderle, former political-military planner at the US Secretary of Defence, explains the application of cultural awareness to military strategy through the cognitive hierarchy theory, in which each layer represents a different capability to understand foreign culture.



Cultural Awareness Pyramid, Wunderle, 2007.

1. Cultural Consideration: is the incorporation of generic cultural concepts in common military training;
2. Cultural Knowledge: is the knowledge of the recent history of a target culture;
3. Cultural Understanding: is the deeper awareness of the specific culture that support military decision making process;
4. Cultural Competence: Cultural understanding is supported by Cultural Intelligence – meant as the “analysis of social, political, economic and other demographic information, that provides understanding of a people or nation’s history, institution, psychology, belief and behaviors” able to provide “a baseline for designing successful strategies to interact with foreign people” (Coles, 2005; 1) – that allows focused insight into planning for operations.

The new concept of Peace Building adopts the socio-cultural perspective approach, which affirms that values and cultural norms of a society affect the way in which social groups relate to each other and, by extension, their predisposition to conflict (Wagoner, 2014). As a consequence, the cultural element plays a crucial role in shaping collective identity (Visioli, 2019).

Starting from this assumption, Cultural Diplomacy adds another brick, using local culture and behaviour in order to: To reinforce social

cohesion promoting dialogue between different ethnic groups (Pajtin-ka, 2014); To increase the democratic space between central government and population (Pantea – Stoica, 2014); To foster mutual understanding in order to reduce the risk of conflict (Lombardi, Lucini, 2019).

In summary, cultural asset such as language, religion and traditions – constituting the “cultural dimension of security” (Visioli, 2019; 28) – determine how social groups relate to one another. Socio-cultural intelligence help to understand these assets and to identify the outbreaks of conflicts; Cultural Diplomacy help to leverage this asset by finding a common ground between different cultural identities (LeBaron, 2003).

In order to do so, Cultural Diplomacy uses two main instruments:

1. Together with the traditional top-down approach of Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy introduces a new bottom-up approach in which social groups are the main players for reconciliation. Local population have an active role and collaborate closely to national institutions and international peace keeping bodies in reconciliation operations. The result is a raising identity awareness and national cohesion (Visioli 2019).
2. Cultural Diplomacy leverages immaterial and material cultural heritage of a target ethnic group. Cultural heritage “enables the circulation of knowledge and the appropriation of the cultural identity, fragmented and suspended by the ongoing conflicts” (Lombardi and Lucini 2019; 7).

The use of Cultural Heritage in Peace Keeping practices has been analysed for the first time in 2017 *Strategy for the Reinforcement of UNESCO’s Action for the Protection of Culture and the Promotion of Cultural Pluralism in the Event of Armed Conflict*, which recognizes “the meaning of culture in the life of communities and individuals, as well as identity and belonging, makes its continuity a powerful tool to build resilience” and invites “to ensure the recognition and promotion of intangible cultural heritage as a fundamental means to facilitate recovery”<sup>13</sup>. In 2018, the UNESCO Position Paper *Culture in City Reconstruction and Recovery* describes the intangible cultural heritage as the set of “practices, representations, expressions, skills and traditional systems of knowledge and management recognized by communities as part of their cultural heritage and transmitted from generation to generation”. The Position Paper, as well, recognises the importance of intangible cultural heritage “in the recovery and reconstruction pro-

---

<sup>13</sup> <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259805>.

cesses for its power to rebuild the social fabric, as well as to effectively maintain and manage cultural diversity, promote intercultural dialogue and enable the effective monitoring of cultural change in the situation post-war”<sup>14</sup>.

### 6.1 *Cultural Heritage in Destruction and Reconstruction*

Because of the importance of Cultural Heritage in defining a country’s cultural identity, it has become the main target of destruction during conflicts. Cornelius Holtorf, UNESCO Chair on Heritage Futures at Linnaeus University, underlies how local cultural heritage has been “deliberately targeted for destruction” in modern conflicts– for instance, the destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan in 2001, the ruin of the mausoleums in Timbuktu in 2012 and the devastation of the archaeological site of Palmyra in 2015 (Holtorf, 2018). The ratio behind these episodes of destruction, which Doppelhofer calls “Cultural genocide”, is similar: to deny and erase the cultural identity of the enemy through the destruction of its cultural capital, asserting an “homogeneous narrative” and “authority over the history and identity of conquered territories” (Doppelhofer, 2016).

It is a tactic that became sadly known during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in ‘92-’95, where the destruction of cultural symbols and urban spaces of social aggregation has served as a precise instrument of ethnic cleansing, with the dual purpose of destroying the identity of the Other and denying the historical and peaceful coexistence among the constituent peoples (Sekulić, 2002). The systematic and intentional nature of destruction led the Hague Tribunal to establish a new type of crime: the urbicide (Barattin, 2004) – For this reason, the preservation, conservation and reconstruction of cultural heritage has assumed a leading role in Peace Keeping operations, as a means to train the cultural resilience of communities (Jigyasu, 2013; Bokova, 2015; Holtorf, 2018). Cultural resilience is described by Holtorf as “the capability of a cultural system to absorb diversity, deal with change and continue to develop” (Holtorf, 2018; 639). Cultural Heritage provide a sense of belonging supporting people’s collective identity and capacity to absorb disturbance (Trigger, 1995; Saito 2016). Cultural resilience, if supported by “resilience-sensitive policies” (Weijer, 2013) can lead to a “rebuilding of identity – at individual, community, collective and institutional level – after a crisis and/or a conflict” (Lucini, 2019; 23). To better understand how the leveraging of cultural heritage works, it is important to bear in mind that often, the social

---

<sup>14</sup> <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/5e53751b-25c3-5891-a49-00cd038b58a3/content>.

disintegration of a community after a civil conflict is reflected through the so-called “conflicts of memory” (Sasso, 2021). The memory of the conflict that each ethnic group brings with it is often divergent, ending up by transmitting the conflict in the sphere of collective memory. In this context, Cultural Diplomacy moves in two directions: first of all, it tries to “understand motivations that lie at the basis of differences” that led to the conflict (Pantea, Stoica, 2014;221), giving dignity to all cultural specificities and re-establishing a culture of diversity. Secondly, through the use of the cultural elements – tangible and intangible cultural heritage – Cultural Diplomacy tries to create a neutral space where divergent narrations can dialogue in order to develop a new shared narrative of the conflict. The ultimate purpose is to provide the social community with tools of resilience and dialogue useful to the construction of a “dynamic type of stability” (Weijer 2013) able to respond to the different crisis situations that may recur over time, thus creating the conditions for a “positive peace” (Galtung, 1996).

#### *6.2 The Role of Local Communities*

Several scholars of inter-ethnic conflicts pointed out that the majority of the studies on peace keeping are mainly focused on the role of state actors, while little attention is paid to the contribution that local communities can give (Orjuela, 2003, Hartoyo et al. 2020, Ty and Bibon-Ruiz, 2022). The assumption is that, in civil war context, characterized by the absence of a central authority able to exercise the monopoly of legitimate force, the traditional instruments of Peace Keeping, which rely on national institutional bodies, could be fallacious – mostly because of the low trust in central legal system which has been unable to protect the community (Hartoyo et al. 2020). Cultural Diplomacy embraces this assumption, proposing a Bottom-up approach, which using horizontal diplomacy, involves local actors – such as the civilian population and subjects that enjoy cultural, religious, military and political authority – as well as institutional actors. As Hartoyo underlies, the participation of local communities in peacebuilding activities *per se* is not a guarantee for peace: reconciliation programmes need to be cross-cutting and able to overcome the “in-group” and “out-group” identity, for example, establishing a cross-ethnic social organisations that promote cross-cutting affiliation (Hartoyo et al. 2020). The results of Hartoyo’s study – focused on the rural area of Lampung, Indonesia, where from 2010 to 2016 several ethnic conflicts occurred – show that “weakness of inter-ethnic relationships soon improves in the post-peace period through the reconstruction of social and cultural factors to strengthen social cohesion and social capital at the local community level by involving various stakeholders” (Hartoyo et al. 2020; 44).



### 6.3 *Peace Museums and Cultural Focal Points*

The meeting point between the two Cultural Diplomacy's instruments – cultural heritage and local community – is represented by the Cultural Focal Points (CFPs), places of aggregation and promotion of local culture and peace education (Lombardi, Lucini and Visioli, 2019).

CFPs are born from the concept of "Peace Museum". Peace Museums were founded in the early '900 under the impulse of the international peace conferences of the late '800 and at the initiative of philanthropists around the world. The first example of Peace Museum is the Hague Peace Palace, founded in 1913 by the philanthropist Andrew Carnegie to host the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Artifacts, sculptures and paintings of the main international figures should have reinforced the principles included in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, promoting law enforcement and the values of peace. The initial intent of Peace Museums is to preserve a "history of peace-making" and to explore "the relationship between conflict and the visual art" (Duffy, 1993; 4). According to Carol Rank, Honorary Research Fellow at Coventry University, Peace Museums utilize art and history to advance peace and conflict resolution education, since "arts can help people feel the pathos and waste of war and help instil a desire and commitment to end war and work for peace" (Anzai et al., Rank, 2008: 15). Oliver Ramsbotham, professor at the University of Bradford, portrays Peace Museums as spaces in which "use is made of art and other media to present and project the values of peace and conflict resolution" (Ramsbotham, 2016; 390).

Lombardi, Lucini and Visioli transpose the concept of peace museum in the dimension of ethnic conflict, developing the instrument of CFPs as "a set of both representative collections of material and immaterial culture of a particular local community and of reproduction activities of local cultures" (Lombardi, Lucini, 2019; 18). CFPs pursue a twofold objective: on the one hand to promote dialogue and reconciliation between different ethnic groups, on the other hand to raise awareness on the role of different cultures in promoting peace. CFPs are represented in the form of museums, which function as cultural incubator and dynamic spaces where different cultures meet each other.

Unlike Peace Museums, local communities are directly involved in the creation of CFPs: indigenous culture and knowledges are the basis for creating the common physical space of CFPs which "express each ethnic individuality by maintain harmony with the multi-ethnic collectivity" (Visioli, 2019;38).

The role of visual art in reconciliation processes has been discussed by several authors. Art can replace language in helping victims of human rights violations to convey the trauma (Edkins, 2003). The use of

metaphors, images and indirect language help survivors to narrate the atrocities suffered (Laderach, 2005): ritual, drama, writing, movement and storytelling in trauma recovery, enables trauma survivors to engage with their experiences of trauma while creating enough distance from the traumatic event, to prevent re-traumatization” (Wise, Nash, 2012; 99-114). Many authors agree that art in post-conflict societies has the ability to restore victims’ capacities to participate in reconciliation processes, overcoming verbal barriers (Cohen, 2003; Cohen and Yalen, 2004; Cohen 2011; Daly and Sarkin, 2007; Shank and Schirch, 2008; Fortier, 2008). CFPs make available to social groups neutral spaces where they can discuss and overcome the dichotomy victim-perpetrator.

#### 6.4 Case Studies

As seen so far, the investigation of Cultural Diplomacy in the activities of Peace Keeping has an extremely recent formulation. This means that, not only in literature, but also within the international and supranational bodies there is no agreement on an unambiguous definition of Cultural Diplomacy. This makes Cultural Diplomacy have blurred, undefined borders, undermining its legitimacy as a valid political instrument. UNESCO describes Cultural Diplomacy as “a resource for social cohesion and dialogue”, while, within the European Union, there is no a common definition of the phenomenon: in its Own-initiative Opinion REX/548 of 2022, the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) describes Cultural Diplomacy as the EU’s “external relations domain”, while the European Parliament – in the Report on the implementation of the new European agenda for culture and the European Union Strategy for International Cultural Relations (2022/2047(INI)) – marks a clear difference between Cultural Diplomacy – related to a negative definition of mere Nation Branding – and International Cultural Relations – understood as activities aimed at creating intercultural ties based on European values of solidarity.

The absence of terminological consensus makes it difficult to identify projects carried out under the Cultural Diplomacy practice. In Italy, a virtuous example is the NGO Perigeo, which operates mainly in the Horn of Africa and specifically aims to carry out international cooperation projects with the specific use of Cultural Diplomacy – such projects will provide the basis for some of the case studies analysed below<sup>15</sup>. The lack of an organic collection, cataloguing and analysis of Cultural Diplomacy projects, leads to the lack of an application *vademecum* able to provide Cultural Diplomacy operators with a precise methodology and structured procedures of application.

---

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.perigeo.org/>.

Below are four most successful case studies, through which is possible to reconstruct a catalogue of the operating conditions that determine the success of Cultural Diplomacy projects in order to establish criteria of validity applicable to different contexts.

#### *Myanmar*

The first case study concerns the 2012 Myanmar Art Social Project. Myanmar obtained its independence in 1948 from the United Kingdom and, with the independence, a slow and tiring path of nation building began. The 1962 Military Coup throws the country in 50 years of military dictatorship and bloody civil war, where different ethnic groups struggle for self-determination and for a revision of the State structure on the federal model. Minority groups complained over the perceptions that the state was not guaranteeing equality and tolerance for religions other than Buddhism. Consequently, the State's inability to address ethnic minority instances and provide adequate security led to the arm race of the different ethnic groups (International Crisis Group, 2020)

In 2010, the situation began to stabilize with the holding of the first democratic elections – then fall back into a spiral of violence following the 2021 coup d'état. Following the elections, local artists and the international community work together to bridge ethnic divisions between the eight nationally recognized ethnic groups. In 2012 the Myanmar Art Social Project (MASC), was founded as a network of professional, international and local artists and therapists who provided a space to support social choice (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). Following the idea that “peace begins at the individual level through human connections”, MACS uses theatrical techniques, group discussions and other forms of art “to provide ordinary people with tools for nonviolent communication, promote dialogue and overcome literacy and language barriers” (Naidu-Silverman, 2015;31). Myanmar have faced many similar experiments such as the Asia Justice and Rights – a regional human rights organization which uses participatory art techniques to promote dialogue between individuals from different ethnic groups – and Thukhuma Khayeethe – a theatre troupe that works on social rebuilding training young people from diverse ethnicities together (Naidu-Silverman, 2015).

#### *Ethiopia*

The second case study analyses the 2007 Oromo Ethnographic Museum instituted by the NGO Perigeo. Since the military coup that deposed Emperor Salassie in 1974, the country has experienced a period of great political instability, which saw the opposition of the three main ethnic groups Tigrins, Amhara and Oromo, who alternately experienced periods of political power and marginalization and ethnic discrimination, resulting in the 2020 armed conflict.

The first intervention of Cultural Diplomacy in Ethiopia took place in 2007, by the Italian NGO Perigeo, within the project “Museums without Borders”. The project aimed to create a network of ethnographic museums in various parts of the country, with the aim of promoting intercultural comparison and dialogue. Museums become social hub aimed at protecting, enhancing and passing on to future generations traditional knowledge and heritage, in a perspective of confrontation and intercultural dialogue<sup>16</sup> In 2007, NGO Perigeo built the “Oromo Ethnographic Museum” in Kofale region, in order to create a centre of aggregation and transmission of Oromo cultures, at the time heavily discriminated by the government guided by the *Tigray People’s Liberation Front*. Through the collection and enhancement of ritual and everyday objects, the Museum aimed to facilitate the coexistence between different ethnic groups and to help Ethiopian government to manage the multiethnicity of the society. The activities also support operations conducted by international peace corps, facilitating the knowledge of the specific socio-cultural context (Visioli 2019). Since 2007, many political events occurred, from the election in 2018 of the first Prime Minister of ethnic Oromo, until the outbreak of ethnic tensions in Tigray in 2020 and the peace agreement in 2022: however, a profound reconciliation in Ethiopia is far from being achieved.

### *Syria*

The third case study concerns a further experience of the NGO Perigeo, carried out in stages in Maaloula, in 2019 and 2021.

Maaloula has always been considered “the cradle of Syrian Christendom” – pilgrimage destination for the presence of important places of worship such as the Mar Sarkis Catholic Monastery of the Melkite Church and the Mar Taqla Orthodox Monastery of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch. (Casarico, 2021)<sup>17</sup> – and has always seen the peaceful coexistence of Muslim, Greek-Catholic and Greek Orthodox communities (Lombardi, 2019).

From 2013 to 2014 Maaloula has been a battleground between the group Jihadist group Al Nusra and the Syrian Army, which led to the destruction by the rebels of places of Christian worship, with the precise intent of “strike the heart and symbol of Christianity in Syria” (Casarico, 2021)<sup>18</sup>. The conflict has not only led to the disintegration

---

<sup>16</sup> <https://perigeoipc.altervista.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Museo-Etnografico-Oromo.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> <https://perigeoipc.altervista.org/?p=2884>.

<sup>18</sup> <https://perigeoipc.altervista.org/?p=2884>.



and dispersion of the local community, but has also instilled a strong sense of betrayal and suspicion in the Christian community towards the Muslim community, accused of collaborating with jihadist troops<sup>19</sup>.

Perigeo has commissioned the reconstruction of the icon “the Mysterious Supper” destroyed during the looting of Saint Sarkis, symbol of local identity culture. In 2019, the icon was returned to the population during a mass concelebrated by Father Ambrogio Valzasina, Rector of the Zaccaria Institute and Provincial of the Order of Clerics Regular of Saint Paul, and Father Abdallah Al-Hamadieh, Archimandrite rector of the Monastery of Mar Sarkis<sup>20</sup>.

The initiative demonstrates the importance of symbolic-hereditary reconstruction, together with the post-emergency material reconstruction, to rebuild the roots of the community and restore the sense of belonging to the territory of the Christian community (Lombardi, 2019). Maaloula subsequently experienced a period of return to normality with the reopening of the Syrian monastery of Mar Teqla and the return to the monastery of 13 Orthodox nuns in Damascus<sup>21</sup>.

Subsequently, Perigeo returned to Maaloula in 2021 with a project – still in progress – aimed at supporting the return of the Christian population to the territory and the restoration of social and interreligious cohesion of the community<sup>22</sup>. The element of cultural cohesion on which the project is based is the Western Aramaic language, shared by the population of Maaloula and of enormous historical and cultural importance as the “language of Jesus”. Preserving this language is of crucial importance, as language is “the means through which culture is conveyed and culture often becomes the basis from which to start again following catastrophic episodes to find normality<sup>23</sup>”.

#### *Bosnia and Herzegovina*

The last case study concerns the Museum of Contemporary Art “Ars Aevi” of Sarajevo, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, constituted during the Yugoslav conflict, in 1992, as “resistance of culture”, it became

---

<sup>19</sup> [https://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg18/attachments/documento\\_evento\\_procedura\\_commissione/files/000/342/101/Perigeo\\_presentazione\\_9418\\_.pdf](https://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg18/attachments/documento_evento_procedura_commissione/files/000/342/101/Perigeo_presentazione_9418_.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.worldwideway.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/scheda-icona-Maaloula-def2019.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.cittanuova.it/le-suore-tornate-maalula/?ms=007&se=018>.

<sup>22</sup> <http://openaid.aics.gov.it/it/iati-activity/XM-DAC-6-4-012121-04-5>.

<sup>23</sup> [https://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg18/attachments/documento\\_evento\\_procedura\\_commissione/files/000/342/101/Perigeo\\_presentazione\\_9418\\_.pdf](https://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg18/attachments/documento_evento_procedura_commissione/files/000/342/101/Perigeo_presentazione_9418_.pdf).

“the emblem of the city’s cultural resistance and the will to foster multicultural values” (Novo and Gruosso, 2017). Currently located in the cultural complex Skenderija and houses works of art donated by local and international artists<sup>24</sup>.

In 2021, the Italian and Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities launched a redevelopment project for the museum that involves the construction of a building dedicated to housing the museum, based on the 2000 project of the Italian architect Renzo Piano<sup>25</sup>. Ars Aevi is conceptualized as a center of international dialogue, meetings and cultural exchange (Novo, 2019) and aims to encourage the path of reconciliation between the different ethnic-national components of the country<sup>26</sup>.

Already in 2002, Renzo Piano designed the Ars Aevi Bridge, as part of the museum complex, which connects the two banks of the Mikjacka River – river that during the war marked the line of separation between the warring factions (Cassigoli, 2000) – which today symbolizes the connection between different ethnic groups and cultures (Martini 2002).

## Conclusions

From the analysis of the case studies, it is possible to draw some parallels between the different contexts: these are essentially multi-ethnic states in which the different ethnic groups are carriers of political, territorial and identity issues that the central government is unable to experience. In addition, social cohesion is constantly threatened by internal and/or external factors such as territorial invasions (Syria); difficult nation-building process hampered by the pro-independence pressures of nationalist elites (Myanmar, Bosnia and Herzegovina); latent or manifest conflicts originated by the lack of legitimacy of the central government due to its inability to hold together the different souls of the country (Ethiopia).

Secondly, it is possible to observe that Cultural Diplomacy activities took place in a condition of suspension of the conflict. That is because dialogue can only be undertaken when acute conflict is over or at least suspended. This is why Cultural Diplomacy activities are usually meant not in terms of conflict resolution per se, but in term of conflict prevention and cultural resilience building.

As regards the practical conduct of the activities, some recurring criteria can be identified here too.

---

<sup>24</sup> <https://arsaevi.ba/home#museum>.

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.aics.gov.it/news/2022/71715/>.

<sup>26</sup> [https://www.ansa.it/sito/notizie/mondo/news\\_dalle\\_ambasciate/2022/09/30/a-sarajevo-nascera-museo-ars-aevi-su-disegno-renzo-piano\\_bd8eb984-518b-4585-b437-2b0654cbdf7e.html](https://www.ansa.it/sito/notizie/mondo/news_dalle_ambasciate/2022/09/30/a-sarajevo-nascera-museo-ars-aevi-su-disegno-renzo-piano_bd8eb984-518b-4585-b437-2b0654cbdf7e.html).

- Activities able to leave a tangible mark on the territory – MACS in Myanmar, Oromo Ethnographic Museum in Ethiopia, Ars Aevi in Bosnia and Herzegovina – are the most effective. The establishment of a permanent physical space such as a museum, allows the replicability of the project within the same place. The sustainability of a project means its replicability over time, when it keeps producing benefits for the target group even beyond the duration of the project<sup>27</sup>. When it allows the constitution of a meeting point for the local community, constantly evolving by capturing the thrusts coming from civil society<sup>28</sup>. Pace Museums are an excellent example of sustainability, being both static and dynamic can produce effects also after its building. In other words, “cultural initiatives that become integrated into the life of the host country have the strongest and most lasting impact” (Schneider, 2003;7).
- Context analysis and understanding of its specific characteristics is a fundamental prerequisite for any Cultural Diplomacy activity (Schneider, 2003). What can work in a precise situation is not necessarily successful in a different ambience and that is why precisely Cultural Diplomacy projects must be tailored to the social and cultural specificities of the territory. The genres of Cultural Diplomacy listed above offer a wide range of cultural and artistic forms to choose from, that can best resonates with the local population, but they are not always valid (Schneider, 2003). It is important to hook the *genius loci* of a territory to leverage its specific cultural assets and cultural heritage: in Maaloula intercultural dialogue was the starting point and, at the same time, the ultimate goal of the project, in order to restore the trust destroyed during the occupation of Al Nusra. In Sarajevo, the use of a physical space within the city was of fundamental importance because of the symbolic significance that the destruction of building and spaces had during the conflict. It is thus that a physical place – the river – which constituted a physical element of separation during the conflict now represents a symbol of union
- Involvement of local community and especially local artists and or representative personalities of the community is crucial. Not only to better identify the problems and needs of the population, but because artist/representator act as mediators between the popula-

---

<sup>27</sup> EC (2001), Project Cycle Management-Training Handbook.

<sup>28</sup> This is one of the main differences between Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy, which usually undertake temporary activities exploited in a precise temporal lapse – such as exhibitions, concerts, broadcasting etc.

tion and operators, facilitating the bottom-up process of creation of the social space. At the same time, people directly involved in the project develop a sense of empowerment, responsibility, and belonging to the community they care about.

- The promotion of a bottom-up thrust from civil society in reconciliation activities must be strengthened and supported by a long-term political vision leading to targeted and structured interventions. It is indispensable that the foreign officers, peace keeping operators and ambassadors also investigate this aspect often marginal of diplomacy. This is the direction taken by the European External Action Service, which has launched a pilot project for the establishment of a Diplomatic Academy for the European ambassador in 2022. The Academy aims to train ambassador on EU foreign and security policies, with a special focus on the activities of Public and Cultural Diplomacy. The establishment of the Academy follows the aforementioned Report of the European Parliament (2022/2047(INI)), which invites the European External Action Service and the European Commission to integrate International Cultural Relations and Cultural Diplomacy in the processes of selection and training of diplomatic personnel through the establishment of an ad hoc service.

### Bibliografia

- Akunyili, C. (2010), *Nollywood Diplomacy*, Public Diplomacy Magazine, Winter 2010.
- Alexandrov, M. (2003), *The concept of state identity in international relations: A theoretical analysis*. Journal of International Development and Cooperation, 10(1), 33- 46.
- Ang, I., Raj Isar, Y., Mar, P. (2015), *Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest?*, International Journal of Cultural Policy 21, no. 4, March 2015.
- Arndt R. (2005), *The First Resort Of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy In The Twentieth Century*, Potomac Books, Inc., 2005.
- Barattin, L. (2004), *La pratica dell'urbicidio e il caso della citta di Vukovar*.
- Beecher, D., Washington, D. (2010), *Music as Social Medicine: Two perspectives on the WestEastern Divan Orchestra*, New Directions for Youth Development, no. 125.
- Berger, M. (2008), *Bridge the Gap, or Mind the Gap? Culture in Western-Arab Relations*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'.
- Bjola, C. (2016), *Digital diplomacy – the State of the Art*, Global Affairs.
- Bokova, I. (2015), *Address by Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO, on the Occasion of the International Conference on Cultural Heritage at Risk – The Role of Museums in War and Conflict*, Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 26 November 2016.

- Braun, E., Church, M., Hafid, S., Hoque Kazi, M. (2023), *The Civil War in Myanmar. 2023 Conflict Diagnostic*.
- British Council (2013), *Report Influence & Attraction: Culture & the Race for Soft Power in the 21st Century*.
- Brown, J. (2006), *Arts diplomacy: The Neglected Aspect of Cultural Diplomacy*.
- Cassigoli, L. (2000), *Renzo Piano. La Responsabilità dell'Architetto*.
- Chandler, D. (2003), *International Statebuilding and the Ideology of Resilience*.
- Cohen, C. (2011), *Acting Together I: Performance and the Creative Transformation of Conflict: Resistance and Reconciliation in Regions of Violence*. New York: NYU Press.
- Coles, L.C.J.P. (2005), *Cultural Intelligence and Joint Intelligence Doctrine*, Joint Operations Review.
- Constantinou, C.M., Kerr, P., Sharp, P. (2016), *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, Sage Publications.
- Conze, E. (2003), *States, International Systems, and Intercultural Transfer: A Commentary*, In Gienow-Hecht J. C. E., Schumacher F. (eds.), *Culture and International History*, Berghahn Books, 2004.
- Cooper, A.F., Heine, J., Thakur, R. (2013), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press.
- Costigliola, F. (2004), *Reading for Meaning: Theory, Language, and Metaphor*, in Hogan M., Paterson T.G. (ed.), *Explaining American Foreign Relations*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, 279-303.
- Council on Foreign Relations (2003) *Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating U.S. Public Diplomacy*, p. 24.
- Cull, N.J. (2019), *Public Diplomacy. Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2019, 272 pp.
- Id. (2009), *Public diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Figueroa Press, Los Angeles, 2009.
- Id. (2008), *Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*, in ed. Snow, N., Taylor, P.M. (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2008.
- Id., Snow, N. (eds.) (2020), *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Routledge.
- Cummings, M.C. (2003), *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*, Washington, D.C: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003, 1.
- Cross, M., Pekkanen, S. (2023), *Introduction. Space Diplomacy: The Final Frontier of Theory and Practice*, The Hague Journal of Diplomacy.
- Daly E., Sarkin J. (2007), *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Doppelhofer, C. (2016) *Will Palmyra rise again? - War Crimes against Cultural Heritage and Post-war reconstruction*, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/CulturalRights/Pages/IntentionalDestruction.aspx>.



- Duffy, T. (1993), *Museums of war and peace*, Museum International, No 177 (Vol XLV, n° 1, 1993).
- Eckstein, R. (1993), *Ping Pong Diplomacy: A View from behind the Scenes*, The Journal of American-East Asian Relations, Vol. 1 No. 3.
- Edkins, J. (2003), *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*, Cambridge University Press.
- European Commission (2001), *Project Cycle Management-Training Handbook*.
- European Commission (2016), *Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council "Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations"* JOIN (2016) 29 final.
- European Economic and Social Committee (2022), *Opinion REX/548 of 2022*.
- European Parliament (2022), *Report on the implementation of the new European agenda for culture and the European Union Strategy for International Cultural Relations (2022/2047(INI))*.
- European Parliament (2022), *Resolution of 14 December 2022 on the implementation of the New European Agenda for Culture and the EU Strategy for International Cultural Relations (2022/2047(INI))*.
- Fortier, A. (2008), *Culture and Conflict: Introduction*, The Power of Culture Special – July 2008.
- Fukuyama, F. (2018), *Identity: The demand for dignity and the politics of resentment*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Galtung, J. (1996), *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Grincheva, N. (2010), *U.S. Arts and Cultural Diplomacy: Post-Cold War Decline and the Twenty-First Century Debate*.
- Hartoyo, H., Sindung, H., Teuku, F., Sunarto, S. (2020), *The role of local communities in peacebuilding in post-ethnic conflict in a multi-cultural society*, Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research, Vol. 12 No. 1, pp. 33-44. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JACPR-06-2019-0419>.
- Henrich, J. (2015), *Culture and social behavior. Current opinion in behavioral sciences*, 3: 84-89.
- Higham, R. (2001), *The World Needs More Canada. Canada Needs More Canada* in Jean-Paul Baillargeon (ed), *The Handing Down of Culture, Smaller Societies, and Globalization* (Ontario: Grubstreet Editions, 2001): 134-142.
- Holtorf, C. (2018), *Embracing change: how cultural resilience is increased through cultural heritage*, World Archaeology, 50: 4, 639-650.
- International Crisi Group (2020), *Identity Crisis: Ethnicity and Conflict in Myanmar*, Asia Report N°312 | 28 August 2020 Leonard M., Small A., Rose M., (2005), *British Public Diplomacy in the 'Age of Schisms'*.

- Jigyasu, R. (2013), *Heritage and Resilience: Issues and Opportunities for Reducing Disaster Risks*, Background Paper, [http://icorp.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Heritage\\_and\\_Resilience\\_Report\\_for\\_UNI-SDR\\_2013.pdf](http://icorp.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Heritage_and_Resilience_Report_for_UNI-SDR_2013.pdf).
- Kaiser, W. (2003), *The Great Derby Race: Strategies of Cultural Representation at Nineteenth-Century World Exhibitions*.
- Kerr, P., Wiseman, G. (2013), *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practice*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kim, H. (2017), *Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy*, *The Korean Journal of International Studies* Vol. 15, No. 2, August 2017: 293-326.
- Kitsou, S. (2013), *The Power of Culture in Diplomacy: The Case of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy in France and Germany*.
- Krasnyak, O. (2017), *The Apollo-Soyuk Test Project: Ideal Science Diplomacy*, USC Center on Public Diplomacy.
- Laderach J.P. (2005), *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*, Oxford University Press.
- LeBaron, M. (2003) *Culture and Conflict, "Beyond Intractability"*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: July 2003.
- Leonard M., Small A., Rose M. (2005), *British Public Diplomacy in the 'Age of Schisms,'* Counterpoint, The Foreign Policy Center, London.
- Liping B. (1999), *Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War*, *Journal of American Studies*, 33 (1999), 3, 393-415. Cambridge University Press.
- Lombardi M., Lucini, B. (2019), *Cooperazione e Cultural Diplomacy: resilienza e cultural focal points*, *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società. International Journal – Italian Team for Security, Terroristic Issues & Managing* 1 – 9/2019.
- Lucini, B. (2019), *Cultural Resilience and Cultural Diplomacy: the State of the Art*, *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società, International Journal – Italian Team for Security, Terroristic Issues & Managing Emergencies*, ISSUE 2 – 10/2019.
- Manor, I. (2019), *The Digitalization of Public Diplomacy*, Palgrave Macmillan Series in Global Public Diplomacy.
- Mantovani, G. (2005), *L'Elefante Invisibile. Alla Scoperta delle Differenze Culturali*.
- Mark, S. (2009), *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'.
- Martini, A. (2002), *Renzo Piano Ambasciatore dell'UNESCO*, *Il Giornale dell'Arte* N. 213, 2002.

- McClellan, M. (2004), *Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy*.
- McFate, M. (2005), *The Military Utility of Understanding Adversary Culture*. *Joint Force Quarterly*, 38, 42-48.
- McParland, M. (2012), *Bridging the Green Line: The West-Eastern Divan Orchestra*, ICD.
- Melissen, J. (2005), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, London, Palgrave.
- Mulcahy, K.V. (1999), *Cultural Diplomacy and the Exchange Programs: 1938-1978*, *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 11.
- Naidu-Silverman, E. (2015), *The Contribution of Art and Culture in Peace and Reconciliation Processes in Asia*, Danish Centre for Culture and Development (CKU).
- Nash, E., Wise, S. (2013), *Metaphor as Heroic Mediator*, in Scurfield, R. M., & Platoni, K. T. (Eds.). *Healing war trauma: A handbook of creative approaches*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Novo, L. (2019), *War, Culture and Resistance: The Case of Ars Aevi*, in Gruosso S., Pignatti L. Sarajevo. *An account of a city Lettera Ventidue*.
- Id., Gruosso, S. (2017), *Ars Aevi: Culture as Weapon*, *Domus: La Citta dell'uomo*, Volume 1018, Pages, 17-21.
- Nye, J. (1990), *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, Basic Books, New York.
- Id., (2002), *The Paradox of American Power, Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, OUP Oxford.
- Id., (2004), *Soft Power and American Foreign Policy*, *Political Science Quarterly*, 119(2): 255-270.
- Ociepka, B. (2008), *Public Diplomacy*, *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Malden - Oxford-Carlton, Vol. IX, p. 3956-3960, E, B, R.
- Olivares, F., Zafirova, D.A. (2019), *Diplomazia Culturale e Relazioni Internazionali. Il Caso dei Rapporti tra l'Italia e la Bulgaria*, *Avangard Prima*, Sofia, pp. 134.
- Orjuela, C. (2003), *Building peace in Sri Lanka: a role for civil society?*, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 40 No. 2, pp. 195-212.
- Pajtinka, E. (2014), *Cultural Diplomacy in Theory and Practice of Contemporary International Relations*, in *Politické vedy*. [online]. Roč. 17, č. 4, ISSN 1335 – 2741, s. 95-108. Dostupné na internete.
- Pamment, J. (2013), *New Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice*, Routledge New Diplomacy Studies, 2013.

- Pantea, D., Stoica, A. (2014), *The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Contemporary Crises and Conflict Reconciliation*, Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Stusia Europaea, vol. 1/2014, Cluj Napoca, Cluj University Press, p. 219-230.
- Qian Ng, C.S. (2015) *Culinary Diplomacy and Nationalism*, January 17, Access: [https://www.academia.edu/11476784/Culinary\\_Diplomacy\\_and\\_Nationalism\\_Japan\\_and\\_Thailand](https://www.academia.edu/11476784/Culinary_Diplomacy_and_Nationalism_Japan_and_Thailand).
- Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T., Miall, H. (2016), *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts*, Fourth Edition (Malden USA: Polity Press).
- Rank, C. (2008), *Envisioning Peace: Peace Education through Arts in Peace Museums Worldwide*. In *Museums for Peace: Past, Present and Future*. Ed. by Anzai, I., Apsel, J., and Mehdi, S.S. Kyoto, Japan: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University.
- Reiterer, M. (2014), *The Role of Culture in EU-China Relations*, European Foreign Affairs Review 19, Special Issue.
- Ryniejska – Kielsanowicz, M. (2009), *Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication*.
- Rosenau, J. (2003), *Distant proximities. Dynamics beyond globalization*, Princeton University Press.
- Saaida, M.B.E. (2023), *The Role of Culture and Identity in International*, EAJEES January-February 2023, Vol. 4 No. 1: 49-57.
- Said, E. (1994), *Culture and Imperialism*, First Vintage Book Edition, June.
- Saito, T (2016), *Cultural Heritage and the Resilience of Communities*, *Proceedings of the International Expert Meeting on Cultural Heritage and Disaster Resilient Communities within the Framework of the Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (WCDRR) 11-17 March 2015*, 34–37. Tokyo: National Institutes for Cultural Heritage.
- Sandre, A. (2015), *Digital Diplomacy: Conversations on Innovation in Foreign Policy*, Rowman & Littlefield Pub Inc., 2005.
- Sasso A., (2021), *Il confronto con il passato*, in M. Napolitano (ed.), *Capire i Balcani. Da Dayton ai giorni nostri*, Udine: Bottega Errante, 12 pp.
- Schneider, C. (2003), *Diplomacy That Works: "Best Practices" in Cultural Diplomacy*, Center for Arts and Culture.
- Schneider, C. (2004), *Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy That Works*, in Melissen, J. (eds) *The New Public Diplomacy. Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Sekulic, T. (2002), *Violenza etnica. I Balcani tra etnonazionalismo e democrazia*. Roma: Carocci.
- Shank, M., Schirch, L. (2008), *Startehic Arts-Based Peacebuilding*, *Peace & Change*, 33: 217-242.
- Ssenyonga, A.B. (2006), *Americanization or Globalization*, *Global Envision*.



- Szondi, G. (2008), *Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' ISSN 1569-2981.
- Trigger, B. (1995), *Romanticism, Nationalism, and Archaeology*, Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology, P.L. Kohl and C. Fawcett, 263–279. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ty, R., Bibon-Ruiz, A. (2022), *Indigenous Peoples, Conflicts, & Peacebuilding: A Case Study of the Aetas of Central Philippines*, Vol 1:1 2022 UNESCO; World Bank (2018), *Culture in City Reconstruction and Recovery*.
- UNESCO 38 C/Resolution 48 (2017), *Strategy for the reinforcement of UNESCO's action for the protection of culture and the promotion of cultural pluralism in the event of armed conflict*.
- US Department of State Report (2005), *Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*.
- Visioli, M. (2019), *Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Focal Points as emergent and integrative cooperation strategies in the resolution of conflicts*, Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società International Journal – Italian Team for Security, Terroristic Issues & Managing Emergencies, Issue 1 – 9/2019.
- Wang, J. (2006), *Managing International Reputation and International Relations in the Global Era: Public Diplomacy Revisited*, Public Relations Review Volume 32, Issue 2, June, 91-96.
- Wagnleitner, R. (1994), *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War. The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*, Chapel Hill London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Wagoner, B. (2014), *A Sociocultural Approach to Peace and Conflict*, Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, Vol. 20, No. 2, 187–190.
- Weijer, F. (2013), *Resilience: a Trojan horse for a new way of thinking?*, Discussion Paper, ECDPM, No. 139, January.
- Williams, R. (1960), *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.
- Wunderle, W. (2007), *Through the Lens of Cultural Awareness: A Primer for US Armed Forces Deployed to Arab and Middle Eastern Countries*, Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press.
- Zamorano, M. (2015), *Cultural diplomacy: Definition, historical evolution and current trends*, CECUPS (University of Barcelona).
- Zamorano M. (2016), *Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory*, Culture Unbound, Volume 8: Linköping University Electronic Press, 166–186.
- The Economist (2002), *Thailand's Gastro-Diplomacy*. The Economist, 21 February 2002. <http://www.economist.com/node/999687> (17.04.2023).



# POWER AND DEMOCRACY

---

Rivista internazionale di Politica, Filosofia e Diritto  
ISSN 2724-0177

V. 7 N. 1 (2023)

[www.poweranddemocracy.it](http://www.poweranddemocracy.it)