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**Master Thesis**

廿一世紀的小國與公眾外交興起：以挪威、斯洛伐克與臺灣為例  
Smaller Powers & the Rise of Public Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century  
(Cases of Norway, Slovakia & Taiwan)

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Advisor: William C. Vocke, Jr., Ph.D.

中華民國一百零三年六月

June 2014

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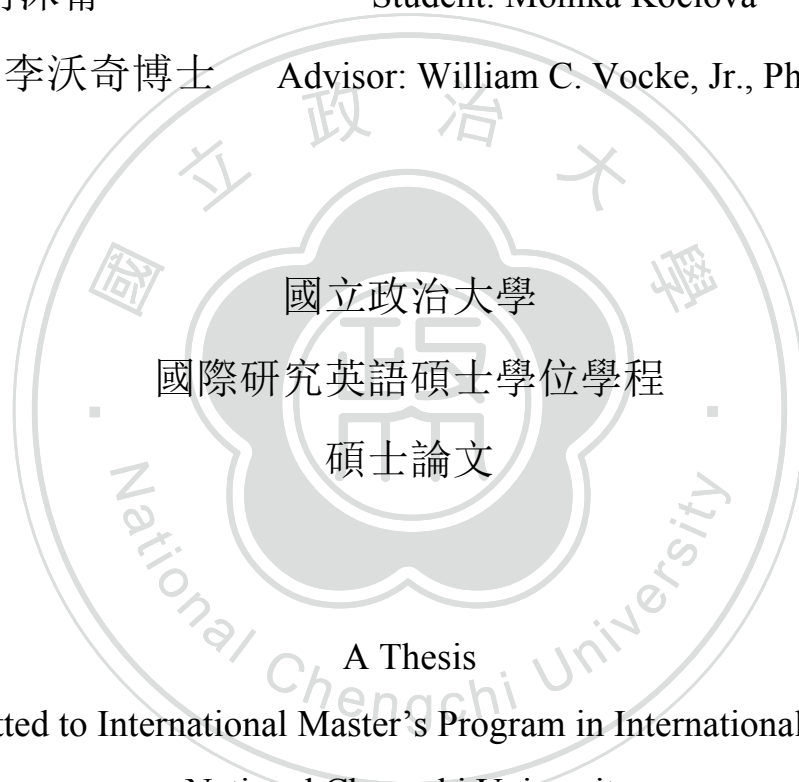
(Cases of Norway, Slovakia & Taiwan)

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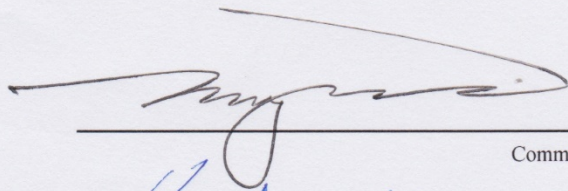
**SMALLER POWER AND THE RISE OF PUBLIC  
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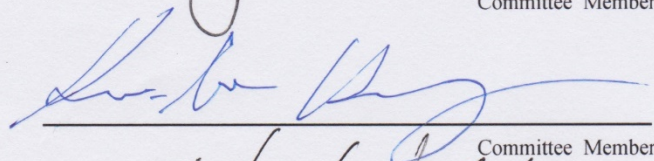
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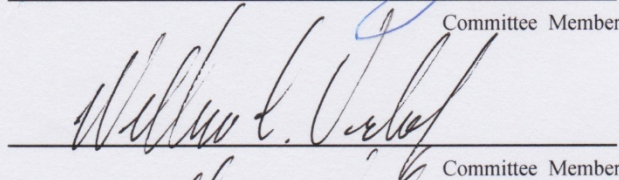
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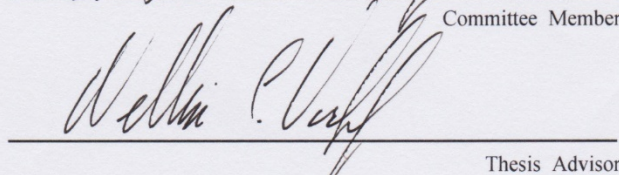
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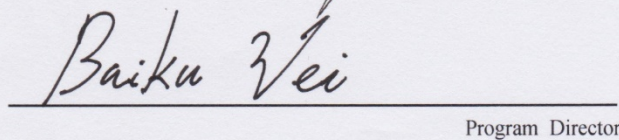
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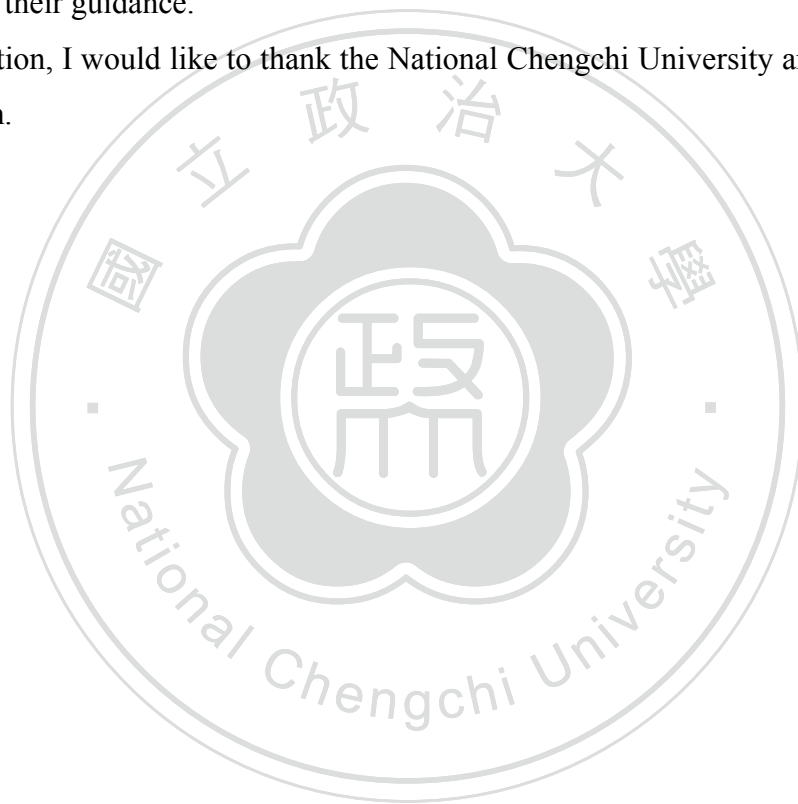
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## Abstract

Diplomacy has been playing a crucial role on the global political scene for many centuries but its importance, character, and role in the 21st century has been changing. The aftermath of the Cold War and the nature of the developments in the upcoming years brought numerous significant transformations which have tremendous impact on the world politics and its disposition. Diplomacy ceded to be a privilege of government to government relations, pursued mostly behind the closed doors. As a response public diplomacy has emerged.

Public diplomacy as a more comprehensive, more open, more accountable and more integrative diplomatic practice has been gaining its importance around the world. The character, features and new developments of this era require more and more flexibility, rapidity, transparency and skills to handle the international image abroad.

The topic of this theses evolves around the question of whether or not and how have the public diplomacy apparatuses of the smaller countries, selected as the case studies reacted to the changes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and examines what have been the principal features and character of these alterations.

A closer assessment of the three significantly diverse countries illustrates different techniques and tactics to keep up with the contemporary progress or inefficiencies present in the policies and especially public diplomacy of Norway, Taiwan and Slovakia. A compound evaluation of the individual reactions to the new millennium changes attempts to bring more light to a compound picture of the 21<sup>st</sup> century smaller (and wealthier) state's diplomacy and suggest whether or not these changes have had an impact on their foreign policy conduct and how.

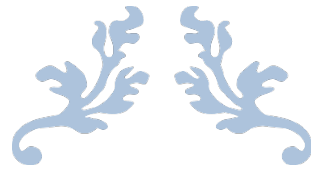
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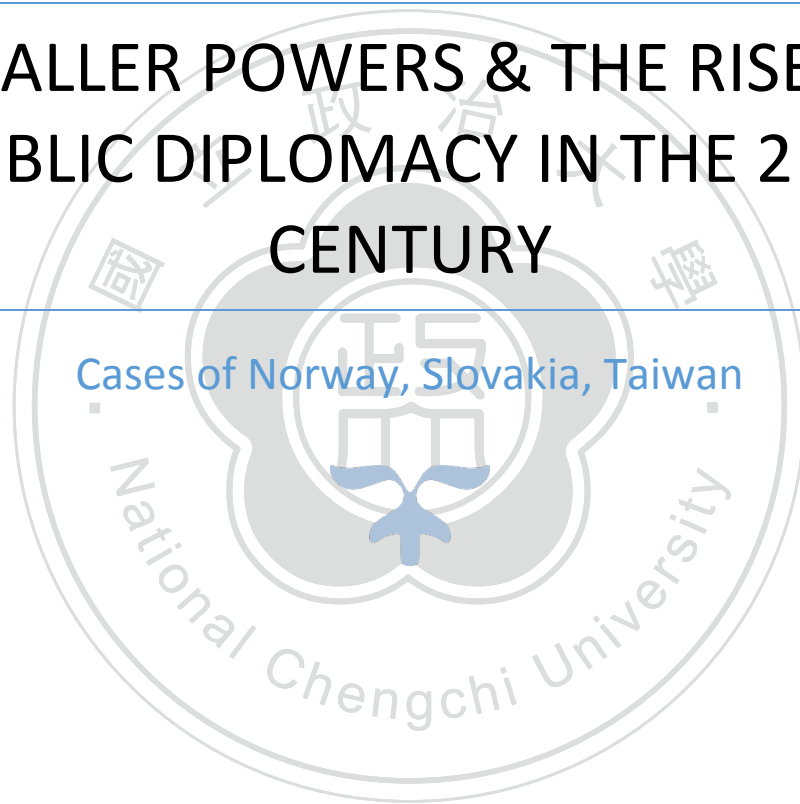


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# SMALLER POWERS & THE RISE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Cases of Norway, Slovakia, Taiwan



# 1. Research Proposal

## 1.1 Research motivation/ Background

“In a world where war is everybody's tragedy and everybody's nightmare, diplomacy is everybody's business,” stated an honored former British diplomat Lord Strang more than thirty years ago.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the new millennium, his words haven't lost their relevance or magnitude but with the significant changes of the international environment and rapid technological evolution, some perspectives might have shifted. Diplomacy is still present and crucial on the everyday global political scene but its importance, character, and role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has been questioned. As pointed out by many scholars, diplomacy has had its opponents and critics since its creation.<sup>2</sup> It has evolved, changed and adjusted alongside with history but it was only last century that diplomacy adopted new strategies and as a result the traditional “secret” diplomacy was complemented by a more “open” diplomatic practice.<sup>3</sup> Since then this new foreign policy approach has been developing substantially, especially in the Western world and can be regarded as quite successful and promising.

Diplomacy is an art, an indispensable part of international politics, and one of the oldest professions with hundreds of year's tradition. Diplomacy is at the core of peaceful global relations and it has helped to manage the international environment for many centuries. Diplomacy as we know it today is a result of a long evolution and it facing many challenges and undergoing numerous changes. Why is it now, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, that its importance, role and mission for the future are being questioned?<sup>4</sup> Should traditional diplomacy be transformed, altered or even diminished? Is there a space for conventional

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<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, Keith, and Richard Langhorne. 2013. *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration*. New York: Routledge, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> E.g Cohen, R., 1999, p.1; Pigman G.A, 2010,p.2, Jeremy Kinsman J. and Bassuener K., 2013, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, R., 1999. *Reflection on the New Global Diplomacy: Statecraft 2500 BC to 2000 AD*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*. Hampshire: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Costas Constantinou, Derian J. D, Neumann I.B, Deos A, Pigman G. A .in *Sustainable Diplomacies*, 2010, Hampshire:Palgrave Macmillan.

diplomacy in the upcoming decades and will it maintain its prominence as it had in the last century? Are foreign ministries and diplomatic corps able to adapt to these new developments and key features of the new millennium? Will diplomacy as we know it and its vital function survive the era of globalizations?

Many questions have been raised and even more discussions conducted in the academic, diplomatic, statecraft and public arena regarding the position and character of the present day diplomacy.<sup>5</sup> The aftermath of the Cold War and the nature of the developments in the upcoming years brought numerous significant changes which have tremendous impact on the world politics and its disposition.<sup>6</sup> The geopolitical changes, increase of international actors, globalization, evolution of technology and instantaneous communication, democratization around the world, and raise of new threats and challenges to the international community brought about transformations which no longer fit old practices which were present in the world politics for many decades and maybe even centuries. Diplomacy is not an exception and the need to adapt is alarming no matter what size the country, which continent it lays on, what is its history or how much power it possesses. The inevitable shift from “club” to “network” diplomacy is ongoing and the ability to adjust might be imperative for the future of each and every country.<sup>7</sup>

The polemic around present day diplomacy embraces different aspects and is being led on different fronts. Some touch on the purpose and role of modern diplomacy, others on the current actors pursuing it, another issue concerns how the 21<sup>st</sup> century diplomacy should be conducted, reformed or how to make it more efficient.<sup>8</sup>

Diplomacy is not the privilege of government to government relations, pursued mostly behind closed doors, anymore. During the last century, a number of traditional methods

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<sup>5</sup> Klavins, D., 2011. *Understanding the Essence of Modern Diplomacy*. Berlin, Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, p.4.

<sup>6</sup> Riordan, S., 2003. *The New Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Heine, J., 2006. *On the Manner of Practising the New Diplomacy*: The Centre for International Governance Innovation, p.1.

<sup>8</sup> Leguey-Feilleux, J.-R., 2009. *The Dynamics of Diplomacy*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., p. 362.

became unremittingly obsolete and are not working for the purposes of efficient foreign policy strategies. As a result public diplomacy has been expanding around the world.<sup>9</sup>

Public diplomacy can be seen as an outcome of the ongoing shift in the present day diplomacy, the transformation of the traditional diplomacy into a more comprehensive, more open, more accountable and more integrative diplomatic practice.<sup>10</sup>

Even though we could have observed its presence in the diplomacy throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the official start of the use of the term public diplomacy is dated back to 1965.<sup>11</sup> The next twenty five years were highly marked by the Cold War events as were almost all the aspects of international politics. In the 1990s, with the change of international environment and complete transformation of the character of the global issues, public diplomacy started to gain more importance and due to less hostility among the nations, its development became much smoother.<sup>13</sup>

The realities, features and new developments of this era are requiring more and more flexibility, rapidity, transparency and skills to handle the international image and power of each and every country. These days, the image matters and it is one of the key elements in the domestic and external policy-making. Twenty-first century diplomacy is more open and inclusive than it has ever been and the current state of public diplomacy or the so called “public diplomacy 2.0” is a brilliant reflection of it.<sup>14</sup> In the past years, we have been witnessing continuous transition of the foreign services around the world, encompassing more

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 355.

<sup>10</sup> Cooper, A. F., 2013. *Opportunities and risks as diplomacy moves to become more "service"oriented*. In: J. H. R. T. Andrew F. Cooper, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*. s.l.:Oxford University Press, p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> Cull, Nicholas J. "How we got here." *In Toward a New Public Diplomacy*, edited by Philip Seib, 24. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009, p.24.

<sup>13</sup> Pamment, J., 2013. *The New Public Diplomacy in the 21st century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice*. New York.:Routledge, p.35.

<sup>14</sup> Graffy, C., 2009. *The Rise of Public Diplomacy 2.0*. *The Journal of International Security Affairs*, Fall.Issue 17, p.45.

and more the need to pursue their so called “soft power”. The rapid evolution has altered the ultimate routines of governments and international relations.<sup>15</sup>

Public diplomacy created space for a more efficient management of external affairs which is available not only for the biggest, the wealthiest and the most powerful countries but also for the ones with no remarkable position on the global stage. Have the smaller countries seized the opportunity to gain more power, economic benefits, become more visible or mold their image via the new public diplomacy tool? A complex evaluation focusing on whether or not and how have the public diplomacy apparatuses of the smaller countries chosen as the case studies of this thesis reacted to the changes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is the principal subject of this thesis.

## 1.2 Justification of the research

Taking into account the importance of the subject of the on-going transformation of the (traditional) diplomacy all over the world and its impact on the effectiveness of current foreign policy strategies and planning<sup>16</sup>, it might be useful to pursue a study of the rapidly and perpetually occurring changes and research the reactions and the ability of states to adjust and adapt to this constantly innovating environment.

There is plentiful information that can be found on the diplomacy transformation of the world hegemony over the years<sup>17</sup>, numerous academic studies done in the field of diplomacy and public diplomacy of middle<sup>18</sup> powers but there is considerably less research

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<sup>15</sup> Nye, J. S., 2008. *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, p. 94-109.

<sup>16</sup> Stringer, K. D., 2011. *Honorary Consuls in an Era of Globalization, Trade and Investment*. In: A. M. F. Jan Melissen, ed. Consular Affairs and Diplomacy. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Hart, J., 2013. *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy*/ Richmond, Y., 2008, *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey*/ Yasushi Watanabe, 2008, *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States*, etc.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. East, M. A. & Robertson, J., 2005. *Diplomacy and Developing Nations: Post-Cold War Foreign Policy-Making Structures and Positions*/ Baxte, L. & Bishop, J.-A., 2008. *Uncharted Ground: Canada, Middle Power Leadership and Public Diplomacy*/ Rudderham, M., 2008. *Middle Power Pull: Can Middle Powers use Public Diplomacy to Ameliorate the Image of the West?*

concentrating on the smaller states and their response to the previously mentioned global evolution.<sup>19</sup>

The special role of the smaller countries on the international scene leads to different implications and circumstances than in the cases of middle and big powers as “smaller” states are not able to shape international politics but they rather have to adopt and adjust accurate policies. They are more subject to the external pressure.<sup>20</sup>

As Andrew F. Cooper proclaims that: “ Even though the term “middle” (or “small”) powers is problematic both in terms of conceptual clarity and operational coherence, these kind of countries have some accentuated room for diplomatic maneuver on a segmented basis in the post-Cold War era.”<sup>21</sup>

Also, it is indispensable not to mention that all the studied cases belong to the category of “wealthy” states which are defined by Garfinkel and Smeeding as follows: “Wealthy nations are welfare states - that is, they are primarily capitalist states with large, selective doses of socialism. What have been socialized are institutions that reduce economic insecurity. (...) Education, health, insurance, and cash benefits (social insurance and public assistance) all reduce economic insecurity.”<sup>22</sup>

Considering their position, which can be also very influential, on the regional and global level despite their size<sup>23</sup>, further examination of the transformation and evolution of their diplomacy and external actions is essential for the understanding of their present and future foreign policies and their interactions in international relations.

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<sup>19</sup> E.g Bátorá, J., 2005, *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael/ Hey, J.A.K., ed. 2003, *Small States in World Politics: Explaining Foreign Policy Behaviour*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

<sup>20</sup> Smith, P. H., 1998. *Public diplomacy*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.diplomacy.edu/resources/general/public-diplomacy>, [Accessed 10 2 2014].

<sup>21</sup> Cooper, A. F., 1997. *Niche Diplomacy: A conceptual overview*. In: A. F. Cooper, ed. *Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, p.1.

<sup>22</sup> Garfinkel I., Smeeding T., 2010, *Wealth and Welfare States: What Is the Real Story?*, [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2008/08/12/small-state-diplomacy/> [Accessed 7 8 2014].

<sup>23</sup> Corgan, M., 2008. *Small State Diplomacy*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2008/08/12/small-state-diplomacy/> [Accessed 15 2 2014].

A closer study of the three significantly diverse countries may illustrate different techniques and tactics to keep up with the contemporary progress or inefficiencies present in the policies and especially public diplomacy of Norway, Taiwan and Slovakia. Distinctive history, culture, geography, political context, socioeconomic situation and institutional structures of the above mentioned smaller states, result in specific (public) diplomacy strategies. A complex assessment of the individual reactions to the new millennium changes could bring more light to a compound picture of the 21<sup>st</sup> century smaller (and wealthier) state's diplomacy and suggest whether or not these changes have had an impact on their foreign policy conduct and how.

### 1.3 Research Questions

1. What have been the features and the character of the impact, caused by the changes of the 21st century, on the smaller states diplomatic practice?
2. How is this impact related to the “(New) Public Diplomacy”?
3. What do the “case studies” tell us about the impact of the features of the new millennium on the practice of smaller states public diplomacy? For instance, have the three studied cases adopted adequate measures responding to the on-going changes in the international relations and adjusted to the new environment effectively?

### 1.4 Variables

In order to analyze the topic of this thesis two variables have been chosen to prove or disprove the main hypothesis. The relation between the changes in the external environment (IV), characterizing the 21st century and the period after the end of the Cold War and the practices (DV) of the smaller states diplomacies in relation to these modifications will be central for the focus of this study.

### 1.5 Hypothesis

The new external environment has produced an impact on the (public) diplomacy strategies of smaller states which resulted in evolution of the additional practices to public diplomacy, especially in the rise of the new public diplomacy.

### 1.6 Research Methods

Qualitative research method is the most appropriate approach to be used for the purpose of this study.

For this thesis research, a combination of primary and secondary sources analysis are used to examine the topic. Selective content analysis of various foreign policy documents and official web-sites of individual countries is employed with the aim of exploring further the official stance of each government in regard to public diplomacy and their compliance with the goals set.



## 1.7 Research limitations

One of the research limitations is considered the **use of mainly secondary sources and the web-sites content**. There is an assumption that the selected countries are probably engaged in the (new) public diplomacy and therefore the online sources combined with other information gathered by the means mentioned above, should be sufficient for the purpose of this study.

One of the challenges of this thesis is encountered when **defining “smaller states”**. Numerous definitions can be found in the literature concerning the topic. For the purpose of this study, term “smaller states”, as specified in the Chapter 3. , has been chosen as the most appropriate one considering that it is categorically applicable for all the three case studies chosen for this thesis.

There is an ample range of smaller states in international relations but as **three very specific cases** have been selected this study may also be limited by this choice which is explained more broadly in the Chapter 3. Each of the countries represents distinct features and its character varies substantially as the purpose of this thesis is to examine diverse impacts of the same independent variable on the specific choice of smaller countries.

Particular research limitations can be encountered in the more profound “Case Studies” examination. Especially in the case of **Slovakia** and the study of its public diplomacy as there is only a limited amount of the specialized literature. As the author of this thesis is a Slovak native speaker, a content analysis of websites had been used to overcome this restraint.

In the case study of Taiwan, the research might be limited by the employment on English written publications as the author does not master Chinese on a level which would be required to assess the foreign policy practice of Taiwan.

There is a plentiful choice of publications on the Norwegian public diplomacy in English language and therefore no shortcomings were encountered in this section of the study.

## 1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized in eight basic chapters, each one of them divided into several subdivisions, in order to accomplish a complex and well-structured study.

First chapter, The Introduction, serves the purpose of portraying the basic factors behind the motivation and background of the study. The research questions and hypothesis are introduced in this part. Research methods employed with the purpose of achieving the best results are described as well as the research limitations which might pose a challenge to the assessment of the problematic. The particular choice of the evaluation of the impact of the 21st century external environment on smaller states is briefly explained and the structure of the further analysis designate presented.

In the second chapter, The Literature Review, the principal perspective on the changes occurring in the 21st century are defined and five key changes chosen as essential for this study are determined. The position and evolution of the traditional diplomacy and the (new) public diplomacy in the third millennium is discussed in this section.

The third chapter of the thesis elaborates further on the empirical study and sets out, defines and explains the focus of the study which are the 3 chosen smaller states and their public diplomacy practice in the new millennium. The specific choice of the research subject sample is explained and justified.

On the basis of the Literature Review and all the information gathered, the subsequent three chapters assess each of the selected smaller countries, individually. Norway, Taiwan and Slovakia are introduced, characterized and their public diplomacy strategies are examined with the intention of obtaining a complex picture illustrating the impact of the 21st century

changes specified previously. Each chapter is concluded with a discussion of the achieved results and preliminary conclusions.

The last chapter, Conclusion, reviews the results acquired as a product of the analysis performed. A brief comparative analysis is employed to illustrate the findings of this thesis. The hypothesis is evaluated and claimed to be proven or disproven and various impacts of the 21st century external environment on the smaller countries and their particular influence on the public diplomacy systems and its methods (if any) will be synopsisized in the concluding overall assessment.



## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 The New IR environment and Transformation of Traditional Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

The new international relations environment does not necessarily affect all the states with the same intensity and effect, as noted by Robert Cooper, who has categorized various models of political organizations in present day world in three basic categories: pre-modern, modern and post-modern states.

Post-modern states are essentially the Western liberal democratic countries. As the features and implications vary in applicability for different kind of states, for the purpose of this study, the author suggests that all of the further analyzed case studies, can be considered as falling into this category.<sup>24</sup>

#### 2.1.1 Geopolitical changes

Crucial development and changes in the international relations after the breakdown of the bipolar system and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, when the world got used to relative stability of the international system, was followed by a short period of US hegemony and subsequent events of the 9/11, altered the global environment and created new conditions of operation for the whole world.<sup>25</sup>

The immediate period after the fall of the Berlin Wall brought up old ethnic antagonisms which clashed with the mix of national identities in the region of Balkans and the genocide in Rwanda. The disintegration of the Soviet Union symbolized the end of a planned, centralized and above all closed economy. Most countries in the “East” embraced capitalist

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<sup>24</sup> Riordan, S., 2003. *The New Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.94-98.

<sup>25</sup> Pigmann, G. A., 2010. *Understanding Global Interactions Through Diplomacy, in Contemporary Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 4.

virtues by integrating financial, monetary and commercial global systems and rapidly engaged in a process of reform<sup>26</sup>

The first great crisis of the post-Cold War global order, the 9/11 attacks which happened in 2001, has focused the interest of publics on diplomacy. This happening has also accentuated the new environment, employing abundantly features of the internet age, instant global communication, and a system which was now encompassing not only nation-states but also increasingly powerful multilateral institutions, big transnational enterprises and global civil society organizations.<sup>27</sup>

According to Richard Falk, international relations and law scholar, the new geopolitics is based on the primacy of soft power principles of influence and status, and is more universalistic and less statist in the composition of actors providing global leadership and influencing policy than before. The supposed prominence accorded to the BRIC countries of Brazil, Russia, India, and China is one expression of a shift in the understanding of a more multi-polar structure of world order. Falk adds that the new realities of the third millennium which can be seen also in the aftermath of the Arab Spring illustrates the clash between the old and the new order.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.1.2 Democratization, Transparency, Openness

In the 21st century, the post-modern states, are typical for a “breakdown of the distinction between domestic and foreign affairs, mutual interference in domestic affairs and mutual surveillance, rejection of force for resolving disputes, the growing irrelevance of borders, security based on transparency, mutual openness, interdependence and mutual

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<sup>26</sup> Gagné, J.-F., 2007. *Geopolitics in a Post-Cold War Context: From Geo-Strategic to Geo-Economic Considerations?*, Quebec: Raoul Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Pigmann, G. A., 2010. *Understanding Global Interactions Through Diplomacy*, in *Contemporary Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Falk, R., 2012. *Toward a New Geopolitics?*. [Online] Available at: <http://richardfalk.wordpress.com/2012/08/15/toward-a-new-geopolitics/> [Accessed 7 6 2014].

vulnerability.”<sup>29</sup> As Peter Van Ham suggests, there is a shift in political paradigms from the modern world of geopolitics and power towards a postmodern world of images and influence.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.1.3 Globalization

The principal denominator of these characteristics is the globalization or the “globalism” as labeled by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in their book “Governance in a Globalizing World”. In this book, the predominant aspect of the present-day world is identified as: “a state of the world involving networks of interdependence at multi-continental distances.”<sup>31</sup> Jorge Heine supplements that: “Globalism today is “faster, cheaper, and deeper” than before, and there is a qualitative, not just quantitative, difference, in the flows of goods, services, capital, images, data, and general information that today crisscross the planet, as well as in the effects of these flows on international governance and on governments themselves.”<sup>32</sup>

### 2.1.4 New Actors in International Relations

The post-modern states are also described as undergoing a fragmentation of power where traditional hierarchies are being replaced by networks which operate transnationally. This networks are mainly international organizations, NGO’s or multinational corporations.<sup>33</sup> As a result of globalization and other aspects of the development of international relations, the world is united in a multi-layered network and therefore many authors refer to the new millennium diplomacy as “network diplomacy”. Jorge Heine, one of the co-authors of the recently published book “The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy” defines “network

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<sup>29</sup> Cooper R., 2002, *The Post-Modern State*, in Re-Ordering the World, London, The Foreign Policy Centre, p.13.

<sup>30</sup> Ham, P. V., 2002. *Branding Territory: Inside the Wonderful Worlds of PR and IR Theory*. Millennium - Journal of International Studies, 31(March), p.249-269.

<sup>31</sup> Keohane, R. & Nye, J., 2000. *Governance in a Globalizing World*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

<sup>32</sup> Heine, J., 2006. *On the Manner of Practising the New Diplomacy*.: The Centre for International Governance Innovation, p.3.

<sup>33</sup> Riordan, S., 2003. *The New Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.95.

diplomacy” as follows: “In the world of the twenty-first century, the "club model" of diplomacy has given way to a flatter, less hierarchical "network model," in which diplomats engage a vastly larger number of players in the host country. Diplomacy is becoming "complexity management," to a degree earlier master practitioners would not have imagined. The advent of the network model has to do not only with increased democratization and the growing number of relevant actors for policy making but also with the increased interpenetration of different societies, world's growing democratization and push for transparency.”<sup>34</sup>

G.R. Berridge believes that as a consequence of all the developments related to this new era of international relations, state foreign policy not only affects other countries domestic situation, but with the vastly increasing human interconnectedness around the world, it also has an effect on the national order and local society. Hence, domestic issues become matters of foreign policy<sup>35</sup> which poses tremendous challenges for the diplomatic practice and forces traditional structures to adapt.

#### 2.1.5 Technological evolution (The Information Age & New Media)

In addition, Jovan Kurbalija, declares that even though communication and information, the main pillars of diplomacy, have been fundamentally developing in the recent years by the process of digitalization, the paradox is that diplomacy has not changed so much or has been changing very slowly. This specialist on IT and diplomacy believes that diplomatic apparatus will have to incorporate the innovations of the new century and he suggests that concepts such as “cyber-embassy” or “digital diplomat” will become gradually

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<sup>34</sup> Heine, J., 2013. *From Club to Network Diplomacy*. In: *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*.:Oxford University Press, p.5.

<sup>35</sup> Berridge, G., 2010. *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, p.253.

more acceptable and inevitable as add-ons to the traditional diplomatic procedures leading to a more integrated and complex diplomatic system.<sup>36</sup>

#### 2.1.6 Transformation of Traditional Diplomacy

Nevertheless, the change is not only reflected in the actors and venues of international relations but it also concerns the transforming roles, missions and processes of the diplomatic corps. As Geoffrey Pigmann describes: “Effective diplomacy is about strong relationship management which successfully minimize the likelihood that crisis will occur.”<sup>37</sup> The technological change over recent decades and how this revolution has changed the role of media in the contemporary world, has marked the way in which diplomatic process and functions are carried out.

Leguey-Feilleux in his publication on “The Dynamics of Diplomacy” identifies several central effects of the changes of the 21st century on the traditional diplomacy. First detected change is the expanded diplomatic agenda concerning new unprecedented kind of issues, such as environment, population, energy or human rights, giving rise to a correspondingly increasing volumes of diplomatic interactions. The subsequent impacts point out the multiplicity of diplomatic channels such as more governmental agencies dealing with international issues, trans-governmental relations, greater diplomatic participation of specialized personnel which implies that many governmental agencies are now involved in international affairs, each in its own area of specialization. Their roles might overlap and present complications for an effective functioning of the foreign service. Leguey-Feilleux considers as even more crucial for the evolution of diplomacy, the impact of interdependence

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<sup>36</sup> Kurbalija, J., 2007. *Diplomacy in the Age of Information Technology*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, p.188.

<sup>37</sup> Pigmann, G. A., 2010. *Contemporary Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polty Press, p.109.



magnifying the resort to multilateral interactions, multilateral conferences<sup>38</sup> or as some call it, the “summit diplomacy”.

What is central to this study, and what has been proclaimed also by Geoffrey Alan Pigmann, is the fact that the most significant effect of the alterations of the 21st century upon diplomatic processes, has been the “flowering of public diplomacy”.<sup>39</sup>

## 2.2 The Concept of Public Diplomacy

The term public diplomacy as we tend to perceive it today is generally credited to Edmund Gullion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at the Tufts University, professional diplomat and later Dean of the above mentioned prestigious institution, who in 1965 described public diplomacy as dealing with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies.<sup>40</sup>

Since then, public diplomacy has been defined by various scholars in several different ways. What all the definitions have in common, is the aim of influencing foreign publics in order to maintain or change foreign policy of another state or international actor, respectively. According to Michael McClellan, public diplomacy is “the strategic planning and execution of informational, cultural and educational programming by the advocate country to create a public opinion environment in a target country or countries that will enable target country political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of advocate country’s foreign policy objectives.”<sup>41</sup> This definition can be considered as quite explicit and for the purpose of this study it will be used as a relevant base for the further analysis of public diplomacy.

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<sup>38</sup> Leguey-Feilleux, J.-R., 2009. *The Dynamics of Diplomacy*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., p.294.

<sup>39</sup> Pigmann, G. A., 2010. *Contemporary Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.109.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.121.

<sup>41</sup> McClellan, M., 2003. *Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy*, s.l.: U.S Department of State, p.17.

The velocity with which PD has developed and evolved since the 1990s to spread well beyond the limits and parameters of traditional diplomacy has been astonishing, taking both practitioners and scholars at times by surprise, claims Gilboa.<sup>42</sup>

Caitlin Byrne suggests that to understand PD, not just from a practice-based perspective, but also from its theoretical positioning might be a useful task, one that would lead to more effective and coherent practice.<sup>43</sup>

An apprehension of the latest evolution of PD practice is important to its evolving relationship to constructivism. PD, like constructivism challenges the predominance of material power in achieving outcomes, and propose an alternative model of practice that understands the normative structures underpinning audience identities and gains influence by engaging through the shared understandings of this intersubjective dimension, including through social interaction and interplay.<sup>45</sup>

Linking the practice of PD to the framework of constructivism which as Cesar Villanueva Rivas depicts: “rests on an irreducibly inter-subjective dimension of human interaction: the capacity and will of people to take deliberate action towards the world and to lend it significance.”<sup>46</sup> Bruce Gregory advocates that PD is “the means by which states, associates of states and non-state actors understand cultures, attitudes and behavior, build and manage relationships; and influence opinions and actions to advance their interests and values.”<sup>47</sup> Via this description Gregory places emphasis on the capacity of PD to ‘build bridge

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<sup>42</sup> Gilboa E., 2008. *Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy*. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 616(1), p.55-77.

<sup>43</sup> Byrne, C., 2012. *Public Diplomacy and Constructivism: A Synergistic and Enabling Relationship*. San Diego, International Studies Association Annual Conference, p.2.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Rivas C.V, ‘*Cosmopolitan Constructivism: Mapping a Road to the Future of Cultural and Public Diplomacy*’, Public Diplomacy Magazine, Winter 2010, p. 47.

<sup>47</sup> Bruce Gregory, ‘*Public Diplomacy and National Security: Lessons from the U.S. Experience*’, Small Wars Journal, 2008, p.43.

over the perceptual gaps. By doing so, Gregory positions PD practice directly within constructivism's inter-subjective dimension.<sup>48</sup>

“By dealing in the very currencies that constructivism holds dear and engaging in this inter-subjective dimension, PD offers a vehicle for operationalizing constructivist approaches,” states Byrne.<sup>49</sup>

### 2.2.1 Soft Power

It is vital to define the concept of “soft power” in order to understand the notion of public diplomacy properly. The term “soft power” was first introduced by Professor Nye in 1991 in a book<sup>50</sup> and two articles that he published the previous year. Soft power is defined as “the ability to affect others to obtain what one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment”.<sup>51</sup> The author of this concept also says that soft power rests on a country's culture, values and policies. The idea of attraction is crucial for soft power and it can also be described as “the foreign policy behavior of governments that is intended to win hearts and minds.”<sup>52</sup> Jan Melissen delimits “soft power” to be a “post-modern variant of power over opinion”. According to him: “Political communication in general, and public diplomacy in particular, are key instruments of soft power.”<sup>53</sup> Geoffrey Pigmann opines that in the present-day world, governments are usually aware of the need to reckon consciously with the necessity to engage

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<sup>48</sup> Rhonda Zaharna, ‘9/11 Commission recommendations on Public Diplomacy’, written Testimonial to U.S. House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations, 23 August 2004 at [http://nw08.american.edu/~zaharna/Written\\_Testimony.html](http://nw08.american.edu/~zaharna/Written_Testimony.html).

<sup>49</sup> Byrne, C., 2012. *Public Diplomacy and Constructivism: A Synergistic and Enabling Relationship*. San Diego, International Studies Association Annual Conference, p.3.

<sup>50</sup> Nye, J. S., 1991. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. s.l.:Basic Books.

<sup>51</sup> Nye, J. S., 2008. *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, p. 94-109.

<sup>52</sup> Nye, J. S., 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs( Perseus Book Group), p.54.

<sup>53</sup> Melissen, J., 2005. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Basingstoke: Plagrave Macmillan, p.36.

in public diplomacy, and to be seen by pursuing this by their own but also by the global citizenry.<sup>54</sup>

Most of the scholars agree that public diplomacy can be divided into four or five basic components which are listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting.<sup>55</sup> Each part has its unique place and role in public diplomacy. It is also important to notice that different countries or regions might require different strategy and approach.

### 2.2.2 Listening

Listening is considered to be the foundation and the basis for the other four branches. It is a must to “listen” and understand the environment public diplomacy operates in and to evaluate properly the strategy and specific tactics for individual target audiences. Professor Cull says that the first duty of a public diplomat must be to listen. Listening is traditionally conducted via combination of desk and “leg” work at particular diplomatic posts and this element should infuse the international opinion into the making of foreign policy<sup>56</sup>. What makes public diplomacy different from propaganda or intelligence reports is that public diplomacy listens to what people have to say. Public diplomacy should shift according to the foreign public’s voices and attitudes and incorporate them into the creation of foreign policies. An accurate assessment and efficient reproduction into real policies is the central piece of effective PD.<sup>57</sup>

### 2.2.3 Advocacy

Second element of public diplomacy is advocacy which is defined as “the creation of a public voice for foreign policy by which decisions and events are explained to foreign publics

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<sup>54</sup> Pigmann, G. A., 2010. *Contemporary Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.122.

<sup>55</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, p.10.

<sup>56</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *How we got here*. In: P. Seib, ed. *Toward a New Public Diplomacy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p.24.

<sup>57</sup> Leonard, M., 2002. *Niche Diplomacy: How Norway uses scarce resources to punch above its weight*. In: *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Center, p.169-175.

to mobilize their consent or blunt their criticism.”<sup>58</sup> This component is basically an active promotion of a certain interest, policy or idea of the advocating country and it is present in all the parts of public diplomacy as the main aspect of the message sent. “The first two parts are an essence of every piece of public diplomacy while the other three constituents of it could be considered as individual strategies or subcategories of the PD.”<sup>59</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural Diplomacy has been part of traditional diplomacy since long ago. It is part of regular diplomatic practices and it is highly developed especially by the biggest and strongest nations with the advantage of a worldwide used language or strong cultural attraction. Central parts of cultural diplomacy are the cultural institutes, such as British Council, Goethe or Cervantes institutes.<sup>60</sup> These institutes or cultural divisions in specific embassies are designed to promote the culture, art and qualities of the sending country, spread and teach the language, raise the awareness and attract the target audiences. Cultural diplomacy is a very likable and unforced way of advertising each country and it carries a lot of potential to be explored. It creates space to address the elites but also the mass audiences and can be disseminated easily via media and therefore affect numerous and various targets.<sup>61</sup> The responsibility of cultural diplomacy might sometimes overlap with the exchange diplomacy.

#### 2.2.5 Exchange diplomacy

The fourth component of public diplomacy is a so called long-term strategy but it is also one of the most powerful and effective ones and it is also very hard to assess. Exchange diplomacy consists of academic and cultural exchanges where reciprocity plays the major role.

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<sup>58</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, p.12.

<sup>59</sup> Wyne, A. S., 2009. *Public Opinion and Power*. In: Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy. New York: Routledge, p.39.

<sup>60</sup> Chitty, N., 2009. *Australian Public Diplomacy*. In: N. Snow & Taylor Philip, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge, p.320.

<sup>61</sup> Pigmann, G. A., 2010. *Contemporary Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.124.

The idea of these exchanges is to further mutual understanding, knowledge, peaceful relations and cooperation. The basic concept lies in hosting a foreigner and providing him with an experience that would positively influence his future decisions and attitudes towards the hosting country. This strategy usually comes with scholarship or other attractive options for the candidates. Exchange diplomacy is generally aimed at elites, intellectuals or future decision-makers who might be useful for the advocating country's outlook. The word "future" suggests that the results of these programs might come only after certain period of time and its impact is very difficult to measure. Exchange diplomacy produces space for peaceful development of international affairs and usually also a very special connection between the host country and the participant.<sup>62</sup>

#### 2.2.6 International Broadcasting

The fifth and the last element of public diplomacy is international broadcasting (IB) which is very specific and shouldn't be genuinely seen as a part of government's planning otherwise it might lose its credibility. Nicholas J. Cull declares that IB by its nature requires a different set of resources and skills. To engage with foreign publics, states use radio, television and internet. The most prominent examples are the Voice of America (during the Cold War) or the British BBC World Service. The issue here is if the commercial broadcasting can be considered to be a part of PD which raises the question of independent journalism and ethics in the world politics. Professor Cull proclaims that "while it is possible to see broadcasting as an extension of both advocacy and cultural diplomacy, the special ethical considerations associated with journalism have often set international broadcasters on

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<sup>62</sup> Scott-Smith, G., 2009. *Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy*. In: N. Snow & P. M. Taylor, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge, p.50-57.

their own path and provide a formidable centrifugal force toward some form of independence and autonomy.”<sup>63</sup>

### 3. A Paradigm Shift: The (New) Public Diplomacy

“The new public diplomacy is a major paradigm shift in international political communication. Globalization and a new media landscape challenge traditional foreign ministry ‘gatekeeper’ structures, and foreign ministries can no longer lay claim to being sole or dominant actors in communicating foreign policy. This demands new ways of elucidating foreign policy to a range of nongovernmental international actors, and new ways of evaluating the influence of these communicative efforts”<sup>64</sup> proclaims James Pamment in his book “New public diplomacy in the 21st century”.

First, it is important to distinguish public diplomacy and new public diplomacy as the present day globalized world carries several novel features with it and therefore very crucial implications for the diplomatic practice and foreign policy making in general are present.

Nicholas J. Cull defines public diplomacy as an international actor’s effort to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public. PD does not always draw its attention only to the mass audiences. It often seeks to find influential individuals who can inspire or affect broader masses. Also, public diplomacy doesn’t always have to take form of immediate action towards a foreign public; it can be practiced by promotion of an idea such as international cooperation or climate change.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *How we got here*. In: P. Seib, ed. *Toward a New Public Diplomacy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p. 26.

<sup>64</sup> Pamment, J., 2013. *The New Public Diplomacy in the 21st century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice*.:Routledge, p.5.

<sup>66</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, p.12.

New public diplomacy is compatible with this definition of public diplomacy but it is essential to look at the key shifts in the practice of public diplomacy in the past twenty years. There are several shifts identified by N.J. Cull and this work would like to suggest that all of them pose challenge for the future deployment of public diplomacy and its new character.

### 3.1 Basic Shifts characterizing the NPD

#### 3.3.1 Increasing number of international actors

First of the shifts is the increasing number of international actors, especially the non-traditional ones such as NGOs which are gaining their prominence and their very special place in international relations. One of the crucial and also divisive questions in public diplomacy today is who are the main players in the field of public diplomacy? Is it only the state which plays the major role or can we also count other international and transnational actors as the agents of public diplomacy? NGOs and different non-profit organizations can be and actually they are great promoters of the countries of their origin. Commercial success is also a way to promote culture or state of its origin. Most of the scholars agree that there is a need to draw a line in order to be able to assess public diplomacy and its policies appropriately. In most of the cases, state and its actions are considered to be the main actor of public diplomacy and it is necessary for the act to include some kind of governmental involvement in order to be considered as a part of public diplomacy. Even though, the engagement of non-traditional actors in the global politics and issues can help significantly to improve state's image and promote the positive image of their homeland.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Pigmann, G. A., 2010. *Contemporary Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polty Press, p.17-31.



### 3.3.2 New, real-time and global technologies

Second shift and a major challenge for public diplomacy are the new, real-time and global technologies. Internet, instant communication and new social media are phenomena which have changed public diplomacy fundamentally. The internet has transformed the entire setback and environment that people and states were used to live and work in. Internet has brought many advantages but also disadvantages. It has created a new reality where diplomats and especially public diplomats had to learn to live and learn how to take advantage of it. Together with the real-time communications possibilities, internet has created a space which made traditional states weaker and diminished their ability to control national and international happenings. Nowadays, states are not able to control the content of the information circulating on internet and cannot stop the flow of the information that easily which can be a case for public diplomacy afterwards, in cases when the information leaked is negative or produce harmful consequences for country's image. But new media can be also very helpful and substantially cheaper comparing to conventional media. Use of YouTube or Facebook is free and the effect can be relatively impressive in today interconnected world.<sup>68</sup>

### 3.3.3 Blurred lines between domestic and international news

The third change is highly related to the challenge mentioned above. New technologies have blurred the lines between domestic and international news. Brian Hocking believes that media are themselves capable of shaping foreign policies, especially in cases such as humanitarian crises. This phenomenon is also called the "CNN effect". Moreover, development of technologies has brought about what Livingstone has termed "post-CNN effect" where individuals and groups have direct access to instantaneous information which

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<sup>68</sup> Seib, P., 2012. *Real Time Diplomacy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 87-105.

makes the governmental work much harder.<sup>69</sup> We should also bear in mind that even though we live in democratic societies, information in the mainstream media might still be controlled and shaped by nation states and prominent international organizations.

### 3.3.4 Concepts derived from marketing

Fourth shift in public diplomacy practice is the increased use of concepts derived from marketing (especially place and nation branding) and also from the concepts growing from network communication theory. The concern with image management and branding has moved from the policy elites to broader market masses. Mark Leonard observed that “public diplomacy is based on a presupposition that image and reputation of a country are public goods which can create either an enabling or disabling environment for individual transactions.”<sup>70</sup> More and more countries in the Western hemisphere which have an “image” problem started to use international PR agencies to conduct public diplomacy on their behalf.

### 3.3.5 New terminology

According to Nicholas J. Cull<sup>71</sup> the fifth major amendment of PD is a new terminology as a language of prestige adopting terms like soft power, branding or strategic narrative which are an indispensable part of the current public diplomacy. As new ideas and concepts entered the area of Public Diplomacy, new terms found their place which made public diplomacy somewhat chic and prominent.

### 3.3.6 People-to-people contact

An utterly imperative shift is the trend which speaks of departure from actor-to-people communication which used to be the scheme of public diplomacy during the Cold War era to

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<sup>69</sup> Hocking, B., 2009. *Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, p.28-43.

<sup>70</sup> Hocking, B., 2009. *Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, p.28-43.

<sup>71</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press.p.10.

people-to-people contact for mutual enlightenment with international actor playing the role of facilitator. This form of engagement is very successful and inconspicuous as it doesn't really show the direct action of a state.<sup>72</sup>

A senior Slovak diplomat also talks about the “personal diplomacy” which can be identified with this kind of public diplomacy. In this type of diplomacy an actor or a state is represented by its citizens, also but not only diplomats who build good image of the sending country abroad. For example, excellent students participating in international exchanges raise the awareness about the country and create a positive image. This strategy might be very narrow and not targeted at the huge mass audiences, but it can also focus on elites and desired audience which can influence policy-making.<sup>73</sup>

Personal diplomacy can be also pursued via “celebrity” diplomacy engaging with foreign publics, performing arts while touching political issues, development or after-catastrophes helping. Traditional diplomacy and professional diplomats play a significant role in this case too.<sup>74</sup>

### 3.4 Challenges for the (New) Public Diplomacy

#### 3.4.1 Relationship Building

One of the features of the new public diplomacy is the phenomenon called relationship building. Professor Cull says that the relationship needs not to be between the actor and a foreign audience but could suitably be between two foreign audiences whose communication the actor wishes to facilitate.<sup>75</sup> “Summit diplomacy” is also a way or an example of relationship building and international development but mostly used among the

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Batora, J. & Hozlárová, Z., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: New Strategic tool of MFA?*, Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovakia.p.8.

<sup>74</sup> Cooper, A. F., 2007. *Celebrity Diplomacy*. 1st ed. s.l.:Paradigm Publishers. p.4.

<sup>75</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press.p. 13.

traditional actors-states. International conferences and symposiums can be a good tool public diplomacy, sponsored by governments or organized by non-state actors, connecting foreign publics as a part of “white glove” diplomacy.<sup>76</sup>

### 3.4.2 Tension between the Traditional Diplomacy and New Public Diplomacy

One of the current challenges for public diplomacy is the tension between the traditional diplomacy and New Public Diplomacy which should coexist and supplement each other. On one hand there is the thread of democratic accountability, openness and transparency which is required and indispensable in the politics of 21st century. On the other hand, diplomacy has always been part of the secret and hidden politics, made behind the closed doors. International publics are asking for more transparency and the question is whether or not there should be limits. Should or should not, traditional diplomacy, even though certainly modified, retain its privileges and standard *modus operandi*?<sup>77</sup>

### 3.4.3 Institutional Organization

Another problem in many countries is organizational. States are not fully prepared to operate in public diplomacy, especially smaller countries which are not so powerful and able to adapt quickly. In the case of the big powers, the problem might be too many, not well organized and overlapping structures not united and not coordinated properly and efficiently.<sup>78</sup>

### 3.4.4 The network model

According to Hoffman there are two worlds of public diplomacy that intersect, overlap and cooperate in many contexts. The first one underlines the centrality of the intergovernmental relations. The primacy tends to be on the top-down process which is

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<sup>76</sup> Leigh-Phippard, H., 1999. *The Influence of Informal groups in Multilateral diplomacy*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*. Hampshire: MacMillan Press LTD, p.94-111.

<sup>77</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press.p.53.

<sup>78</sup> Leguey-Feilleux, J.-R., 2009. *The Dynamics of Diplomacy*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. p.139.

reflected in the approaches to public diplomacy. It is important to note, as Hoffman suggest, that the new public diplomacy is no longer only about image managements. New public diplomacy is now believed to be an “applied transnational science of human behavior” which is much more sophisticated than image influencing and foreign publics suggests. “It implies a high level of awareness of the varying attributes of human behavior determined by culture and patterns of media usage as well as a deep knowledge of overseas news organizations and political systems.”<sup>79</sup>

A different rather important fact in modern public diplomacy is that the traditional, hierarchical conception is colliding with the new “network” diplomacy.<sup>80</sup>

The network model displays a fundamentally different picture of how diplomacy works in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. To understand better the notion of network (public) diplomacy we should first define the term “Global Public Policy” network which Reinecke defines as a “relatively stable relationships which are of non-hierarchical and interdependent nature linking a variety of actors who share common interest with regard to a policy and who exchange resources to pursue these shared interests acknowledging that cooperation is the best way to achieve common goals”<sup>81</sup>

Ann-Marie Slaughter believes that globalization has shown governments deficiencies and therefore it is important to combine public and private sector in the above mentioned networks. The more diverse membership and non-hierarchical qualities of public policy networks promote more cooperation and learning and speeding up the acquisition and processing of knowledge.<sup>82</sup> Challenged by increasingly complex agendas, there is a need to establish policy networks of varying scope and compositions which might bring together different actors such as governments, civil society organizations (NGOs) and business.

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<sup>79</sup> Hoffman, D., 2002. *Beyond Public Diplomacy*. Foreign Affairs, 81(2), p.85.

<sup>80</sup> Metzl, J. F., 2001. *Network Diplomacy*. Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Issue Spring/Summer, p.77-87.

<sup>81</sup> Reinecke, W., 1998. *Global Public Policy: Governing without government?*. Washington DC: Brookings.p.14.

<sup>82</sup> Slaughter, A.-M., 2004. *A New World Order*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.p.14.

This form of diplomacy has also been called a “catalytic diplomacy”.<sup>83</sup> In such diplomacy, hierarchical flows of information are replaced by very fissile and multidirectional flows and it is increasingly hard to define the target audiences. Hoffman notes that “reflecting the permeable nature of public diplomacy in the networked diplomatic environment in which transnational coalitions range alongside governments in the quest for policy influence, this apparently quintessential manifestation of soft power is, in fact, becoming hard power because it is often used coercively in the pursuit of policy objectives.”<sup>84</sup>

The networked structure of, not only, (public) diplomacy is one of the characteristics of the new world and it influences all aspects of politics and international relations. Public diplomacy is not an exception and it will probably have to adapt to the new circumstances.

We might suppose that the new public diplomacy is on the table as a vital part of the future of diplomacy even though there are still many questions and challenges which need to be answered and examined. (New) public diplomacy is almost certainly going to be essential for many states’ diplomatic strategy of this century, especially in the case of smaller states which is going to be examined further in the subsequent chapters.

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<sup>83</sup> Hocking, B., 1999. *Catalytic Diplomacy: Beyond "Newness" and "Decline"*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *Innovation in diplomatic practice*. Hampshire: MacMillan Press, p.21-43.

<sup>84</sup> Hoffman, D., 2002. *Beyond Public Diplomacy*. *Foreign Affairs*, 81(2), p.87.

## 4.The Concept of empirical study

### 4.1 Smaller States and Public Diplomacy

For the purpose of this study, smaller states will be defined as states with limited resources and, therefore, with a limited reach of diplomatic efforts. Thus, they have two interrelated central characteristics: “Their public diplomacy efforts are concentrated in several key areas and in several key countries, and knowledge about them and their image becomes significantly more blurred as one moves further away from their immediate region.”<sup>85</sup>

Small states can be defined and categorized in many different ways, depending on the point of view and character of the research and there is a rather wide debate among academics and scholars to this arbitrary categorization as Kevin D. Stringer asserts.<sup>86</sup> Maas states that “there has been a lack of consensus amongst theorists as to “what type of criteria, quantitative or qualitative, is appropriate to characterize ‘the’ small state.”<sup>87</sup>

Thorsallson classifies the small states as actors with limited capabilities and influence<sup>88</sup> Other authors like David Vital, apply parameters such as population, geographical size, Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or military power, to define such a states.<sup>89</sup>

One of the links is the uniqueness of the challenges common to these states due to their small size. As put by the Joint Task Force Report “what makes small states different is their special development challenges which render them more vulnerable than larger states.”<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Snow, N., 2009. *Rethinking Public Diplomacy*. In: *Routledge Handbook of Pulic Diplomacy*. New York, p.3-12.

<sup>86</sup> Stringer, K. D., 2011. *Honorary Consuls in Small States Diplomacy: Through the Lichtenstein's lens*: Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations).

<sup>87</sup> Maass, M., 2009. *The Elusive Definition of the Small State*. *International Politics*, Volume 46, p.65-83.

<sup>88</sup> Thorsallson, B., 2000. *The Role of the Small States in the EU*, Aldershot: UK Ashgate.

<sup>89</sup> Vital, D., 1967. *The Inequality of States : A Study of the Small Power in International Relations*. s.l.:Oxford University Press, Inc.

<sup>90</sup> Lee, D. & Smith, N., 2010. *Small State Discourses in the International Political Economy*. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(7), p.1091-1105.

The crucial problem in the case of defining the small powers is where to draw to boundaries and how do distinguish them from the middle-sized counterparts.

For that reason, this thesis will not use the term “small” state but instead the expression “smaller” state will be employed. It is generally agreeable that all the case studies don’t fall within any other category. For better illustration, the “superpower” is defined by Alice Lyman Miller as "a country that has the capacity to project dominating power and influence anywhere in the world, and sometimes, in more than one region of the globe at a time, and so may plausibly attain the status of global hegemony"<sup>91</sup> The emerging powers’ “fundamental characteristic is that it is also an emerging economy, being that economic development is necessary and preliminary to political and military emergence.”<sup>92</sup> The definition of “middle powers” is also debatable as some authors such as Segal<sup>93</sup>, Shearman<sup>94</sup> and Sperling<sup>95</sup> refer to Germany, Japan, France, Russia or United Kingdom as such. The three case studies used in this thesis, definitely don’t fit within the category of super or emerging-powers and their place in the category of middle powers is questionable.

Therefore we will label these states as “smaller” than the other super, emerging or middle/big powers. Referring back to Vital<sup>72</sup>, it is recognizable that Norway, Taiwan and Slovakia do not comply with at least one or more conditions characterizing great to middle powers.

The key challenge for “smaller states” is the competition for attention in the global public sphere, and their main handicaps are small size and sometimes also limited financial resources, coupled with little interest in their foreign policy. As M.H. Kabir points out, they face particularly large difficulties in conducting public diplomacy in the big powers that

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<sup>91</sup> Miller, A. L., 2006. *China an Emerging Superpower?*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.stanford.edu/group/sjir/6.1.03\\_miller.html](http://www.stanford.edu/group/sjir/6.1.03_miller.html) [Accessed 13 3 2014].

<sup>92</sup> Kennedy, P., 1987. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*: Random House.

<sup>93</sup> Segal, G., 1999. *Does China Matter?*. Foreign Affairs, Volume September/October.

<sup>94</sup> Shearman, P. & Sussex, M., 2004. *European Security After 9/11*: Ashgate, p.1.

<sup>95</sup> Sperling, J., 2001. *Neither Hegemony nor Dominance: Reconsidering German Power in Post Cold-War Europe*. British Journal of Political Science, 31(2), p.389-425.



“matter” because their publics know less about the “small-er state” and are less inclined to learn more, but also because they have to navigate a more complex media scene.<sup>96</sup>

Bátora also highlights the fact, that foreign perceptions of small and medium-sized powers are usually characterized by lack of information and at best by long-established stereotypes. This author also suggests that the main difference between the small states and big states public diplomacy is in its “mission”. For the superpowers, the main focus is on explaining, advocacy and possibly re-branding while in the small and medium power diplomacies the focus lays on catching the attention.<sup>97</sup>

Public diplomacy is one of the possibilities for the small states to achieve their goals in the international arena. For small and medium sized powers, public diplomacy presents a unique opportunity to shape international agenda in a way that they could not have otherwise especially because of their limited resources.<sup>98</sup>

As Szondi remarks: “It is important to note that public diplomacy is just one of the wide range of techniques employed by small states to manage their reputations, including PR practices, country branding, cultural diplomacy, international broadcast, and perception management, which seek to manage the best out of the limited funding by careful targeting, creative approaches, “niche diplomacy” and holistic approach.”<sup>99</sup> All of these are the imperative essentials of the public diplomacy practice. Each country employs different types of foreign strategy and public diplomacy according to their character, goals and possibilities in order to achieve the maximum results with minimal inputs.

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<sup>96</sup> Kabir, M., 2007. *Diplomacy at Bangladesh's Missions Abroad: A Practitioner's View*. Journal of Diplomacy, Volume 2, p. 299-302.

<sup>97</sup> Bátora, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Szondi, G., 2009. *Central and Eastern European Public Diplomacy: A Transitional Perspective on National Reputation Management*. In: N. Snow & P. M. Taylor, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge, p.292-314.

## 4.2 Case Study

For the purpose of this study three countries which are considerably different in their nature, geographic location, history, political situation, institutional structures and social-economic systems, have been selected in order to examine better the impact of the change in the external environment at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

All of the three representatives of smaller states used in this thesis fall within our previously selected definition. They are certainly small in size of their territories and in the case of Slovakia and Norway also in the aspect of the size of their population.

The financial and natural resources of Norway are not quite limited nowadays but 40 years ago, when this Nordic country started its first significant foreign aid programs which are the central pillar of their “niche” diplomacy, they were. Taiwan is a very specific phenomenon in international relations but it will provide a study of unorthodox forms of diplomacy and a substitution of conventional diplomatic practice. Slovakia as a member of the European member and with its history as a part of the Soviet Bloc provides an opportunity to contrast the propaganda used for almost half the century with the modern practice of public diplomacy and illustrate an example of a country which had to face the transition to democracy at the same time as adapting to the completely new world of the 21st century.

Even though the specific selection of these trio might be debatable, based on the unique attributes possessed by each of the research subjects, the author of this thesis believes that this choice provides a spectrum of essential aspects important for smaller states as whole. Every single example is of distinct character and holds different position in international affairs and thus various types of public diplomacy might be observed and analyzed.

## 5.The Kingdom of Norway

### 5.1 Introduction

Norway is one of the wealthiest nations in the world and one of the most prominent foreign aid donors. This Scandinavian country is very rich in oil and gas reserves and the major part of its profits comes from trade with these commodities. Interestingly, Norway is not a member of the EU, but maintains close relations with this organization and forms part of the Schengen Zone. It is a member of other important international institutions like United Nations, NATO, OECD, EEA, World Bank and International Monetary Fund.<sup>100</sup>

Norway became politically independent from Sweden just over a century ago, in 1905. It is one of the four developed countries with the world's lowest population densities, having only sixteen people per square kilometer. Norwegians like to think of themselves as close to nature but live mainly in urban areas. An important element is that this Scandinavian country controls a large area of ocean: Norway's exclusive economic zone<sup>101</sup> is the 13<sup>th</sup> largest in the world.<sup>102</sup>

The Kingdom of Norway is considerably small in size but rather significant regarding its economic stand as a country with the fourth highest income per capita in the world. It is a highly developed European democracy with the highest Human Development Index score on the entire planet. It is also ranked as the most democratic country according to the democratic

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<sup>100</sup> CIA Factbook, 2014. CIA Factbook: *Norway*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/no.html> [Accessed 17 1 2014].

<sup>101</sup> An exclusive economic zone (EEZ) is a seazone prescribed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea over which a state has special rights over the exploration and use of marine resources, including energy production from water and wind.[1] It stretches from the baseline out to 200 nautical miles from its coast ("Part V - Exclusive Economic Zone, Article 56". *Law of the Sea*. United Nations. Retrieved 2014-05-01.).

<sup>102</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May.Issue 32: Wicked Problemss, Exquisite Dilemmas.

index and the first one to introduce women's suffrage in 1913.<sup>103</sup> In fact, Norway ranks first in the World Happiness Index.<sup>104</sup>

## 5.2 Norwegian Foreign Policy & Public Diplomacy

According to Prof. Butenschøn, since 1905, when Norway achieved its independence from Sweden, Norway's foreign policy orientation has been formed by the interplay of three conflicting operation codes: First, an insistent foreign policy based on a strong pursuit of Norwegian national interests, especially maritime interests. Second, a more defensive character based on the idea that the best foreign policy a country like Norway can have is not to have a foreign policy. Small countries, like Norway, should avoid conflicts and if possible participate in building bridges to adversaries who otherwise would threaten their security. It should also contribute to the establishment of an international legal order that provides a protection to small states. Third, Norway's interests are best served if its policy contributes to peace and justice in the world, both within and outside its own region.<sup>105</sup>

Norway's commitment to development has become an indispensable part of its international image and the most essential characteristic. In the past thirty years Norway has become one of the biggest aid donors. Norway is a leading example both in the field of official development aid and in the so called "niche diplomacy" arena in which this kingdom has gained a reputation of the world's "peacemaker" or "foreign-aid superpower".<sup>106</sup>

Norway created its brand around its humanitarian image and it has been a very successful strategy for Norway's foreign policy to use this method as a part of its public diplomacy. In general Scandinavian countries are seen as the moral guides for the rest of the

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<sup>103</sup> OECD, 2008. *Norway Development Assistance Committee Peer Review of Norway*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/peer-reviews/norway2008dacpeerreviewofnorway-mainfindingsandrecommendations.htm> [Accessed 18 1 2014].

<sup>104</sup> FutureBrand, 2013. *Country Brand Index 2012-13*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI\\_2012-Final.pdf](http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI_2012-Final.pdf) [Accessed 6 5 2014], p.28.

<sup>105</sup> Butenschøn, N., 1997. *The Oslo Agreement in Norwegian Foreign Policy*, (CMEIS occasional paper No. 56, January 1997), 11., p.11.: CMEIS.

<sup>106</sup> Båtora, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael, p.11.

world as a result of an image created by a cluster of “moral” projects and their aspect of an international good citizen. Norway has been seen as a major player in conflict resolution (Oslo Accord, Nobel Prize, and Middle East) and also as a world peace and development contributor. From the public diplomacy perspective, main aims of these policies are visibility, prestige, unique profile and importance on the international scene since Norway is a small country with no significant power position in the international arena.<sup>107</sup>

However, Norway has a voice and presence on the international stage out of proportion to its modest position. It has achieved this presence through aggressive pursuit of niche (public) diplomacy, and a ruthless prioritization of its target audiences. Norway’s concentration on a single message – Norway as a force for peace in the world – and on ameliorating the effect of two negative images, which are the lack of influence in Europe through non-EU status and attachment to whaling, has allowed it to communicate much more effectively.<sup>108</sup>

Norway’s primary goal in securing this international visibility around the issue of peace and conflict prevention is twofold. Firstly, it allows Norway to gain a general profile it might not have otherwise and which is beneficial to the country in broad terms. More specifically, Norway’s reputation in conflict resolution ensures that it is regarded as a relevant partner in multilateral forums and respected by other important international players. In this manner, according to the public diplomacy expert and respected scholar Mark Leonard, Norway gains influence on the mentioned issues.<sup>109</sup>

Norway’s example in this area is noteworthy. It has connected the necessary with the useful when choosing something this kingdom is outstanding in, such as promotion of

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<sup>107</sup> Langmore, J. & Egeland, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway: Independent, middle-power foreign policy*. The Griffit Review, 31(May).

<sup>108</sup> Henrikson, A. K., 2004. *Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global Cornerstones of Canada and Norway*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. U.K: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 67-82.

<sup>109</sup> Leonard, M., 2002. *Niche Diplomacy: How Norway uses scarce resources to punch above its weight*. In: *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Center, p. 169-175.

international peace, development and stability and using it for its own benefit in order to become exceptional on the world political scene.

Norway, even though being one of the top leaders in the development aid, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and niche diplomacy, has also its problems to face and challenges to endorse, like the ongoing whaling, extremist terrorist attacks from 2011 or controversies about the efficiency of its foreign aid.

Norwegian diplomatic strategy can be considered to be a successful model of a smaller country engaging in the right forms of pursuing an effective public diplomacy to its own benefits and achieving its goal. Closer study of the development and tactics adopted by Norway promises an insight which might serve as an inspiration for other (smaller) countries. Correspondingly, an examination of the features of the 21st century playing the role of the main force behind the change of Norwegian diplomacy, is central to this study.

### 5.3 Niche Diplomacy

In order to evaluate Norwegian foreign policy and public diplomacy, which as will be mentioned later, is the most important element of it, it is vital to define the concept of “Niche Diplomacy” first.

Niche diplomacy has been defined for the first time by the longstanding Australian foreign minister who observed that “niche diplomacy is based on concentrating resources in specific areas best able to generate returns worth having, rather than trying to cover the field”.<sup>110</sup>

Andrew F. Cooper adds that niche diplomacy is a method which enables smaller and middle sized country to distinguish themselves from the major powers and also from the “minor” players. Standing with respect to specific forums of decision making rests on specialized interests and task-related experience. The attention is drawn towards domains

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<sup>110</sup> Evans, G. & Grant, B., 1991. *Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of 1990's*. Melbourne: Melbourne Press.

where these countries hold a high degree of resources and reputation qualifications which increases their status in the international system resulting in more power which they could not achieve otherwise. Niche diplomacy is distinguishable in that it is not based on overwhelming national power such as military power, but on persuasion and reconciling with other players.<sup>111</sup>

Gareth Evans also proclaims that selective “niche” diplomacy, while often good tactics, is also compelled by realistic necessity. Resources simply have to be concentrated where they are likely to have the most useful impact. The capacity to follow an issue through also involves energy and stamina. Many good ideas, well capable of implementation, fall by the wayside in international affairs simply because institutions, or the individuals who constitute them, tire.<sup>112</sup> Apparently, that has not been the case of the Norwegian public diplomacy so far.

#### 5.4 Norwegian Niche Diplomacy

During the period of the Cold War, Norway used to be considered a strategic priority by the US and the NATO allies due to its northern border with the Soviet Union. After the disappearance of the bipolar world order, Norway was forced to look for another way of making itself visible and important on the world stage.<sup>113</sup>

As identified by Leonard and Small, the principal reasons for Norway’s invisibility are: “It is small (in population, economy and presence); it is isolated (politically, geographically and culturally); it lacks linguistic attraction; it lacks brands or icons. Moreover, as one of the Scandinavian countries its shared “Nordic” culture does not help to distinguish it from its neighbors.”<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Cooper, A. F., 1997. *Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War*. London Andrew : Macmillan Press, p.4-6.

<sup>112</sup> Evans, G., 2011. *Middle Power Diplomacy*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.gevans.org/speeches/speech441.html> [Accessed 10 5 2014].

<sup>113</sup> Bátorá, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael. p.16.

<sup>114</sup> Leonard, M. & Small, A. T., 2005. *Norwegian Public Diplomacy*. London: Foreign Policy Centre, p. 2.

As Tim Moore states, after the three major wars<sup>115</sup> of the last century, Norway needed to construct and uphold a network of friends and allies in order to counterweight its vulnerability as a thinly populated country with a long coastline at the edge of Europe. It learned to balance prudently the sometimes-competing demands of neighbors, allies and antagonists, and it developed an accurate understanding of asymmetric power relationships. Norway acquired a capacity to listen and to foster relationships that didn't offer immediate advantages. These skills combined played a crucial role when Norway initiated the transformation of its foreign policy by carefully coordinating its official diplomacy, its public diplomacy and the private sector.<sup>116</sup>

In order to understand better the construction of the Norwegian "niche" (diplomacy) it is essential to depict the basic character of the Norwegian society and foreign policy approaches of the previous decades, as the values associated to the later 2003 "four pillars" PD strategy are highly related to these.<sup>117</sup>

#### 5.4.1 Building the Norwegian Niche

Dobinson and Dale spotlight the extraordinary political unity around the concept of peace as the foreign policy priority, about the social democratic values equality and also the emphasis on the environmental questions. They have denominated the key Norwegian conflict resolution approach to be the "Norwegian backpack".<sup>118</sup>

Nevertheless, this set of core values, so important to the Norwegian society brought the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to a controversial position as pointed out by Neumann. The foreign ministry had been traditionally struggling with a low level of legitimacy and respect within the egalitarian Norwegian society skeptical of what has been identified as secretive and

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<sup>115</sup> World War I., World War II., Cold War.

<sup>116</sup> Moore, T., 2012. *Norway's Focused Strategic Communication Strategy*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore\\_norway.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore_norway.html) [Accessed 7 5 2014].

<sup>117</sup> Bátorá, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael. p.17.

<sup>118</sup> Dobinson, K. & Dale, G., 2000. *The Norwegian backpack. An analysis of the 'Norwegian' peace diplomacy*. In: G. Dale, ed. *Limits for everything: Critical Perspectives on Norwegian foreign policy*. Oslo: Spartacus.



quasi-aristocratic practices in the diplomatic apparatus. Thus the conduct of the foreign policy planning and public diplomacy creation has been marked by this fact and had been reflected in the corporatist and selective search for the Norwegian “niche” as well.<sup>119</sup>

As highlighted by Allern and Lorentzen, whereas other ministries of the Norwegian government normally rely on a wide range of consultative mechanisms to engage the domestic public and civil society players in discussions of policy initiatives and priorities, in the case of the 2002/2003 public diplomacy designing, the only mechanisms employed by the foreign ministry had been exclusive, issue-specific conferences and committees where only selected groups of societal players have been invited to participate.<sup>120</sup>

#### 5.4.2 History

Norwegian Foreign policy is believed to be influenced considerably by the international events of the twentieth century. Norway attempted to be neutral before World War II. However, as Peter Langmore states, the sudden and undeclared German invasion of Norway on 9 April 1940 and the five years of occupation were a national trauma that profoundly influenced Norway's postwar society and foreign policy.<sup>121</sup> The postwar rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States caused severe anxiety in Norway, which shares a border with Russia. As a result, Norway was threatened by spread of communism during this period which led the country to make relations with the US their most important international alliance.<sup>122</sup>

Since the 1950s, Norwegian NGOs and Norwegian government had been profoundly involved in developmental assistance, promotion of human rights and peace-building in

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<sup>119</sup> Neumann, I. B., 1998. *Departmental identity: The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Internasjonal Politikk*, 56(1), p. 75-103.

<sup>120</sup> Allern, E. & Lorentzen, H., 2002. *New Forms of Civic Participation in Norwegian Government Administration: An Exploratory Study*, Oslo: NIBR.

<sup>121</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May. Issue 32: Wicked Problemss, Exquisite Dilemmas.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

distinct regions around the world and during the evolution of numerous foreign aid programs, they have established an exceptional symbiotic relation and a world-wide network of contacts.<sup>123</sup>

Norwegian development aid commenced in 1953, in India, when Norway was still receiving Marshall Aid. Norwegian cooperation with the non-governmental sector dates back to these times, when two leading social movements, the social-democratic labor movement and Christian lay organizations, joined forces to support Norwegian activism for the international rule of law and multilateral co-operation through the United Nations: engagement with peacemaking and peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, nuclear disarmament, human rights and democracy<sup>124</sup>

The terrors of German occupation reinforced Norwegian support for the international rule of law and the UN. The fact that the first UN Secretary-General was the Norwegian foreign minister, Trygve Lie, is a brilliant portrayal of Norwegian strong connection to the UN. Norway has continued to be among the UN's strongest supporters, as demonstrated by repeatedly making the largest financial contribution per capita.<sup>125</sup>

Norwegian foreign policy has evolved over time, from providing military forces for peacekeeping to active conflict resolution. In 1988 the chief chaplain to the Norwegian armed forces conducted a service in Oslo to commemorate “the 32,000 Norwegian soldiers who have served with the United Nations peacekeeping forces since 1947,” particularly the 25 killed on such service.<sup>126</sup> In 1989, Norwegian government introduced a White Paper which launched the idea of “extended security”: declaring that: “Norway’s security is not only dependent on reliable defense forces and external security guarantees, but also on its own

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<sup>123</sup> Tvedt, T., 1997. *Norwegian Foreign Policy and NGOs*. In: T. Knudsten, ed. *Norway's Foreign Policy*. Oslo: Cappelen.

<sup>124</sup> Egeland, J., 1988. *Impotent superpower--potent small state : potentials and limitations of human rights objectives in the foreign policies of the United States and Norway*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.p.36-45.

<sup>125</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May.Issue 32: Wicked Problems, Exquisite Dilemmas.

<sup>126</sup> Lewis, P., 1988. In Oslo, *Blessings for 733 Who Kept the Peace*. The New York Times, 12 12.

ability to contribute to global problem-solving. Regional conflicts, Third World poverty and ecological imbalances are seen as the most threatening of such problems.”<sup>127</sup>

#### 5.4.3 Norwegian “Conflict Resolution” Model

The concept of a Norwegian model for conflict resolution launched after the end of the Cold War. Norway had a comparative advantage in peace promotion because of its small size, its non-colonial past, and the close relationship between the state and NGOs.<sup>128</sup>

The principal milestones in the Norwegian development of the “conflict resolution” leadership brand were the Oslo Accords signed between Israel and Palestine in 1993 and the reputation of the Norwegians as effective mediators took off. Norway was in the ideal position to approach both sides and it also had their trust due to the history of Norwegian international engagement and its policies.<sup>129</sup> As Østerud portrays it: “The peculiar role played by Norwegian players in the “back channel” to Israeli-PLO accommodation did not arrive out of the blue. It came as a culmination of more than forty years of contact and friendships between influential circles in Norway and the Middle East.”<sup>130</sup>

After intense and challenging negotiations, an agreement was reached and signed on the White House lawns in September 1993. The Declaration of Mutual Recognition included arrangements for Palestinian self-rule, maximum permanent security for Israeli citizens, proposals for major infrastructure and a Marshall-style international-assistance plan. Consequently, Rabin, Peres and Arafat were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Since then the Norwegian model of peacemaking has been attempted in many conflict situations, from

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<sup>127</sup> Butenschön, N., 1997. *The Oslo Agreement in Norwegian Foreign Policy*, (CMEIS occasional paper No. 56, January 1997), p.13.

<sup>128</sup> Egeland, J., 1988. *Impotent superpower--potent small state : potentials and limitations of human rights objectives in the foreign policies of the United States and Norway*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.p.36

<sup>129</sup> Egeland, J., 2008. *A Billion Lives: An Eyewitness Report from the Frontlines of Humanity*. New York: Simon&Schuster. p. 163-185.

<sup>130</sup> Østerud, Ø., 1997. *Between Realism and "Crusader Diplomacy": The Norwegian Channel to Jericho*. In: A. F. Cooper, ed. *Niche Diplomacy*. London: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 94.

Colombia and Guatemala to Sudan<sup>131</sup> In 2000 the Sri Lankan government asked Norway to help mediate with the Tamil Tigers, resulting in a ceasefire in 2002. The rise of Norway's reputation has been proven also by the 2008 call from the Congolese rebel leader Laurent Nkunda who demanded the Norwegian government intervene in the armed conflict and humanitarian crisis in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Presently, Norway is involved in peace and reconciliation efforts in over 20 different countries and regions.<sup>132</sup>

As Jon Hanssen-Bauer, a senior adviser at the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated due to the Norwegian experience, small countries can provide support that makes a difference in efforts to end conflicts.<sup>133</sup>

Langmore identifies three principal features of the "Norwegian Model"<sup>134</sup>:

- *First*, the request for assistance comes from one or more parties or is suggested by one of the Norwegian NGO's proposing the involvement of the foreign ministry. The ministry seldom acts alone: it mostly **co-operates with the UN** or supports other mediating organizations. Norway is being increasingly attentive to the new UN Mediation Support Unit and has also co-operated with initiatives encompassing the good offices of the Secretary-General. Major development assistance has commonly been a feature of post-agreement peace-building processes.
  
- The *second* distinctive feature of Norwegian foreign policy has been the high priority given to **disarmament**. Humanitarian agencies like the Red Cross were essential to negotiation of treaties banning land mines and cluster bombs. "Nuclear weapons are

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<sup>131</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May.Issue 32: Wicked Problemss, Exquisite Dilemmas.

<sup>132</sup> Moore, T., 2012. *Norway's Focused Strategic Communication Strategy*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore\\_norway.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore_norway.html)[Accessed 7 5 2014].

<sup>133</sup> Hanssen-Bauer, J., 2005. *The Norwegian "model" for conflict resolution*. Lisbon, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway.

<sup>134</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May.Issue 32: Wicked Problemss, Exquisite Dilemmas.

the most destructive, inhuman and indiscriminate weapons ever created,' Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre has said, and so it is vital that humanitarian agencies participate as well in activity directed at banning nuclear weapons.<sup>135</sup>

- The *third* distinctive characteristic of Norwegian foreign policy is the **generosity** of the country's aid to developing countries. Norway has surpassed the UN aid target of 0.7 per cent of Gross National Income (GNI) continuously for more than thirty years which makes one of the top five contributors and far ahead of most major powers. About a quarter of Norway's aid is allocated through multilateral organizations, especially through UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank. Thirty per cent of aid is channeled through Norwegian NGOs, making the five largest Norwegian groups amongst the largest in the world. Norway emphasizes the contribution of aid to mitigating greenhouse gas emissions, to generating and distributing clean energy and water, and to natural resource management and sanitation.<sup>136</sup>

## 5.5 2003 PD Report

As a result of the situation in which this Nordic country found itself during the 1990s, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to hire the London based Foreign Policy Institute (FPI) with a request to develop a Public Diplomacy for Norway. This major step was further followed by various seminars and discussions with the character of behind closed-doors meetings which were held in 2002 and 2003. With the aim of creating a shared image and value-platform for the future Norwegian brand, only few key stake-holders were invited,

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<sup>135</sup> Støre, J. G., 2010. *Disarmament as a global challenge*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.regjeringen.no/en/archive/Stoltenbergs-2nd-Government/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs/taler-og-artikler/2010/disarmament\\_change.html?id=609548](http://www.regjeringen.no/en/archive/Stoltenbergs-2nd-Government/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs/taler-og-artikler/2010/disarmament_change.html?id=609548).

<sup>136</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May. Issue 32: Wicked Problems, Exquisite Dilemmas.

ranging from the FPI and Norwegian foreign ministry to other governmental agencies specialists, NGOs activists, academics, journalists and business-people.<sup>137</sup>

The final outcome was a strategic report introduced to the Norwegian public in June 2003 which identified four “stories” around which coherence in presenting Norway to the world should be built. The four principal images portray Norway as: 1. humanitarian superpower / a peacemaker; 2. a society living with nature; 3. a society with a high level of equality and an internationalist society / a society with a spirit of adventure.<sup>138</sup> These bases of the Norwegian image are deeply rooted in country’s moral and cultural disposition which is expressed in words of the writer Inge Eidsvåg who claims 'three values' that 'the majority of the Norwegian population would recognize as theirs: equality, moderation and nearness to nature'.<sup>139</sup>

## 5.6 The institutional design

Norway has a surprisingly extensive Foreign Service with over 1400 employees. More specifically, “The foreign service consists of 109 stations, including embassies, permanent mission and general consulates. More than 1400 persons are employed in the service; 770 in the ministry itself and a total of 630 persons are working abroad at the different missions, alongside approximately 900 locally employed persons. The MFA is with this the biggest of the departments of the government.”<sup>140</sup>

In 2001, a Peace and Reconciliation Section was established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It began as a support for the negotiations in Sri Lanka and has enlarged since then; there are now fourteen professional officers working in the section, administering an annual budget of about US\$100 million in support of activities in twenty areas of conflict.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Bátorá, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael. p.16.

<sup>138</sup> Leonard, M. & Small, A. T., 2005. *Norwegian Public Diplomacy*. London: Foreign Policy Centre.,p. 69.

<sup>139</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May.Issue 32: Wicked Problemss, Exquisite Dilemmas.

<sup>140</sup> Email from a Norwegian diplomat at the Norwegian Mission to the UN, 28 May 2009. quoted in Moore, T., 2012.

*Norway's Focused Strategic Communication Strategy*.

<sup>141</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May.Issue 32: Wicked Problemss, Exquisite Dilemmas.

Nevertheless, as proclaimed by a Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Oslo, the MFA would not be able to produce the effect it has without engaging others in its public diplomacy.<sup>142</sup>

The range of players engaged in the Norway's Public diplomacy is quite large, since it involves Norwegian diplomats, international aid workers and other government officials, as well as staff and volunteers from numerous NGOs, foundations, and professional organizations. The Norwegian government believes that "the close interaction and cooperation between the Norwegian authorities and NGOs have been seen as a special feature for peace and reconciliation efforts in Norway's policy of engagement."<sup>143</sup>

The principal characteristic of Norwegian coordination of its public diplomacy is a "united outside face" and the foreign ministry is by far the lead agency coordinating what is to be presented abroad as Norwegian. As argued by Widvey, the vital logic behind this strategy is to send a clearly targeted message, to create a 'national umbrella' under which many different stories, adapted to local circumstances, can be told and which would reduce the risk of ambiguous communication.<sup>144</sup>

Accordingly, in 2004 a state-owned company composed by enterprise and regional governments, called "Innovation Norway", was established and replaced four different governmental organizations: The Norwegian Tourist Board, The Norwegian Trade Council, The Norwegian Industrial and Regional Development Fund and The Government Consultative Office for Inventors. The primary role of this body is to help "release the potential of different districts and regions by contributing towards innovation, internationalization and promotion."<sup>145</sup> Innovation Norway is the Norwegian government's

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<sup>142</sup> Moore, T., 2012. *Norway's Focused Strategic Communication Strategy*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore\\_norway.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore_norway.html)[Accessed 7 5 2014].

<sup>143</sup> NMFA, 2013. *Norway and the United Nations: Common Future, Common Solutions*, Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

<sup>144</sup> Widvey, T., 2003. *Public diplomacy*. Ottawa, Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce.

<sup>145</sup> Bátorá, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael. p.19.

official trade representative abroad. To guarantee effective coordination and effective use of resources, the Norwegian government found it appropriate to integrate the representatives of Innovation Norway into the Norwegian foreign service and co-locate their offices in Norwegian diplomatic missions<sup>146</sup>

A further merge followed later in 2004, when the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) was administratively assigned under the Norwegian foreign ministry as a directorate. NORAD has traditionally had wide networks of contacts and cooperation mechanisms with various Norwegian NGOs and academic institutions active internationally<sup>147</sup>

## 5.7 Norwegian New PD evaluation

Using the definition chosen and articulated previously in the Chapter 2. : “The new public diplomacy is a major paradigm shift in international political communication. Globalization and a new media landscape challenge traditional foreign ministry ‘gatekeeper’ structures, and foreign ministries can no longer lay claim to being sole or dominant actors in communicating foreign policy. This demands new ways of elucidating foreign policy to a range of nongovernmental international actors, and new ways of evaluating the influence of these communicative efforts”<sup>148</sup> The following analysis of the Norwegian New Public Diplomacy will be based on these presumptions and elaborated on briefly as the major part of the Norwegian public diplomatic practices described previously complies with the definition.

In regard to the first crucial denominator of the changes characteristic for the 21st century which is globalization, the Report of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Refleks Project argues: “Globalization extends Norway's national interests in the direction of

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<sup>146</sup> Innovation Norway, 2014. About Innovation Norway. [Online] Available at: <http://www.innovasjon Norge.no/no/contact-us/#.U20vfmSySp> [Accessed 28 4 2014].

<sup>147</sup> Bátorá, J., 2005. *Multistakeholder Public Diplomacy of Small and Medium-Sized States: Norway and Canada Compared*. Malta, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, p. 14.

<sup>148</sup> Pamment, J., 2013. *The New Public Diplomacy in the 21st century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice*:Routledge.p.5.



traditional idealistic politics. Those areas of foreign policy that are normally associated with idealistic politics are becoming necessary instruments and know-how that can be used to further Norwegian national interests. Or to put it rather bluntly, know-how about development policy or the development of international institutions is becoming an instrument of political pragmatism, while military efforts may take on important idealistic dimensions.”<sup>149</sup>

### 5.7.1 Increasing number of international actors

One of the essential features of the Norwegian model of foreign affairs is the importance of the non-governmental organs like NGOs and academic bodies participating in the creation of the Norwegian foreign policies. The significance of the non-governmental bodies is reinforced by the fact, that the five largest Norwegian NGOs have a combined staff of several thousand worldwide, and are increasingly operating on behalf of the UN and with funding from outside Norway. Moreover, there are six Norwegian research institutes specializing in studies on international assistance, peace research, international co-operation and human rights, all with a staff of between 50 and 120, principally funded by government grants.<sup>150</sup>

Therefore, it is accurate to say, that Norway is one of the leading examples in the cooperation and coordination of foreign policy practices among the governmental and also non-governmental sector and it has adapted to the new environment of the 21st century quite quickly, flexibly and effectively. It is important to note that this kind of redistribution of roles within the foreign affairs has been a part of the Norwegian diplomacy for a longer time and we might suppose it comes naturally from the type of society, Nordic culture and Norwegian values that makes this model so “democratic”. The Norwegian model is very up to date and definitely one of the most developed in the world.

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<sup>149</sup> Lunde, E. & Thun, I., 2008. *Norwegian interests. Foreign policy for a globalized world*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm.

<sup>150</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May. Issue 32: Wicked Problems, Exquisite Dilemmas.

### 5.7.2 New, real-time and global technologies

Norway engages in the new technologies and new media intensively. When exploring the web-sites of the ministry of foreign affairs, the foreign aid bodies or individual missions and embassies, the information is very clear and web-sites are highly coordinated.

In general, the internet has been shown to be an effective tool for the public outreach activities. From the time when the Norwegian government launched its official web-sites, the web-site of the foreign ministry has been the most extensive one in the context of the Norwegian government in terms of the amount of documents posted and in terms of the number of visitors.<sup>151</sup> Web-sites of all Norwegian embassies now have a standardized design and informational architecture, and are connected to the so called Norway Portal introduced in late 2003.<sup>152</sup> The portal is presented as “Norway’s official face to the world” and received the Good Design 2004 award of the Norwegian Design Council. Every embassy web-site on the Norway Portal has particular cultural features (local language, local information by the Norwegian embassy etc.) and the Portal was receiving 150.000 visitors per month.<sup>153</sup>

### 5.7.3 Blurred lines between domestic and international news

The evolution of technologies has brought about the “post-CNN effect” where individuals and groups have direct access to instantaneous information which makes the governmental work much harder.<sup>154</sup> This is one of the main features of the present day world and governments must react rapidly and efficiently in times of any crises or occurrence which might result in a negative image creation.

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<sup>151</sup> See <http://odin.dep.no/N-MFA/norsk/tema/informasjonsarbeide/internett/bn.html>.

<sup>152</sup> See Norway’s official websites abroad: <http://www.norway.info/>.

<sup>153</sup> Bátorá, J., 2005. *Multistakeholder Public Diplomacy of Small and Medium-Sized States: Norway and Canada Compared*. Malta, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, p. 13.

<sup>154</sup> Hocking, B., 2009. *Rethinking the ‘New’ Public Diplomacy*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 28-43.

Norway experienced this kind of situation recently, in 2011 and it is currently facing an “image” issue resulting from the 2011 extremist massacre. “Norway has been the focus of understandably intense scrutiny, and the tragic events have been coopted as a means to talk about issues ranging from immigration reform and religious tolerance to gun control and the rise of the European far right.”<sup>155</sup>

Nevertheless, a thorough communication plan with the public following the 2011 tragic massacre, combined with the quick response of public health and safety officials, demonstrated the nation’s ability to unite, even during a crisis.<sup>156</sup>

#### 5.7.4 New terminology (Branding)

The power of a well-defined national “brand” is in its authenticity.<sup>157</sup> This statement is closely related to the subsequently analyzed concept of the nation branding and the essential base of an effective public diplomacy which is credibility.

Peter von Ham notes that “place branding is also required to make a country’s image work for its economy and its citizens.”<sup>158</sup> Norway has worked hard to establish a brand, but that brand is based on integrating public image and public actions. Norway currently classifies as the one of the top “country brands” in the world, holding the 10th position in the 2012-2013 ranking with rising tendency in the past few years.<sup>159</sup> This report also states that “Brand Scandinavia” may be a role model for the world.

Norway is highlighted as a model country for its focus on empowering residents. Devoted to stability and committed to serving its residents, Norway employs innovative

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<sup>155</sup> Townsend, J., 2011. *Branding Peace: Norway's Identity Put to the Test*. [Online]; Available at: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jake-townsend/branding-peace-norways-id\\_b\\_918229.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jake-townsend/branding-peace-norways-id_b_918229.html)[Accessed 17 2 2014].

<sup>156</sup> FutureBrand, 2013. *Country Brand Index 2012-13*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI\\_2012-Final.pdf](http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI_2012-Final.pdf)[Accessed 6 5 2014].p.4.

<sup>157</sup> Townsend, J., 2011. *Branding Peace: Norway's Identity Put to the Test*. [Online]; Available at: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jake-townsend/branding-peace-norways-id\\_b\\_918229.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jake-townsend/branding-peace-norways-id_b_918229.html)[Accessed 17 2 2014].

<sup>158</sup> Ham, P. v., 2008. *Place Branding: The State of the Art*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Scientists, 616(March), p. 127.

<sup>159</sup> FutureBrand, 2013. *Country Brand Index 2012-13*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI\\_2012-Final.pdf](http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI_2012-Final.pdf)[Accessed 6 5 2014].p.4.

settings to sustain a welfare state. For example, “the country has turned the profits from tightened petroleum regulations to fund social safety nets for its residents.”<sup>160</sup> All of these facts add up to a more credible and successful brand.

### 5.7.5 People-to-people contact

Alan K. Henrikson believes that though much of the diplomacy embroiled in the work that Norway has done over the years was and remains hidden, or out of the international attention, central elements of very publicly oriented diplomacy have been involved. As discussed above, diplomatic success has involved close collaboration with nongovernmental organizations and open engagement with civil society. Norwegian officials and diplomats are master networkers, and they have explored the contacts they have made to a substantial advantage. The government of Norway has partnered with NGOs, often assisted by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD).<sup>161</sup>

Networking is one of the fundamental parts of the new public diplomacy and Norway knows it very well. ‘Norwegian NGOs have over several decades gained wide international experience’, attests Foreign Minister Petersen. ‘As a result, we have a number of contact points with non-governmental actors in many countries.’<sup>162</sup>

A significant strategy is also the creation of its publicity and people-to-people contact. Norway is known for prioritization of six key countries as their principal allies.<sup>163</sup> Therefore, the public diplomacy policies are mainly targeted on these key partners. For example, in the USA, apart from the concentration on the school children projects like “Learning about Norway” or Universities with Scandinavian studies departments Norway tries to create its

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<sup>160</sup> FutureBrand, 2013. *Country Brand Index 2012-13*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI\\_2012-Final.pdf](http://www.futurebrand.com/images/uploads/studies/cbi/CBI_2012-Final.pdf) [Accessed 6 5 2014]. p. 28.

<sup>161</sup> Henrikson, A. K., 2004. *Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global Cornerstones of Canada and Norway*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. U.K: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>162</sup> Petersen, J., 2003. *Peace Mediation and Reconciliation*. Joint Belgian-Norwegian Seminar on the occasion of the Norwegian State visit to Brussels, 21 May.

<sup>163</sup> USA, UK, Germany, France, Russia, Japan.

media space. In the United States, high-profile projects are organized which help to build and improve the Norwegian image, like Norwegian Run in Central Park or Norwegian Christmas Tree Illumination in Washington<sup>164</sup>

Hence, it can be suggested that a broader examination of the current Norwegian PD responding to the unexpected developments leads us to an assessment of a well-developed PD strategies verified by years, modified efficiently over time and responding properly.

The words of the Norwegian Ambassador to Canada, Mrs. Mona Elisabeth Brøther, say it all: “Public diplomacy is a priority within the foreign service of Norway. We think new ways of communicating, expanding networks, and creating arenas for interchange are essential to obtain a deeper understanding of global affairs, thus making us better global players.”<sup>165</sup>

## 5.8 The ambiguity of the Norwegian Diplomacy

Norway gained a high-profile image on the international scene, especially during the period of the 1990s due to two major happenings, whaling opposed by the environmental activists and the revelation of the “Secret Norwegian Channel”. As described by Øyvind Østerud, professor from the Institute of Political Science at the University of Oslo, both of the images created by these circumstances have extensive predecessors in Norwegian foreign affairs and ambiguity which is core to Norwegian traditions.<sup>166</sup>

Since the 1950s, Norwegian diplomacy has had a sense of mission. As a smaller country with no colonies which played an important role in the process of decolonization, criticizing the French policies in North Africa or actively engaging against the apartheid in South Africa. As Østerud states: “Norwegian policy was framed to balance between more narrow security concerns and broader international obligations, It was a basic idea in

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<sup>164</sup> Leonard, M., 2002. *How Norway uses scarce resources to punch above its weight*. In: M. Leonard, ed. *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre, p. 168.

<sup>165</sup> Swerdlow, Y. & Shoshan, I., 2012. *Experts Answer: Women in Public Diplomacy*. *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, Fall.3(6).

<sup>166</sup> Østerud, Ø., 1997. *Between Realism and "Crusader Diplomacy": The Norwegian Channel to Jericho*. In: A. F. Cooper, ed. *Niche Diplomacy*. London: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 90.

influential quarters that Norway in vital areas was a “country without interest” and that this position provided quite unique opportunities in international affairs.”<sup>167</sup>

The double-faceted internationalism can be observed when noticing Norwegian reservations against alliances as is portrayed by the historian Geir Lundestad, who denominates this behavior to be a “half-hearted internationalism”. As an evidence of his statement, the historian points out the Norwegian reservations regarding NATO, misgivings in the Nordic-integration which never happened, reluctance during the GATT negotiations, constant search for exceptions from the rules of regional organizations, and most importantly the lasting skeptical attitude towards the European Union.<sup>168</sup>

Norway is very well aware of the complex tensions between the realism and idealism playing big role in their foreign policies. Former minister of foreign affairs, Knut Frydenlund identified it as an old dual heritage: on one hand the ancient great-power pretension and need for a traditional fishing coming from the Viking culture and on the other hand a missionary enthusiasm, moral commitment to human rights and global redistribution.<sup>169</sup>

The more idealistic sides of Norwegian foreign policy activism have been criticized in the national press in recent years: it has been argued that the increasing investment of funds and personnel has shown meagre results and not served Norwegian national interests.<sup>170</sup> Nevertheless, a recently published survey of Norwegian foreign policy sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that Norwegians commonly believe that the commitments to an activist foreign policy have become Norway's international hallmark. Norway's image both at home and abroad has been formed by a cluster of moral projects.<sup>171</sup> NMFA also believe that Norway's expertise is likely to be more important than its money in the future,

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<sup>167</sup> Østerud, Ø., 1997. *Between Realism and "Crusader Diplomacy": The Norwegian Channel to Jericho*. In: A. F. Cooper, ed. *Niche Diplomacy*. London: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 93.

<sup>168</sup> Lundestad, G., 1985. *Nationalism and internationalism in Norwegian foreign policy*. *Inernasjonl Politikk*, Volume 1.

<sup>169</sup> Frydenlund, K., 1982. *Small Country- What Now?*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

<sup>170</sup> Østerud, Ø., 1997. *Between Realism and "Crusader Diplomacy": The Norwegian Channel to Jericho*. In: A. F. Cooper, ed. *Niche Diplomacy*. London: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 94.

<sup>171</sup> Lunde, E. & Thun, I., 2008. *Norwegian interests. Foreign policy in a globalized world*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm. P.194

since “money in the form of aid can often contribute to stabilizing political regimes and thus delay the need for reform.” Effective or not, in material or expertise assistance form, the foreign aid is and will likely continue to be one of the founding pillars of the Norwegian (public) diplomacy.<sup>172</sup>

But as we can see also in the words of Øyvind Østerud: “In concrete and practical matters, the “country without interest” has had number of rather specific interest after all.”<sup>173</sup>

## 5.9 Conclusions

Norway produces a message which is consistent with its basic values and any conflicting communication is minimal. This element helps Norway shape and maintain a positive image, or a brand, as the brand is based on Norway’s essence. Norway employs credible spokesmen, and governmental or NGO members in particular “have something in common” with members of the target audience. This Nordic country has ponderously chosen to focus on a process and long-term engagement, using collaborative projects to build trust and basic ability. These projects explicitly enrich communication and give Norway the feedback it needs to help keep it from drifting off message at the same time.<sup>174</sup>

Bátora states that “A successful public diplomacy strategy of small/middle sized state will seek to position the country not only in locally attractive image- and value-platforms, but also in what might be called globally attractive image and value-platforms.”<sup>175</sup>

What Norway has achieved, was to position itself in what might be called multi-directional value and image platforms, which most of the Norwegian society can identify with,

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172 Moore, T., 2012. *Norway's Focused Strategic Communication Strategy*. [Online]; Available at: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore\\_norway.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore_norway.html) [Accessed 7 5 2014].

173 Østerud, Ø., 1997. *Between Realism and "Crusader Diplomacy": The Norwegian Channel to Jericho*. In: A. F. Cooper, ed. *Niche Diplomacy*. London: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 93.

174 Moore, T., 2012. *Norway's Focused Strategic Communication Strategy*. [Online]; Available at: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore\\_norway.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore_norway.html) [Accessed 7 5 2014].

175 Bátora, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael. p. 23.

and which at the same time are attractive to most political regimes, most religions and most cultures around the world.<sup>176</sup>

The ultimate goal of different public diplomacy strategies is to attract enough positive attention around the world to strengthen the country's security and augment its influence. Various opinions of numerous scholars and practitioners prove that the story of Norway can be considered as a particularly successful model.

Supposing that the academics and professional cited in this chapter are indicative of today's leading theorists, then it seems that Norway is, deliberately or not, aspiring to be one of the best models presently available. Moreover, Norway was cited by many of these theorists as an example of what smaller countries could follow, in order to maximize their effect.

The current and recent (new) public diplomacy performed by Norway basically matches Melissen's definition which states that "The new public diplomacy is no longer confined to messaging, promotion campaigns, or even direct governmental contacts with foreign publics serving foreign policy purposes. It is also about building relationships with civil society actors in other countries and about facilitating networks between non-governmental parties at home and abroad."<sup>177</sup> Norwegian foreign policy model offers a story of a successful engagement of this type and it offers an opportunity to learn from it example.

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<sup>176</sup> Bátorá, J., 2005. *Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-sized States*, Hague: Clingendael. p. 23.

<sup>177</sup> Melissen, J., 2005. *The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy, Soft Power in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 7.



## What can be learnt?

Can other smaller countries learn from the Norwegian Model? Yes, but many of the lessons are more relevant to smaller wealthy states with no international security commitments around the world.

As Moore highlights, one of the examples to follow lies in the improvement of the outreach by increasing public diplomacy budgets, staff and professional training, and making better use of dialogue and collaborative projects. The crucial part is also the better use of new technologies and new minds, meaning enthusiastic young people, not directly employed by the government, as in the case of the Norwegian NGOs. Another improvement might consist of increasing the budgets for educational exchange and smoothly directing those who do study abroad to less-popular destinations which could be a valuable and lasting investment in two-way communication. With the end of employing the soft power successfully, there is a need to make the state and its foreign policy more attractive to foreigners.<sup>178</sup>

Norway is of interest also as an example to the other smaller countries because of its relative success in moving towards specific goals. Strategic leadership entails many qualities: all-pervading assessment of issues, perception of the interests of the voiceless as well as the powerful, creative solutions about alternative approaches, determination, and ability for sustained advocacy.<sup>179</sup>

In conclusion, as summarized by Langmore, Norway's public diplomacy agenda does follow today's best practices, as assessed by a series of strategic communication professionals and academic analysts. The Norway Model is persistent and interactive, designed for long-term engagement on all three levels of public diplomacy levels: monologue, dialogue and

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<sup>178</sup> Moore, T., 2012. *Norway's Focused Strategic Communication Strategy*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore\\_norway.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2010/0912/comm/moore_norway.html) [Accessed 14 5 2014].

<sup>179</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May. Issue 32: Wicked Problemss, Exquisite Dilemmas.

collaboration. The active employment of Norwegian NGOs and both private and parasternal firms operating around the world is very effective and competent.<sup>180</sup>

Norway appears to have established a positive, distinguishable brand around the world, but this brand is inseparable from what Norway is and how it operates. Norway is broadly considered as one of the best places to live: peaceful, prudent and caring. An important factor is that the Norwegian public intensely support their government's activities overseas, which makes an ambitious development program easier to fund today and more probable to maintain in the future. Employing non-governmental spokespeople, trainers and collaborators, since their personal beliefs are likely to align fairly closely with the overall governmental direction is also an advantage which cannot be seen in the case of other countries. Norway still has some minor concerns looking to the future, such as whaling, Arctic claims and social cohesion, but all of those concerns seem controllable, compared to the challenges facing most of the other nations. Norway recognizes that it is "a small country with oil resources that relies on a law-based international system to protect its off-shore resources," but it is energetically and visibly working to strengthen that international system.<sup>181</sup>

A crucially effective part of the new public diplomacy networking, a quiet, methodical business, is that Norway has made good use of them for their own benefit but also for the profit of others. Combined with niche diplomacy which requires recognition, publicity and secured position,<sup>182</sup> they have created a stable position for Norway on the world scene. As Henrikson proclaims, it is difficult to keep the niches in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and they have to be kept primarily by politicians and (public) diplomats. Norway appears to be very well aware of

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<sup>180</sup> Langmore, J., 2011. *Learning from Norway*. Griffith Review, May. Issue 32: Wicked Problems, Exquisite Dilemmas.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Henrikson, A. K., 2004. *Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global Cornerstones of Canada and Norway*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. U.K: Palgrave Macmillan. p.71.

that and invests sufficient resources into the funding and personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is the vital creator of Norwegian public diplomacy.<sup>183</sup>

Norway is a successful example of a very active public diplomacy and a new public diplomacy strategies adapting flexibly and rapidly to the constantly changing world. Its peculiarities lie in its wealth which allows Norway to pursue foreign aid agenda on a big scale and with almost no limits. Another important factor is the nature and the character of the country, the citizenship and its culture which makes the Norwegian brand credible and sustainable. There are important lessons to be learnt from Norway and its public diplomacy practice but it is important to notice that the tradition of Norwegian public diplomacy and the scale of dedication and prioritization of this strategy has been much higher than in other countries. The results of the Norwegian public diplomacy are deep rooted and its success is a result of determined efforts and insistent dedication which has started several decades ago.

What is almost certain is that the idea of looking for a country's own "niche" while contributing to the development and a more stable and peaceful world is something any country can take as an example from Norway and we might say that judging from the model of Norway one of the best public diplomacy practices is the promotion of "global good".

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<sup>183</sup> Henrikson, A. K., 2004. *Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: The Global Cornerstones of Canada and Norway*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. U.K: Palgrave Macmillan.p.71.

## 6. The Slovak Republic

### 6.1 Introduction

Slovakia fulfills all the criteria of a smaller state. With its population of only 5.4 million and area of a mere 49,000 km<sup>2</sup>, it is apt to say that Slovakia is small in size, population, relative political and economic power.<sup>184</sup> However, it has also been a part of the European Union and NATO for the past ten years and is one of the 17 members of the Eurozone. Economically, Slovakia has been one of the fastest growing countries in the EU in the recent years and one of the most dynamic economies in the euro area.<sup>185</sup> Since its independence gained in 1993 and after the forty-five dark years of communism, it has undergone an impressive but difficult road of transition to democracy and has been developing ever since.

We might suggest that Slovakia is a small country with big potential. It is a young dynamic state, rich in its nature, culture, tradition and people. The biggest challenge for the Slovak (public) diplomacy as a smaller country is a low awareness about the country and its qualities and therefore we could identify this as the major problem. For small undiscovered countries such as Slovakia, public diplomacy might be a very helpful instrument to achieve goals which it could never reach as a result of its economic or military strength and political power.

Slovakia has been chosen as a part of this study as its history, current position and public diplomacy strategy is rather different from the other smaller countries used for the comparison, but it can be still used as a parallel to numerous other smaller countries around the world. The history and political development will be vital for our analysis as not only has

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<sup>184</sup> CIA, 2014. *CIA Factbook: Slovakia*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lo.html>[Accessed 12 5 2013].

<sup>185</sup> ECD, 2013. *Slovak Republic: Fostering an Inclusive Job Rich-Recovery*, Paris: OECD.

public diplomacy been present in the Slovak diplomacy for a very short period of time, but it was preceded by a very strong tradition of propaganda, often used by the communist regime. Broader analysis of this newly discovered territory of a smaller state's public diplomacy can bring an innovative perspective on employment in the new public diplomacy and illustrate how the smaller states been adapting to the alteration in new millennium international relations.

## 6.2 Slovak Public Diplomacy

Regardless of the fact that Slovakia is a relatively young country, only appearing on the world map since 1993, it is not entirely unfamiliar with the concept of the PD. Public diplomacy had already been an important part of Slovakia's Euro-Atlantic integration strategy and corresponding activities before the year of accession, 2004. Former Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs state secretary Oľga Algayerová proclaims that the Slovak PD remained fragmented as the relevant domestic institutions and players continued to follow their particular interests and agenda. The development of PD in Slovakia has been characterized by the lack of a universal, whole-of-the country and comprehensive approach.<sup>186</sup>

During the 2009 conference called "Public Diplomacy: The new strategic tool for Slovak Diplomacy", Elena Mallicková, the then head of PD department at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, defines Slovak public diplomacy as follows: "Public Diplomacy of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a long-term communication process at home and also abroad and which aim is to increase Slovak attractiveness, its credibility and the understanding of foreign policy goals."<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy In Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta. p. 1.

<sup>187</sup> Mallicková, E., 2010. *Public Diplomacy as a Priority of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Bratislava, Ústav európskych štúdií a medzinárodných vzťahov, FSEV UK, p. 10.

The principal part of the Slovak PD is cultural diplomacy which has been playing a crucial role since the creation of the independent Slovak Republic, as a fundamental component of the pre-2004 strategies. European Union countries are the key partners in political, economic and strategic fields. Most of the Slovak PD has been focused on the “Old Continent” countries and this is reflected also in all the foreign policy manoeuvres.<sup>188</sup>

Special attention is paid to the economic dimension of cultural diplomacy and its implementation with the aim of supporting the economic interests of the state. Accordingly, the focus of the Slovak cultural presentations focused primarily on promoting SR as an attractive holiday destination in order to promote inbound tourism, says Pajtinka.<sup>189</sup>

### 6.3 History

The roots of the Slovak public diplomacy go back to the period after the First World War when the practice of cultural diplomacy and propaganda, played an essential part in this newly born central European country.

Czechoslovak president Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, who spent many years living abroad, and the foreign minister Edward Beneš, both experienced politicians and diplomats, understood very well the importance of the position building within Europe via its image. Propaganda of the first Czechoslovak Republic involved formal governmental institutions, like the Third Section of Beneš’s Foreign Ministry, which was charged with gathering intelligence and producing propaganda. But it also consisted of a publishing house (The Social club), and a group of intellectuals, writers (for example Karel Čapek), publishers, and journalists who spread the castle’s vision of Czechoslovakia at home and abroad<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*: University of Malta, p. 1.

<sup>189</sup> Pajtinka, E., 2007. *Slovak Diplomacy and its dimensions in the 21st century*. Bratislava, University of Economics, Bratislava, p. 83.

<sup>190</sup> Orzoff, A., 2009. *Battle for the Castle: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe 1914-1948*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 24.

Orzoff's argues that "Czechoslovakia was constructed, defined, and sustained in the newspapers and universities of London and Paris as well as in Prague. It was bought by and paid through Czechoslovak government funding of foreign academics and journalists: no less than twenty-six newspapers, press agencies, and radio stations in France alone were on the government's payroll. Its meaning was debated in literary salons and international writers' congresses. And its ideals were disseminated in books produced by Czechoslovakia's government-subsidized publishing house and in the genteel quarters of the state's elite social club. Admiring works of history were kept in print; concerts of music by national composers were given, and social occasions were carefully arranged, both in Great Power and East Central European capitals. The propagandistic stakes were high; the very existence of these states seemed predicated on it."<sup>191</sup>

After all, Holly Case proclaims that Czechoslovak propaganda or public diplomacy, as we might call it, was clearly successful in shaping enduring images of the Czechoslovak nation at home and abroad and, according to this historian, Hungarian and Romanian diplomats were also convinced that "Czechoslovak propaganda was a slam-dunk success."<sup>192</sup>

After World War II. Czechoslovakia was reunited and it became part of the Eastern Bloc under the Soviet influence for the next forty-five years. As a result, we can characterize the Czechoslovak public diplomacy during this period as a propaganda in service of the communist ideology.

Kenneth G. Olson describes it as follows: "Propaganda was utilized as a technique of power consolidation in every phase of political and economic life. It was used, together with other forms of coercion, in the consolidation of power within the very agencies which

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<sup>191</sup> Orzoff, A., 2009. *Battle for the Castle: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe 1914-1948*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 24.

<sup>192</sup> Case, H., 2009. *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during WWII*. Stanford ed.:Stanford University Press, p.1.

themselves created propaganda.”<sup>193</sup> Olson later adds that propaganda was an act of command in Czechoslovakia, an extension of state policy, with its administrative organization taking two forms: an official group before the public and another group behind the scenes which constituted the highest source of authority.

Not only was Czechoslovakia subjected to Soviet propaganda, but the country itself was its resilient producer, especially in the region of Latin America. When the Cold War competition between the USSR and USA began to play out in Latin America in the 1950s, Czechoslovakia held a key position in bridging the Soviet bloc’s strategic foreign policy interests in the region.<sup>194</sup>

Aside that the foreign policy was defined, or in the best of the cases co-delineated in a top-down way by Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist ruling classes, a need soon appeared to justify these new foreign policy goals to the general public. An extensive assortment of domestic propaganda methods were employed in this task. The analysis shows that the studied (propaganda) documentary films selectively deployed a set of repeated themes that were manipulating reality by either underlining some of the facts, or by ignoring them. The semiotic analysis presents evidence of highly pragmatic and manipulative nature of the Czechoslovak Communist propaganda, evident for instance in its selective approach to the military regimes.<sup>195</sup>

Strong propagandistic endorsement of socialism and Marxism-Leninism persevered in Czechoslovakia until the Velvet Revolution in 1989.

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193 Olson, K. G., 1949. *Development of the Czechoslovak Propaganda Administration*. Public Opinion Quarterly, 4(13), p. 607-618.

<sup>194</sup> Březinová, K., 2013. *Turbines and Weapons for Latin America: Czechoslovak Documentary Film Propaganda in the Cold War Context, in the Cold War Context*,. Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, Issue 3, p. 33.

<sup>195</sup> Bortlová, H., 2011. *Czechoslovakia and Cuba between 1959-1962*. Praha: Charles University.



## 6.4 Propaganda vs. Public Diplomacy

Public Diplomacy is relatively controversial regarding its content or its proper character. Some claim that it is a more sophisticated, western style of naming propaganda. The main difference between the two mentioned practices lies in the theorem that propaganda is believed to impose a certain doctrine or information desired while Public Diplomacy is supposed to give the target a choice whether or not it wants to believe and accept the message it is receiving.<sup>196</sup> When evaluating Michael McClellan's definition of propaganda being: "the systematic propagation of a doctrine or cause or of information reflecting the views and interests of those advocating such a doctrine or cause", we might agree that propaganda and Public Diplomacy is the same. But as this Public Affairs officer suggests, whilst propaganda is related to Public Diplomacy, but alone, it doesn't define it adequately.<sup>197</sup>

Jan Melissen believes that the distinction lies in the purpose and declares that: "With Public Diplomacy presented as a variety of propaganda, it would also be an activity that has its un/conscious purpose of narrowing or closing the minds of targeted audiences abroad"<sup>198</sup> which might be accurate but we have to consider other factors as well.

Nicholas J. Cull explains that Public Diplomacy may become propaganda if used for an immoral purpose. Also in the morally neutral sense in which propaganda is simply a mass persuasion, these two concepts are overlapping. In practice this means that the distinction between propaganda and Public Diplomacy is very small and it is argued that it depends on its im/moral use and interpretation. The very crucial distinction between the two is that

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<sup>196</sup> Berridge, G., 2010. *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 179-186.

<sup>197</sup> McClellan, M., 2003. *Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy* : U.S Department of State, p.1.

<sup>198</sup> Melissen, J., 2007. *The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 22.

propaganda rarely emphasizes **mutuality** which is essential for the PD and has been part or base of the most sophisticated Public Diplomacy policies.<sup>199</sup>

Public Diplomacy can be a very helpful strategy. However, when used by the non-democratic regimes as a part of their propaganda, the results and consequences can be very harmful. As David Hoffman proclaims:” In the nations that use propaganda, encourage their media to spew hatred and deny freedom of expression, especially in the Islamic world, the widespread antagonism to U.S regional policies themselves, further limits what public diplomacy can achieve and American efforts to intensify its message are even more likely to hurt than help.”<sup>200</sup> As each country and each society is very particular, public diplomacy should be tailored specifically according to the actor state and certainly according to the target audience. As Scott indicates: “Public diplomacy can be distinguished from propaganda, far from indoctrinating and subjugating a people to an ideology, public diplomacy represents an empowerment of the people.”<sup>201</sup>

## 6.5 Evolution of the Slovak PD

### 6.5.1 Slovak “pre-accession” PD

The Slovak Republic became independent in 1993 and the following five years were very challenging. The process of transition to democracy was not very smooth and due to the “dark” situation on the political scene, Slovakia was called “a black hole in the heart of Europe” by the then US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright<sup>202</sup> in 1997.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Cull, N. J., 2009. *How we got here*. In: P. Seib, ed. *Toward a New Public Diplomacy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p. 24.

<sup>200</sup> Hoffman, D., 2002. *Beyond Public Diplomacy*. *Foreign Affairs*, 81(2), p. 83.

<sup>201</sup> Scott, B., 2009. *The Problem of Definition Revisited*. Public Diplomacy 0902, Malta: DiploFoundation.

<sup>202</sup> Madeleine Albright was born as Marie Jana Korbelová in Czechoslovakia in 1937.

<sup>203</sup> Tupy, M. L., 2010. *Slovakia’s Return to the ‘Black Hole’*. [Online]

Available at: <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/slovakias-return-black-hole> [Accessed 16 5 2014].

Slovakia's image was relatively negative in comparison to its Central European neighbors. After the change of government in 1998, the accession aspirations to the EU, OECD and NATO became the priority number one and this obliged the country to focus on its image abroad. As Ociepka and Ryniejska state "the term PD was not used widely in Central and Eastern Europe before 1989, and the accession processes were conducive to the development of PD as a concept".<sup>204</sup>

György Szondi presents a noteworthy description of PD in the post-Cold War Central Europe and he believes that its role was slightly different from public diplomacy as we know it, as the countries in the region were undertaking simultaneous political, economic and social transitions that implicated also an external image transformation and identity change. As the Hungarian specialist on European PD states: "public diplomacy has played a significant role in this process". Szondi specifically identifies these six functions of public diplomacy in transitional countries<sup>205</sup>:

- To distance the country from the old economic and/or political system, which existed before the transition.
- To position the country as a reliable and eligible "candidate" of the new system that the transition was aiming for, or that of the international community.
- To change negative or false stereotypes or reinforce some positive stereotypes associated with the country and its people.
- To support and justify this "move" and demonstrate that these countries were worthy of the center nations' support.
- To position the country as the center of the region or as a regional leader.

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<sup>204</sup> Ociepka, B. & Ryniejska, M., 2005. *Public diplomacy and EU enlargement: the case of Poland*. Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael.

<sup>205</sup> Szondi, Gyorgy. *Central and Eastern European Public Diplomacy: A Transitional Perspective on National Reputation Management*, In Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy, edited by Nancy Snow and Phillip Taylor. New York: Routledge, 2009, p.294-295.

- Public diplomacy can also facilitate (re-)defining and (re-)constructing national identities as identity is also changing during transition.

In 2001 the Manifesto of the Government of the Slovak Republic determined the EU membership as the foreign policy priority. The goal was to complete the accession negotiations by the end of 2002 and to become a member of the EU in 2004. Algayerová states that from the PD point of view, the main objective of the domestically aimed PD was to achieve a significant support of the Slovak public. From the foreign perspective, it was key to politically persuading governments and parliaments of all 15 EU members of the importance and advantages of enlargement.<sup>206</sup>

According to the EU statistics<sup>207</sup>, a public opinion survey performed in the EU countries was indicating negative attitudes towards the enlargement and Slovakia was the country with the lowest support, losing with ratio 38 “for” and 39 “against.”<sup>208</sup>

As a result. The European Commission prepared a communication strategy to concentrate on the broad public in the EU member states and also on the aspirant countries. The total budget of EUR 147 million was approved. Slovak government budgeted EUR 1, 3 million for this purposes.<sup>209</sup>

Oľga Algayerová, later shadow minister of foreign affairs identifies the PD strategy of the period before the 2004 NATO and EU accession as follows.<sup>210</sup>

**Focus:** The PD activities in Slovakia were primarily directed at the countries with the lowest support for enlargement and at EU presidency countries, especially on the “multiplication

<sup>206</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta, p. 39.

<sup>207</sup> Eurobarometer, 2001. EUROBAROMETER XI-XII 2000. [Online]

Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/eb/eb54/eb54\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb54/eb54_en.pdf) [Accessed 15 5 2014], p.83.

<sup>208</sup> For comparison, Hungary was at 46:32, the Czech Republic 42:36 and Poland 44:36. (For: Against).

<sup>209</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta, p. 40-41.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, p. 41.

target groups”, i.e. groups that are well positioned to disseminate the information, the media, politicians, think-tanks, academic communities, civil society and businesses were addressed.

**Message:** To demonstrate political, economic, societal readiness and maturity of Slovakia for EU membership and to react effectively to concerns and skepticism of EU member states. Special attention was paid to the long-term sensitive issues related to the accession like the Roma minority, environment and nuclear energy.

**External activities:** All the activities were coordinated with activities of the EU Commission, the Visegrad Group and other candidates. A new EU Integration Section was established as a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to which new responsibilities were delegated.

The embassies, cultural institutes and honorary consulates elaborated their 6-month plans of activities. Distinctive events for PD actions were selected, high-level visits, cultural and historical events and “Slovak Days”. Visits of the media were organized. European integration experts from EU member states were invited to Slovakia. Business delegations were employed abroad in order to establish contacts with their partners and to learn from them.<sup>211</sup>

#### 6.5.2 Slovak “post-accession” PD

Year **2004** was extraordinarily crucial for Slovakia and marked an important milestone for this country in the “heart of Europe”. Slovakia joined NATO and became one of the new members of the European Union.

After the accession to the EU, the role of Public Diplomacy changed and it appears that for a moment, Slovak Foreign Policy disregarded the importance of the image building/maintaining abroad. Public diplomacy is mentioned for the first time as a priority for the

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<sup>211</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta, p. 42.

Slovak Foreign Policy in the **2007** Annual Report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic. The crucial part of Slovak PD has been, and continues to be, the cultural diplomacy which is defined as being an integral part of public diplomacy. The major employment of the cultural diplomacy is endorsed as it has a universal character and it is a tool which connects sometimes completely different cultural, political or social environments. The key role is played by the Slovak institutes or diplomatic missions which pursue the dissemination of Slovak culture, knowledge about the Slovak history, current cultural and art events and in the promotion of Slovakia as an attractive tourist destination. The cultural presentation are aimed to contribute to the establishment of business and economic contacts between individual countries.<sup>212</sup>

In **2008**, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reorganized and the Public Diplomacy department was established which brought about a further focus on this area and the first coordinated PD activities.<sup>213</sup> In the strategic plan for this year ministry accentuates an “organized, coordinated and planned events and activities which would systematically supplement, facilitate and strengthen the foreign policy goals with particular emphasis on the synergy of all kinds of presentations abroad.”<sup>214</sup> Algayerová believes that:” At the beginning, the rhetoric of this department has been very prudent and vague reflecting its relative inexperience setting up direction for the future practice of Slovak public diplomacy.”<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, 2007. *Slovak Foreign Policy in 2007*, Annual Report, Bratislava, p.41.

<sup>213</sup> Bátor, J. & Hozlarova, Z., 2009. *Public Diplomacy: A New Strategic Tool of MFA?*. Bratislava, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovakia.

<sup>214</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic of Slovak Republic, 2008, *The Slovakia's Foreign Policy Focus 2008*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.mzv.sk/App/wcm/media.nsf/vw\\_ByID/ID\\_D9A4421B46E3DE5EC125764800421CEF\\_SK/\\$File/zameranie%20ZP%202008.pdf](http://www.mzv.sk/App/wcm/media.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_D9A4421B46E3DE5EC125764800421CEF_SK/$File/zameranie%20ZP%202008.pdf). [Accessed 18 5 2014]. p. 33.

<sup>215</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy In Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta.p.2.

The question of public diplomacy, its character message and mission were broadly discussed during **2009** on various occasions and even some conferences and forums were dedicated to this topic, gathering diplomats, academics, NGOs and experts from the field.<sup>216</sup>

In February 2009, the Slovak Government endorsed the “Strategy of Joint Presentation of Slovakia Abroad” formulated by the MFEA. The first meeting of the Council of Government for Joint Presentation (Council) created as a representation of relevant ministries, NGOs, private sector and local authorities, took place in May 2009. The Council was not allocated an extra budget but rather, it was launched with the aim of coordination of already existent bodies and resources available to them. Foreign PD experts, nor external companies were invited to participate in the process. The council was expected to focus on the long-term objectives, such as influencing perceptions of the country abroad, learning and understanding values honored by Slovak citizens and later to transform these into the presentation of a picture of the real country abroad. The development of relations with the foreign general public and civil society is also one of the principal tasks of the Council.<sup>217</sup>

**2010** meant stagnation for Slovak PD due to the economic crises in Europe. The “saving mode” was reflected also on the MFEA budget and the division of public diplomacy was abolished. Its competences were redeployed to the newly established “Department of representation” which main task was the creation of a nation brand and coordination of promoting activities abroad.<sup>218</sup>

In **2011** the PD activities came back to foreign policy priorities which is illustrated by active engagement of the MFEA in cultural event promotions around the world, discussion forums, launch of electronic journal “World and Us” among others. A significant change in

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<sup>216</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic, 2009. *Annual Report: Foreign Policy in 2009*, Bratislava: p.48.

<sup>217</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta.p.47-48.

<sup>218</sup> From e-mail communication with the MFEA of Slovak Republic, published in Bendikova N., *The current development of public diplomacy in Slovakia*, 2010, University of Economics, Prague.

the MFEA structures was the cancellation of the Council of Government for Joint Presentation as a result of its ineffectiveness and its roles were redirected to the Slovak Tourist Board<sup>219</sup> agency and since then the coordination job falls within its competence. A new Department for Presentation of the Preparation of Nation Branding was established which presented a proposal called “Slovakia: Country with potential.”<sup>220</sup>

The last Annual Report from 2012, claims that: “In 2012 the ministry was significantly more active and more focused in terms of the quality of public and cultural diplomacy. (...) We have started to see more of a focus on “soft diplomacy” in Slovak foreign policy, a more sophisticated means of promoting Slovakia’s interests abroad through cultural projects and representations that transverse a wide range of genres.”<sup>221</sup> In reality, all the events and activities described in the report under the PD and Cultural diplomacy section, have the essence of cultural diplomacy, such as concerts, exhibitions and the presentation of Slovak culture within various international events.

## 6.6 Creating the Slovak Brand

### 6.6.1 The Current PD

As we can see, Slovak public diplomacy has passed through various stages of evolution, through various attempts of a formulation and its effective use in practice. Various bodies, agencies and departments have been established and abolished with more or less success. What the Slovak MFEA has been trying to create through the years was a unified approach, unified message and a unified image that Slovakia would be able to present abroad and which would reflect the reality and at the same time it would be based on credibility.

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<sup>219</sup> SACR (Slovenská Agentúra Cestovného Ruchu) .

<sup>220</sup> SACR, 2012. *Annual Report 2011*, [Online] Available at: <http://www.sacr.sk/sacr/o-nas/vyrocnne-spravy/>. [Accessed 19 5 2014].

<sup>221</sup> Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic, 2013. *Foreign Policy in 2012*, Bratislava: p.43.



As this work will explain later, within the region of Central Europe, it is crucial to find a unique, exceptional and outstanding story which would distinguish Slovakia from its rather similar neighbors. The search for nation brand is essential in order to build a strong base for Slovakia.

### 6.6.2 Searching for a brand: “Slovakia, country with potential”

Similarly as in other new EU member countries, branding was developed together with economic diplomacy prior to any intentional public diplomacy strategies as a form of attracting foreign investment to the newly opened market.

In 2011 a conceptual framework called “Slovakia: Country with Potential” was introduced by the Slovak Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs as an attempt to create a unified message which is desired to be sent abroad, portraying Slovakia as a modern European country of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This document is reported to be the first step in the very important representation of Slovakia and it is a result of the coordinated work of various experts from distinctive fields who could contribute to the formation of the concept of Slovak contemporary identity and its story.<sup>222</sup>

The authors start their proposal with a closer examination of the Slovak Republic as such and its attributes which are essential for nation branding. Slovakia has been at a crossroads in the “heart” of Europe for many centuries. A crossroads of business routes, cultures, interests and geopolitical entities. They believe that Slovakia can be considered to be a “small laboratory” or a representative mixture of Central Europe where innovation and dynamics blossom.<sup>223</sup>

There are 3 central notions on which the brand of Slovakia should be built<sup>220</sup>:

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<sup>222</sup> Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of Slovak Republic, 2011. *Slovakia: Country with Potential*, Bratislava: MFEA of Slovak Republic.p.3.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p.38.

- **Originality:** The conservative dimension of the "Slovak imprint" is represented by inveteracy, tradition and heritage by which the country is characterized. The turbulent previous history alongside the short history of independence, characterize Slovakia as a peculiar country, full of paradoxes, which form the basis of the Slovak specific dynamics.
- **Vitality:** One of the Slovak principal features is the ability to survive, be resilient and adaptable. The synergy of strength, opportunities and interesting people, with certain tensions and nervousness natural for Slovakia, results in creativity, talent and shrewdness, which creates continuous improvement and chances for innovation. Vitality evokes constant change, positive instability, which induces increasing dynamics.
- **Diversity:** Slovakia is a country full of contrasts - natural, cultural and social. This diversity and multiplicity, is concentrated in a small area and the report suggests that Slovak innovation arises from unexpected connections. The natural diversity has a great potential for tourism as it provides experiential combinations that elsewhere are not available.

This conceptual framework suggests that the possible potential for Slovakia can be found in various different aspects which are characteristic for this central European country. Even though the fact that The Slovak Republic is quite unknown is considered mostly to be a challenge or an obstacle, it can also be seen as an advantage, as it can be a parallel for a country which is young, fresh, undiscovered and is ready to surprise.<sup>224</sup>

Based on a recent representative public opinion poll conducted in Slovakia, four key values have been identified, reflecting the overall preference of the population - safety,

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<sup>224</sup> Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of Slovak Republic, 2011. *Slovakia: Country with Potential*, Bratislava: MFEA of Slovak Republic.p.28.

education, dignity and exceptionality. The study of Oľga Algayerová proposes these values to form the fundamental basis for planning and implementing all further PD activities.<sup>225</sup>

Also a slogan branding Slovakia as - “A little-big country” has been created, perhaps trying to put in contrast the size of the country with a level of its achievements and treasures.<sup>226</sup>

### 6.6.3 The Future of Slovak PD

In an analytical paper denoted “Middle term strategy for the development of public diplomacy within the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of Slovak Republic”, written by Sláviková, Bilčík and Duleba, there are four possible scenarios for the future united presentation of Slovakia. Authors suggest that it is indispensable to create a central plan on the state level in order to achieve a better and more effective public diplomacy which would follow the pivotal concept.<sup>227</sup> The three recommendations for a creation of an effective Slovak PD are:

- ✓ Create an improved institutional design, a central body that would coordinate all the public diplomacy related work, encompassing representatives from various ministries and agencies.
- ✓ Create a unified message or image of Slovakia which would show Slovakia as an attractive destination for foreign investment and tourism.
- ✓ Implement a strategy of central planning and analysis of domestic and foreign publics which would be determined by specific goals of each sector.

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<sup>225</sup> Algayerová O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy In Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta, p.2.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., p.18.

<sup>227</sup> Sláviková, E., Bilčík, V. & Duleba, A., 2009. *Medium-term strategy for development of public diplomacy within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic*, Bratislava: Slovak Foreign Policy Association.

Mallicková proclaims that it is important to anchor the PD strategies in the values, character and identity of Slovakia as an international player and it is indispensable to build this image nationwide. From the perspective of credibility, it is crucial to construct the framework on the basis of a wide range consensus at home. In that case, we would be able to talk about legitimate goals of Slovakian foreign policy in which the cooperation between governmental bodies, non-governmental organizations and civil society is fundamental.<sup>228</sup>

Slovak PD is practiced at the domestic as well as at the foreign audience's level. While in 2010 Algayerová states that in the case of Slovakia, "at the domestic level the MFEA briefs domestic public on a daily basis through the media and its website, it does not exert any additional effort to conduct a two-way communication. In principle, this amounts to an explanation of one's position, or supply of information, i.e. a one-way communication flow."<sup>229</sup>

The situation changes in 2013 when a website debating the concept and future of Slovak public diplomacy and the nation branding in particular is launched. This project is described more in detail further in this chapter (6.8.4. New Terminology (Branding)), portraying the progressive evolution and incorporation of the new public diplomacy in Slovakia.

With the purpose of establishing a successful PD, Slovakia's tactics should engage all possible layers of the society in a two-way dialogue and this approach is quite extraordinary and innovative in the central European environment. Therefore it can be regarded as a positive advancement and brighter prospect for the evolution of Slovak public diplomacy. The implementation of the two-way dialogue instrument has potential to gather useful information

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<sup>228</sup> Mallicková, E., 2010. *Public Diplomacy as a Priority of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Bratislava, Ústav európskych štúdií a medzinárodných vzťahov, FSEV UK.p.10.

<sup>229</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy In Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta.p.2.

and outlook not only from the experts but also from the general public and thus encroach the creation of a successful and strong Slovak brand.

## 6.7 Institutional Design

Currently the Slovak public diplomacy is under the supervision of Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs together with three other agencies under the administration, which became a basic stone for the evolution of public diplomacy in Slovakia. Their activities have been stimulating the development of Slovak public diplomacy. To this day, these three organizations have a key role in the active presentation of Slovakia abroad.

### 1. SAIA (Slovak Academic and Information Agency)<sup>231</sup>

SAIA was established as a part of Ministry of Education in 1990 and later became a non-profit organization. Currently, its main goal is to coordinate and promote international academic and scientific cooperation. SAIA cooperates with the Ministry of Education in the selection process of the candidates for scholarships which are targeted mostly on the non-European and Slovak foreign aid receiving countries.<sup>232</sup>

### 2. SARIO (Slovak Investment and Trade Development Agency)<sup>233</sup>

Was established in 2001 as an organization under the Ministry of Economy. The mission of the Agency is to set up and use all possibilities for stimulus funds to increase the influx of foreign investors while promoting Slovak firms in transforming the corporation's high performance and success in a globalized world market. SARIO advocates the benefits of the business and investment environment by organizing international investment and business

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<sup>231</sup> SAIA-Slovenská akademická a informačná agentúra.

<sup>232</sup> SAIA, 2014. *About SAIA*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.saia.sk/sk/pages/o-nas/> [Accessed 1 6 2014].

<sup>233</sup> SARIO- Slovenská agentúra pre rozvoj investícií a obchodu.

forums, seminars, trade missions, organized by the Agency, or in cooperation with foreign chambers of commerce, embassies, and industry associations.<sup>234</sup>

### 3. SACR (Slovak Tourist Board)<sup>235</sup>

SACR was established in 2005 under the Ministry of Economy and currently it is working under the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development.

SACR focuses on promotion and marketing of tourism in Slovakia. Promoting Slovakia as a tourist destination, contributes to a positive image of Slovakia abroad. SACR presents Slovakia abroad under the motto "Slovakia: Little Big Country" which according to their official reports, meets with a positive response at home and abroad. Among the three mentioned agencies, SACR is the most active the most successful, helping to build an attractive image of Slovakia abroad.<sup>236</sup>

As Cohen states, to achieve a working and efficient public diplomacy apparatus, there is a need to cultivate PD as a profession, train diplomats and provide them with courses of study necessary to master its unique techniques and skills.” Both PD and nation branding have evolving dynamism and need a body of knowledge. They are to be understood as multidisciplinary fields requiring a broad spectrum of competences – involving diplomacy, marketing, branding, communication, PR, economy, culture, tourism, education, environment, politics or international relations.”<sup>237</sup>

In the case of Slovakia, The Diplomatic Academy established recently at the Slovak MFEA has included PD into training. Training in nation branding is specifically not included in the course of study. Algayerová believes, that it is highly advisable to invite external

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<sup>234</sup> SARIO, 2014. *About SARIO*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.sario.sk/sk/o-nas/kto-sme> [Accessed 1 6 2014].

<sup>235</sup> SACR- Slovenská agentúra pre cestovný ruch.

<sup>236</sup> SACR, 2014. *About SACR*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.sacr.sk/en/slovak-tourist-board/news/>[Accessed 1 6 2014].

<sup>237</sup> Cohen, R., 1999. *Reflection on the New Global Diplomacy: Statecraft 2500 BC to 2000 AD*. In: J. Melissen, ed. *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*. London: Macmillan Press LTD, pp. 19-20.

lecturers who would bring a broader expertise into the subject and who would thus increase the quality and professionalization of Slovak diplomatic service in these evolving and significant areas.<sup>238</sup>

## 6.8 New PD evaluation

### 6.8.1 Increasing number of international players

According to the reports issued by the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Slovakia has been engaging in the cooperation with the third sector and especially non-profit organizations which participate in different sorts of development work in various parts of the world. Special attention has been paid to the support of the civil society in Cuba, where two NGOs, Pontis and “People in Peril” are involved in the improvement of education and economic situation.<sup>239</sup>

The increasing trend of collaboration with the non-governmental institutions is reflected also in the improved system of the subsidies for this agencies and the continuously growing interest in them (70% in 2007) and a 100% increase of applications for the realization of innovative projects which indicates the dynamics and relevance of the governmental and non-governmental cooperation in Slovakia.<sup>240</sup>

Due to the activities of Slovak NGO organizations that were co-funded by the government sources, Slovakia has gained the image of a "contributor" to safety, development of democracy and stability in the Western Balkans, Ukraine and Belarus.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy In Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta.p.19.

<sup>239</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic, 2007. *Foreign Policy Annual Report 2007*, Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic.p.15.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.,p.7.

<sup>241</sup> Sláviková, E., Bilčík, V. & Duleba, A., 2009. *Medium-term strategy for development of public diplomacy within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic*, Bratislava: Slovak Foreign Policy Association.p.39.

Slovakia should use its know-how in the political and economic transition to democracy experience within the Eastern Partnership Program. Other CEE countries have set it as a goal but our MFEA, even though containing various experts on the Balkan and Eastern European conflict resolution, does not deploy this strategy as one of its main priorities. This direction could be a promising “niche” for Slovak diplomacy.

Slovakia as an active Central European country can also use its ability to cooperate which has been proven by its engagement in the V4, EU and NATO.

Slovakia became a respected and recognized partner of the EU and NATO member states in terms of policy making in both organizations, within both regions. This fact strengthens the international prestige and position of Slovakia within both organizations and helps promote Slovak interests on other issues as well.<sup>242</sup>

#### 6.8.2 New Real-Time Media

Slovak Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs has been employing mostly the internet to promote its activities and work via the official website of the ministry and also on the individual web-pages of the embassies. The ministry has been using social media like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube rather actively, publishing the majority of the conferences, speeches and various events involving the presence of the Minister of the Foreign and European Affairs. The official web-page and the Facebook page is in Slovak and targets mostly the domestic audience, providing them with useful information about traveling abroad or newsletters concerning the new developments in foreign policies.<sup>243</sup> The current Minister of Foreign Affairs, Miroslav Lajčák, is actively using his personal twitter account linked on

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<sup>242</sup> Sláviková, E., Bilčík, V. & Duleba, A., 2009. *Medium-term strategy for development of public diplomacy within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic*, Bratislava: Slovak Foreign Policy Association.p.39.

<sup>243</sup> Web-page of the ministry of foreign affairs of Slovak Republic: <http://www.mzv.sk/en/home>; FB page: <https://www.facebook.com/mzv.sk>; YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/user/mzvsk>.



the official web-site of the ministry, constantly updating pictures and news from his official visits and other activities.<sup>244</sup>

Oľga Algayerová introduces a new tool called “Fluidbox” which was designed to serve the PD purpose and is planned to be employed in Slovakia in the future. As she describes: “We have been testing for more than two years equipment that allows a more active approach, i.e. to reach out proactively the target audience with a tailor-made message. Ambassadors equipped with it can go out to the public and provide them with accurate and timely information of all arts in an attractive format. The ”fluidbox” is a special, pocket-sized PC connected to internet. Through a mother server installed either at the Office of the Government or say the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, regularly updated, with content available in many language versions, could cover all possible areas of social, cultural, sport, economic, and political life in Slovakia.”<sup>245</sup>

As this apparatus appears to be rather expensive and there is no further progress neither from the ministry nor from the embassies and despite distinctive suggestions to collaborate with private sector on this matter, the potential of fluidboxes remains yet to be fully realized as a state-of-the-art possibility of presenting the country abroad, says Algayerová.<sup>246</sup> Investing in this tool appears to be relatively unreasonable, considering the availability of abundant modern systems, software and technology in the present day world.

### 6.8.3 Domestic and International news

Government bodies are in touch with domestic media on a daily basis. An active Slovak diplomat believes, that since foreign correspondents have limited access to the government they depend predominantly on domestic media as a source of information. This

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<sup>244</sup> Twitter of Miroslav Lajčák: <https://twitter.com/miroslavlajcak>.

<sup>245</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*: University of Malta. p.87.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid, p.90.

understandably results in a deficiency of coverage in foreign media or publishing only sensational or biased stories about Slovakia.<sup>247</sup>

Gyárfášová, Bútorá, and Bútorová prepared an analysis of Slovakia's image in the prestigious foreign print media in the period of 2011-2012. The majority of the articles can be found in German-written newspapers, namely Die Presse, Sueddeutsche Zeitung and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.<sup>248</sup> When analyzing the English-written media the number of articles published about Slovakia are very similar and consistent. In The Financial Times, International Herald Tribune, Wall Street Journal and The Economist there are, on average, twelve stories mentioning Slovakia printed.<sup>249</sup> In the studied period, the most popular topic, was the turbulent time when Slovakia almost didn't agree on the bail-out for Greece as the last country within the euro-zone. Due to the domestic disagreement and the later resignation of Slovak Prime-minister as a result of this situation, Slovakia is portrayed as an unreliable partner and a troublemaker with no real power.<sup>250</sup> Apart from this "15 minutes of Slovak fame", the most common topics related to Slovakia were corruption, nature, art & media.<sup>251</sup>

Algayerová states that the gaps in the communication with the foreign media have to be overcome by improving focus on them and providing more information to them. Economic diplomacy is a priority of the Slovak government; however, its coverage through PD is not adequate. Especially abroad, there is a communication gap in promotion of Slovak economic achievements. She suggests making better use of publications and findings of the prominent

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid. p.14.

<sup>248</sup> Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung:17 articles, Sueddeutsche Zeitung:19, Die Presse:47, Der Standard:p.15.

<sup>249</sup> Financial Times:12, International Herald Tribune:11, Wall Street Journal:14, The Economist: p.13.

<sup>250</sup> E.g: "Europe's efforts to save the single currency were thrown into temporary confusion when Slovakia's parliament, uniquely among the euro area's 17 national legislatures, failed to approve an expansion of the European financial stability facility, the emergency fund set up to assist financially-stricken member states. It looked like one more nail in the coffin of the European monetary union, hammered home by a country whose 5.5m people account for less than 2 per cent of the eurozone's 332m" (Ruritians, revolt – small states have earned freedom. FT, 14.10. 2011)

Or "Slovakia struck more fear into the hearts of the world's bankers than the cumulative protests of Occupy Wall Street have done in a month of poster-waving". (Eurozone hopes hinge on Slovakia. FT, 9 Oct 2011).

<sup>251</sup> Gyárfášová, O., Bútorá, M. & Bútorová, Z., 2012. *The image of Slovakia from the foreign perspective*, Bratislava: Institute of European Studies and International Relations, FSEV UK.p.20.

institutions such as the OECD that evaluates on a regular basis development in the member states and its conclusions are often very positive for Slovakia.<sup>252</sup>

Caused by the little awareness and relatively low attractiveness of Slovakia abroad, only the most sensational stories get to the foreign media. It is one of the biggest challenges but also one of the principal goals and missions of the Slovak public diplomacy to find a way to promote Slovakia as a successful, appealing, modern and dynamic country which deserves its place not only in the European, but also in the world spotlight.

#### 6.8.4 New Terminology (Branding)

“The perception of branding has very important strategic value for countries. Countries building and improving their nation-branding in this way will become desired countries for investment, building relation on notably political, social and cultural areas and even living there, “states Dr. Özkan.<sup>253</sup> But the Nation Branding has been disrupted by various negative images in the case of Slovak Republic, mainly as a consequence of a misleading depiction of this Central European country in foreign cinematography, the post-soviet legacy and Slovak problem with its “Roma” minority as mentioned by Martin Bútorá in his publication discussing the Slovak Nation Branding.<sup>254</sup>

As already discussed before in this chapter, Slovakia has been paying quite a lot of attention to national branding and has been trying to come up with a unified message to be promoted abroad. An unclear profile and insufficient name or brand and an urgent need to find it, is endorsed in the study of The Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index which states

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<sup>252</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*: University of Malta. p.14.

<sup>253</sup> Özkan, A., 2014. *Role of public diplomacy in establishing nation branding and public*. European Journal of Research on Education, 1-5(Special Issue: International Relations), p.3.

<sup>254</sup> Bútorá, M., 2008. *Nation Branding and Slovakia*. [Online] Available at: <http://nation-branding.info/2010/04/28/nation-branding-and-slovakia/>[Accessed 16 1 2014].

about Slovak branding: The best time to “plant the tree” was 40 years ago, the second best is right now.”<sup>255</sup>

A very fresh and innovative project was launched in 2013 called “Branding of Slovakia”. A group of mass media communication students from the University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius under the supervision of academics and professionals carry out this venture in cooperation with Slovak Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. The focal idea of this project is to create a moderated discussion about the identity and apt brand of Slovak Republic. Interviews with specialists from different fields related to the creation of Slovak nation-brand, articles, videos and graphic designs are published periodically in order to search and broaden the discussion and include public. With the intention of an effective two way communication, there is a December 2014 deadline as a period after which a feedback should be given to the public. First outcomes and proposals should be announced after.<sup>256</sup>

#### 6.8.5 People to people contact

As the former Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs state secretary believes, relationship-building is exemplified in long-term activities; based on developing lasting and positive relationships of people towards Slovakia. The target might be students, artists, sportsmen, tourists, business people, activists, media, etc. and the closest relationships are built principally via personal experience and contacts. These activities are not visible at first sight and being quite complex, it is hard to evaluate their effectiveness.<sup>257</sup>

Personal contact with Slovakia or any other country is the most powerful tool. Based on few years of experience working with exchange students studying and living in Slovakia,

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<sup>255</sup> Gyárfášová, O., Bútora, M. & Bútorová, Z., 2012. *The image of Slovakia from the foreign perspective*, Bratislava: Institute of European Studies and International Relations, FSEV UK.p.3.

<sup>256</sup> Fakulta masmediálnej komunikácie UCM v Trnave, 2014, *Branding of Slovakia- About the project*, [Online] Available at: <http://brandingslovenska.com/zoznam/page/3/> [Accessed 6 12 2014].

<sup>257</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*: University of Malta.p.10-15.

the author of this work dares to claim, that after getting in touch with local culture, people, the beauty of Slovak nature, history and tradition, the majority of these students experiencing life in Slovakia fall in love with this ‘Little Big Country’ in the heart of Europe. As mentioned above, Slovakia is not the most attractive destination for many people, but once the visitors experience it, the mark will stay in their minds and maybe also hearts. Therefore it is crucial to attract more people to come to try the “taste” of Slovakia and engage in the promotion of exchange diplomacy, especially the EU based programs like ERASMUS in which Slovakia receives high ranking<sup>258</sup> and other long-term academic and cultural projects such as the Rotary Youth Exchange Program which brings young people from all around the world to Slovakia every year.<sup>259</sup> Tourism, investment and different forms of diplomacy (economic, cultural, etc.) form a great part in the process of promotion of the people to people contact.

Ideas which the public gets about Slovakia are generated through a variety of ways, among them also people-to-people contacts, goods and services of Slovak origin, cultural events, films or personal visits. “The role of the government is to establish a solid and sound basis stimulating the positive messages to be received by the outside world”, concludes Algayerová.<sup>260</sup>

## 6.9 Challenges for Slovakia

Central Europe and especially the Visegrad group area is a very specific region and while each country is very distinct in its history, culture and character, from an external point of view, the difference is not so obvious and these countries might be difficult to distinguish from each other which is one of the biggest challenges for the public diplomacy planning. The

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<sup>258</sup> <http://en.erasmus.us/erasmus-reviews/cities-ranking/24-Slovakia>.

<sup>259</sup> <http://www.rotex2240.org/>.

<sup>260</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*: University of Malta.p.10.

Central European region is very competitive most probably as a result of these similarities and the need to stand out and create a unique profile.

One of the pluses is certainly the fact that Slovakia has a relative advantage compared to its neighbors as it adopted the Euro in 2009 which is a significant incentive for attracting FDI.<sup>261</sup> Nowadays Slovakia is home to various foreign corporations, especially in the automobile industry. With car manufacturers like Volkswagen, Peugeot-Citroen and KIA, Slovakia became the world's Leading Per-Capita Car Maker.<sup>262</sup>

Franko notes that the foremost problem of Slovak PD is the fundamental question about the mission, principal idea and goals of Slovak public diplomacy, which is related to the politicization of Slovak foreign policy making and changes brought about with every alteration of the political elites after the elections. He identifies the essential problem to be the imbalance, the disarray and political nominations within the Foreign Service and the ministry. Franko also suggests that the reason why the Slovak PD diplomacy does not bring many positive results is a consequence of the lack of coordination between various ministries and underfinancing of the public diplomacy and related strategies.<sup>263</sup>

The potential risks for the development may include undersized departmental employment of PD, which is related to the repeal of a separate department focused on this area. Diplomats managed to handle this situation due to the intensive cooperation with the external bodies, to which the significant part of the tasks were delegated. A preservation of the continuity of systematic, professional and mutually beneficial cooperation between the MFEA and experts from the wider third sector and academia, was maintained, which is highly

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<sup>261</sup> Jakubiak, M. & Kolesar, P., 2010. *Car Industry in Slovakia Recent Developments and Impact on Growth*, Warsaw: Center for Social and Economic Research.p.2.

<sup>262</sup> Agence France-Presse, 2013. *Slovakia, World's Leading Per-Capita Car Maker, Back in Top Gear*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.industryweek.com/global-economy/slovakia-worlds-leading-capita-car-maker-back-top-gear> [Accessed 15 5 2014].

<sup>263</sup> Franko, T., 2010. *Analysis of Slovak Foreign Policy*, Brno: Masaryk University.p.52.

desirable, particularly in the sphere of public diplomacy, sums up Mallicková, the former head of PD department at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.<sup>264</sup>

The biggest challenge for Slovakia is still the lack of awareness about its existence and the relative absence of any relevant or positive knowledge outside of the region. According to the research pursued by the internationally respected commentator Simona Anholt, most of the people observe Slovakia as: " the classical former Soviet state: heavy industry; boring and predictable landscape scenery; working hard, but uneducated people; low level of technological capabilities and efficiency market; virtual zone without culture. In the ranking examining the awareness and knowledge about the countries, Slovakia ranked 48<sup>th</sup> out of 50 evaluated countries."<sup>265</sup>

Authors of the report studying the Slovak image abroad concludes that among the main associations linked to Slovakia for the professionals and academics, Slovakia evokes a “strong story” related to the standing of the regime of former PM Vladimir Mečiar in the 1990s and the catching up with its neighbors to enter the EU and the NATO at the same time. Other strong correlation to Slovakia’s image is the “proximity” in the terms of geography, culture, history, mentality and the potential which Slovakia possesses, which is closely linked to the creativity and tenacity of its citizens which can considerably move the country forwards.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Mallicková, E., 2010. *Public Diplomacy as a Priority of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Bratislava, Ústav európskych štúdií a medzinárodných vzťahov, FSEV UK.p.10-13.

<sup>265</sup> The Anholt-GfK Roper, 2011. *Nation Brands Index. Annual Report 2011*, New York: p.9.

<sup>266</sup> Gyárfášová, O., Bútorová, M. & Bútorová, Z., 2012. *The image of Slovakia from the foreign perspective*, Bratislava: Institute of European Studies and International Relations, FSEV UK, p.27.

## 6.10 Conclusion

Currently, diplomacy as a non-violent method of promoting national and state interests in the international political environment is undoubtedly the most important foreign policy tool. This is particularly true for small states, such as the Slovak Republic for which it is critical to the successful implementation of their foreign policy priorities of the key legal quality diplomacy, believes Pajtinka.<sup>267</sup>

Pressures of the globalizing international environment, as well as increased demands on the quality of outputs and services provided by the MFEA of Slovak Republic, together with the need for compatibility of the MFEA with partner entities within the integration mechanisms, changes the position and the mission of Slovak diplomacy while presenting a unique opportunity for the development of Slovak PD. The situation requires a comprehensive review of the operation of the MFEA and the establishment of system for the sustainability of the proposed strategies. In this way, the Ministry will be able to flexibly cope with dynamically changing international and domestic environment and to increase the capacity to meet the required level of proficiency and quality. The question is how to appropriately perform new diplomatic tasks in the efficient and rational way using the existing resources and how to strengthen the position of the MFEA in the system of state administration.<sup>268</sup>

Public diplomacy has been present in the history of Slovakia in one or other form for many years. The nation, whether part of Czechoslovakia or as an independent country, always intended to attract tourists, investors and business or to follow specific interests, from independence through communist propaganda to the EU accession. However, as Oľga Algayerová states, “the approach has never been holistic, comprehensive and well managed.

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<sup>267</sup> Pajtinka, E., 2007. *Slovak Diplomacy and its dimensions in the 21st century*. Bratislava, University of Economics, Bratislava.p.78.

<sup>268</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic, 2007. *Foreign Policy Annual Report 2007*, Bratislava: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic. p.33.



Even today we face difficulties in creating synergy and cooperation of all ministries, agencies, regions, civil society and businesses. Active participation and strategic coordination of all elements of reputation management is of paramount importance and remains a huge challenge.”<sup>269</sup>

As Ociepka suggests, although the term public diplomacy is used frequently in the governmental documents and reports, this does not necessarily mean that there is any coordinated and coherent PD strategy existing in reality, and Slovakia is a perfect illustration of this statement.<sup>270</sup> The annual reports and documents from conferences regarding the Slovak public diplomacy are full of phrases highlighting the need to promote, engage, implement and coordinate the efforts to create a national brand and effective PD strategies, but little real and effective steps are being taken as PD has not been a prioritized issue in the Slovak foreign policy planning.

The fundamental challenge is to create a functional coordination mechanism that would enable various governmental and non-governmental bodies to participate in the process of presentation of Slovakia abroad and to communicate and agree more efficiently in order to undertake a common approach in representing Slovakia externally.

It is indispensable to create an appealing and a credible brand for Slovakia in order to build the Slovak PD on a solid basis. Taking into consideration the geographic location and character of the region in which Slovakia is positioned, it is crucial to find a way to distinguish itself from its neighbors and exhibit more its positive aspects, its achievements and use its experience from the past and a the successful story of a strong, young, modern and dynamic member of the European Union.

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<sup>269</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy In Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta.p.49.

<sup>270</sup> Ociepka, B., 2013. *New Members' Public Diplomacy*. In: M. K. Davis Cross & J. Melissen, eds. *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 45.

Transforming weaknesses to opportunities might be a good way to go for this small Central European country. The lower level of development in the case of Slovakia, when comparing it to its western European neighbors, can also be seen as an advantage as it enables the nation to explore more possibilities, skip certain phases of evolution or try to go in different directions without any bigger harm. At the same time, there is the “surprise element” of Slovakia as there is much more creativity, innovation and dynamics hidden as an unknown treasure within the Slovak people, than anyone would expect.<sup>271</sup>

Apart from that, the most important component of Slovak presentation abroad, has always been the cultural diplomacy which might be a good news for Slovakia. “With the increase in the width and intensity of interactions between states, nations will still have greater importance of culture as a bearer of universal, human values and as factor associated with the identity of communities and their diversity,” states Kurucz.<sup>272</sup> In terms of political stability, the focus of diplomacy has moved to its cultural, and particularly the economic dimension, taking into account the specificities of a small state, especially its natural need to search for international visibility.<sup>273</sup>

Mallicková and Algayerová both recommend in their studies to define territorial priorities of Slovakia and adapt the foreign policy and regional strategy to individual specifics of each country or region.<sup>274</sup>

As the European Union and the other V4 countries are the primary target of the Slovak Republic, it is vital to focus the PD on this region and use every opportunity to influence, improve and promote Slovakia in every possible way. A good example was the World Championship in Ice Hockey in 2010, The project of “Košice, European Capital of Culture

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<sup>271</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovak Republic, 2011. *Slovakia: Country with Potential*, Bratislava: MFEA of Slovak Republic.p.28.

<sup>272</sup> Kurucz, M., 2007. *Cultural Dimensions of Diplomacy*. Bratislava, University of Economics.p.70.

<sup>273</sup> Pajtinka, E., 2007. *Slovak Diplomacy and its dimensions in the 21st century*. Bratislava, University of Economics, Bratislava.p.83.

<sup>274</sup> Mallicková, E., 2010. *Public Diplomacy as a Priority of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Bratislava, Ústav európskych štúdií a medzinárodných vzťahov, FSEV UK,p.13.

2013“ or the upcoming Slovak presidency of the European Council. Presidency of the Council presents a unique opportunity for the member states to strengthen their position and present their brands or stories. The presidency gives new member states a chance to set the European politics agenda and attract the attention of all the “old continents” media.<sup>275</sup> It is a unique opportunity to improve one’s image, test its PD and gain more prominence on the EU scene.

The modern Slovakia is still searching for its identity, its unique story and an image it would like to uniformly send abroad. Its public diplomacy can be considered a reflection of these facts. As illustrated in the PD working papers mentioned above, Slovakia is a country with potential, but in order to foster and recover its positive image, it is key to both pay more attention to and to understand, the importance of the PD in the present day world.

Despite the intention and limited efforts to engage in new public diplomacy via the use of the internet, there is still a long way to go, and a broader platform is needed in order to engage and employ a larger part of the potential of this “Tatra Tiger”<sup>276</sup>.

Taking into account the size, position and character of Slovakia, the country will probably have no choice but to adapt to the rapidly evolving environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and it will also have to start to actively and effectively practice the strategies of (new) public diplomacy if it wants to play a small, but important, role within Europe and maybe even the world.

### **What can be learnt?**

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<sup>275</sup> Ociepka, B., 2013. *New Members’ Public Diplomacy*. In: M. K. Davis Cross & J. Melissen, eds. *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p.48.

<sup>276</sup> “Tatra Tiger” is a nickname that refers to the economy of Slovakia in period 2002 - 2007 and after 2010 following the ascendance of a right-wing coalition in September 2002 which engaged in a program of liberal economic reforms. Due to the strong successes of these reforms, Slovakia was sometimes referred to as ‘Tatra Tiger’. The name “Tatra Tiger” derives from the local Tatra mountain range. (Jungmann J, Sagemann S., 2011, *Financial Crisis in Eastern Europe*, Gabler, p.525).

The story of public diplomacy in Slovak Republic is rather short and noticeably less remarkable than the PD strategies employed in Norway or Taiwan. Despite this fact, there are several lessons to be learnt from this central European country.

As each country's story is quite specific regarding its history, geography and in the case of Slovakia also the repeating change of regimes during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the example and the particular lessons to be learnt might be useful for young countries in transition to democracy or countries with very little PD experience.

Firstly, the tactics and the sophisticated methods of a self-effacing infiltration of the Czechoslovak culture and art into the European salons before the Second World War is arousing. Even though the contemporary world works differently, the ability to promote a country through its poets and artists is still present and highly desirable in the PD practice.

An outstanding part of the modern Slovak PD practice was the one which might not have been seen as a pure public diplomatic but it was certainly an end to a well targeted mean. The pre-accession activities leading into the 2004 EU membership were great illustration of a quick, flexible and probably also successful campaign. The right motivation, little bit of pressure and tight deadlines may just be the best recipe of an effective PD formation for some countries.

One of the facts is that the strongest part of Slovak PD is the cultural diplomacy which exposes one of the essential values and characteristics that are so important for the creation of a nation brand. The joy and pride accompanying the Slovak culture whenever presented abroad is a brilliant signal that the public diplomacy is based on real values, reflecting the warmth and the authenticity of the presented nation.

On the subject of structure and organization of the PD related agencies and institutions, it is important to notice that fewer changes and rearrangements within the ministry might have

benefited the advancement of PD in Slovakia and therefore it is an imperative for the other countries who should learn from this experience.

The 21<sup>st</sup> century and its features brought about changes that affected the functioning of various governmental apparatuses around the world and the practice of public diplomacy is not an exception. In the case of Slovakia, it is essential to point out the efforts of the current minister of foreign and European affairs, who actively promotes the activities of the ministry and Slovak Republic via Twitter and Facebook. The Facebook page and the official web-page of the ministry are very modern, highly informative and continuously updated. For the purposes of a two-way communication and open dialogue a web-page discussing the current process of the nation brand creation has been contributing to an open and wider collaboration with public, academics and numerous professionals. These approach is very innovative and can serve as an example for other countries still searching for their image, narrative or other answers for their questions. The format of the entire project is quite progressive as it involves students, bloggers, graphic designers and other young professionals and talents.

After a deeper analysis, it is apparent that there are lessons to be learnt from each experience and every country has something to share. In the case of Slovakia, the turbulent history and the constant search for the national identity might result in an interesting combination of outcomes when creating the appropriate public diplomacy and nation brand. Short but intensive narrative of the Slovak PD practice that is still at its beginning can serve as an inspiration to follow or as a warning of how not to overcomplicate and at the same time underestimate the power of this foreign policy tool.

## 7.The case of Republic of China, Taiwan

### 7.1 Introduction

Taiwan is an advanced industrial economy and one of the so called (four) Asian Tigers. This Asia-Pacific island is also the 21<sup>st</sup> largest economy in the world and its high-tech industry plays a key role in the global economy. Taiwan is also a member of WTO and APEC.<sup>277</sup> Its development can be seen on different levels and it ranks highly in terms of freedom of the press, health care, public education, economic freedom, and human development.<sup>278</sup>

In 1895, military defeat pushed China's Qing Dynasty to cede Taiwan to Japan. After World War II Taiwan fell under the control of Chinese Nationalist and in 1949, after the communist triumph on the mainland, two million Nationalists fled to Taiwan and established a government using the 1947 constitution drawn up for all of China. Since the 1950s, the ruling authorities progressively democratized and incorporated the local population within the governing organization and this development increased rapidly in the 1980s. Taiwan experienced its first peaceful transfer of power from the Nationalist (Kuomintang or KMT) to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) at the beginning of the new millennium in 2000. During the course of this period, the island flourished and became one of East Asia's economic "miracles." As stated in the CIA World Factbook, "the dominant political issues continue to be management of sensitive relations between Taiwan and China, specifically the

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<sup>277</sup> CIA World Factbook, 2014. *Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tw.html>, [Accessed 4 6 2014].

<sup>278</sup> Yao, G., Yen-Pi, C. & Chiao-, P. C., 2008. *The Quality of Life in Taiwan*. The Quality of Life in Confucian Asia: From Physical Welfare to Subjective Well-Being, 6 10. p.92.

question of Taiwan's eventual status, as well as domestic priorities for economic reform and growth.”<sup>279</sup>

After the People’s Republic of China (PRC) became a full member of the international community in the 1970s, only few countries officially recognized the Republic of China (ROC) and therefore Taiwan’s external relations became mainly unofficial. In the 1971 ROC was substituted in the UN by the PRC and was practically excluded from the international intergovernmental arena.<sup>280</sup> Currently, The Republic of China on Taiwan have formal diplomatic relations with only 22 minor powers 12 in Central and South America and the Caribbean, 3 in Africa, 6 in Oceania and one in Europe. Taiwan also maintains 92 Representative Offices in the capitals and major cities of 57 other countries.<sup>281</sup> Taiwan does not have formal relations with any major power.

A wide range of cultural, scientific and economic relations are permissible providing that they don’t suggest the recognition of the Republic of China or of the state in Taiwan. The small countries that accord the ROC official recognition are generally located in Africa, Central America, the Caribbean and the Pacific and do not possess any real power in the international arena. Françoise Mengin proclaims that “the survival of the island as a de facto independent country relies basically on its economic wealth.”<sup>282</sup>

Taiwan’s unique status in the international environment and its relation with China is reflected in its foreign policy strategies and therefore it is majorly present in the public diplomacy practice as well.

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<sup>279</sup> CIA World Factbook, 2014. *Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tw.html>, [Accessed 4 6 2014].

<sup>280</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. The Journal of International Communication, 8(2), p. 121.

<sup>281</sup> MoFa ROC, 2014. *The Republic of China Yearbook 2013: Foreign Affairs*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.ey.gov.tw/en/cp.aspx?n=90586F8A7E5F4397>[Accessed 9 6 2014].

<sup>282</sup> Mengin, F., 1999. *The Substitution of Conventional Diplomatic Relations: The Case of Taiwan*. In: J. Melissen, ed. Innovation in Diplomatic Practice. Hampshire: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 231-232.

## 7.2 History

Taiwanese diplomacy in general and also its public diplomacy is consequently affected and formed in the terms of current Taiwanese status in the international affairs and the evolution of the ROCs diplomatic relations.

After the defeat of the ruling Kuomintang in the Chinese Civil War, in 1949 the ROC government headed by Chiang Kai-shek retreated from mainland China to Taiwan. Both the PRC and the ROC on Taiwan claimed legitimacy as the sole government of China and representative of the Chinese people. During the Cold War, Taiwan used its anti-communist ideology and geostrategic position as the key mean of soft power and a foundation for its public diplomacy strategy which enabled Taipei to keep the essential American support.<sup>283</sup>

Due to the anti-communist positioning and atmosphere of heightened anti-communist attitudes and moreover the restored support from the United States, Taiwan could maintain its seat at the UN and in fact increase diplomatic recognition around the world for quite some time, points out Timothy Rich.<sup>284</sup>

1970s proved to be very challenging and turbulent times for Taiwan and island's diplomacy. As Rockower notes, the de-recognition process started in 1971 with the PRC's admission to the UN General Assembly and its assumption of the ROC's seat in the UN Security Council. From 1971 ahead, Taipei found itself fighting a rear-guard action to preserve its diplomatic recognition. Between 1971 and 1979, forty-six countries switched recognition from the ROC to the PRC, including the United States in 1979. Bolstered by the Sino-American rapprochement and the establishment of U.S.-PRC diplomatic ties in 1979,

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<sup>283</sup> deLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy*. Orbis, 54(3), p. 512.

<sup>284</sup> Rich, T., 2009. *Status for Sale: Taiwan and the Competition for Diplomatic Recognition*. Issues & Studies, 45(4), p. 168.



Taiwan's soft power as an anti-communist ideological ally diminished greatly, and it shrunk even further with the collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>285</sup>

Furthermore, the Sino-American normalization development has not only caused diplomatic isolation for Taipei but it also changed the status of the island from an international issue into an internal Chinese problem. After the signing of the Sino-British Communique of 13 March 1972 and the Sino-American Communique of 1 January 1979, the two powers still involved in the settlement of Taiwan's status, as it had been shaped at the Cairo and Potsdam Conferences, withdrew, recognizing the Beijing government as the sole legal government of China, describes Mengin.<sup>286</sup> During the 1980s the ROC was recognized by less than 25 countries and was a member of less than ten intergovernmental organizations of which none were associated to the United Nations.<sup>287</sup>

After the fall of the bipolar world system, and as democratic consolidation took hold in Taiwan, this fact also became a key component of its soft power. Taiwan intended to employ its democratic solidification as a significant focus of its national brand and a prominent feature of its soft power in its transition to democracy, Intrinsically Taiwan chose to sell its "democracy" as the heart of its public diplomacy.<sup>288</sup>

On the other hand, one of the assets that Taiwan uses as the core of its public diplomacy and at the same time one of the essential dimensions of Taiwan's soft power derives from Taiwan's economic development. This phenomenon started to flourish extensively in the 1960s and 1970s resulting from Taiwanese high growth rate, sector transformation and rise to the top levels of global trading structures. Taiwan became a model of successful development and an exemplar of the East Asian model of rapid industrialization

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<sup>285</sup> Rockower, P. S., 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach*. Issues and studies, Issue 47.p.113.

<sup>286</sup> Mengin, F., 1997. *Taiwan's non-official diplomacy*. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 8(1), p. 228.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2007. *Selling Democracy: Diplomacy, Propaganda and Democratisation in Taiwan*, China Perspective, Volume 47.p.20.

and was considered to be part of the “miracle” of that era. Taiwan turn out to be an attractive model to be followed by other states wishing for rapid development accompanied by political stability.<sup>289</sup>

But as deLisle further stresses, likewise anti-communism, the economic aspect of Taiwan’s soft power has almost vanished with changes on the mainland. The development model of the PRC has achieved much greater distinction and importance as its experience is more recent, more impressive in scale, and more obviously relevant to countries with significantly different per capita incomes and Taiwan’s democratic politics.”<sup>290</sup>

As a consequence of the changes in the international environment, Taiwanese economic-based soft power lost its strength and Taiwan had to assure and improve its international stature by emphasizing its importance as a valuable and reliable partner in an increasingly interconnected world, relating to more developed countries in terms of commitments to market economics, transparency, the rule of law, respect for intellectual property, etc.<sup>291</sup> During the Lee Teng-hui administration that ended in 2000, term ‘pragmatic diplomacy’ was used to describe this phenomenon.<sup>292</sup>

Following the accession of President Chen Shui-bian of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, in 2000, Taiwan decided to project its democracy as a key concept of its foreign policy. During the Chen administration, “Taiwan embarked on a proactive public diplomacy strategy that highlighted its democratic institutions as a soft power asset, and sought to brand the country as a robust democracy and supporter of international human rights norms,” claims Rockower.<sup>293</sup> During his presidency, Chen particularly cited Joseph Nye when

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<sup>289</sup> deLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy*. Orbis, 54(3), p. 513.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Chan, R., 2009. *Ma’s State Visits Will Display Taiwan’s Soft Power: FM*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news\\_content.php?id=940984](http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news_content.php?id=940984) [Accessed 8 6 2014].

<sup>292</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

<sup>293</sup> Rockower, 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan’s Public Diplomacy Outreach*, Issues and studies, Issue 47.p.115.

he underlined Taiwan's democracy and civil society as a source of the country's soft power and a common ground for shared values with United States or Japan.<sup>294</sup>

When President Ma came into power, he denoted his approach to be “flexible diplomacy”. Ma Ying-jeou’s administration, elected in 2008, has demonstrated a more distinctive understanding of how soft power and public diplomacy work and how they can connect to the reality of Taiwan’s international situation by not entrapping issues only within the context of cross-Strait relations, believes Gary Rawnsley.<sup>295</sup>

### 7.3 Taiwanese PD

Paul S. Rockower has described the position of Taiwan in the present-day global affairs and its need to pursue efficient public diplomacy quite accurately stating that: “Because of its diplomatic isolation, Taiwan has used, and continues to use, public diplomacy as a vital medium for presenting its values and utility in the international community while bypassing issues of recognition.”<sup>296</sup>

As Gary Rawnsley further affirms, acting in such a precarious situation in the international community, Taiwan has found it necessary to innovate in both its formal and public diplomacy. Taipei has grown proficient at conducting non-official diplomacy that mirrors diplomacy through official channels. For the time being, deprived of access to traditional diplomatic channels, links, and procedures, it has employed alternative channels to express its opinion and deliver information to global audiences.<sup>297</sup>

In the article “Soft' Power A Common Future for the Pacific”, published in 2003, Lu Hsiu-lien argues : “Trends in global political discourse have recently brought the concept of

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<sup>294</sup> Lu, H.-l., 2003. *Soft Power: A Common Future for the Pacific*. [Online]  
Available at: <http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=913> [Accessed 9 6 2014].

<sup>295</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online]  
Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

<sup>296</sup> Rockower, P. S., 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach*. Issues and studies, Issue 47, p.110.

<sup>297</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2000. *Selling Taiwan: Diplomacy and Propaganda*. Issues and Studies, 36(3).

soft power to the forefront of foreign policy discussions in Taiwan, and by so doing, have led to a conceptualization of soft power in a Taiwanese context. This conceptualization has taken on a broad definition of soft power, and has characterized the country's attractiveness as being promoted by its social, economic, and political developments.”<sup>298</sup>

Jacques De Lisle identifies the core of the Taiwanese “soft power” to have various dimensions which he summarizes by proclaiming that “Taiwan's promotion of its soft power resources in terms of its economic model, democratic institutions, and adherence to human rights norms has helped Taiwan counter the PRC's efforts, involving both soft and hard power, to marginalize Taiwan in the international arena and diminish its de facto statehood.”<sup>299</sup>

Kwei-Bo Huang, former Chairman of the Research and Planning Committee at the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, states that:” The goal of public diplomacy, which is based mostly on soft power, is to present an accurate picture of where Taiwan is and where it’s going. This is a difficult challenge for any country, but it is made even more difficult for Taiwan, particularly in the short run, because of the ongoing changes in the structure of Taiwan’s central government and the institutions responsible for Taiwan’s external image.”<sup>300</sup>

As the Taiwanese flagship projects of public diplomacy can be considered the foreign aid and exchange diplomacy supplemented by the PD efforts such as international broadcasting in form of Radio International Taiwan, recently launched “Taiwan academies” or the latest so called “gastro-diplomacy”.

Rockower concludes on Taiwan's current overall public diplomacy strategy that: “Taiwan still tactically projects its strategic role in helping to ensure stability in the Asia-Pacific region, especially with regard to U.S. regional strategic calculations. Meanwhile, its connections with its non-diplomatic allies in the realm of trade and investment remain robust,

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<sup>298</sup> Lu, H.-l., 2003. *Soft' Power:A Common Future for the Pacific*. Taiwan Review.

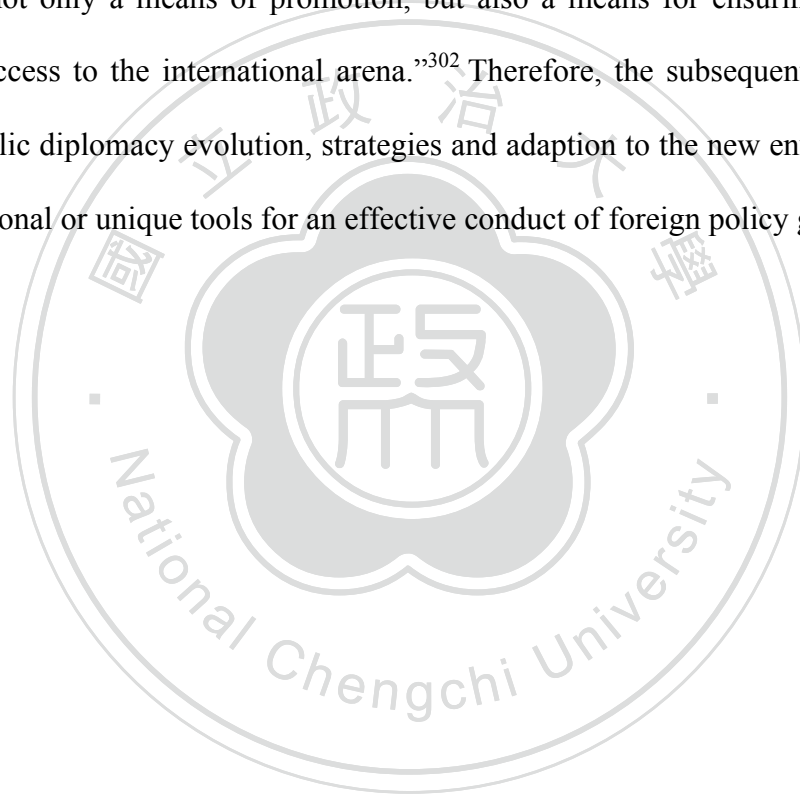
<sup>299</sup> DeLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan,,* s.l.: Orbis.

<sup>300</sup> Huang, K.B., 2012. *Taiwan's Public Diplomacy at a Time of Institutional Change*. [Online]

Available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/05/10-taiwan-diplomacy-huang> [Accessed 23 1 2014].

and its economic soft power and "made in Taiwan" nation brand still carry considerable currency. Through the promotion of its geostrategic value, economic model, and democratic credentials, Taiwan has successfully combined distinct mechanisms for projecting itself and conducting public diplomacy. <sup>301</sup>

The uniqueness of the Taiwanese stance on the world stage and its public diplomacy tools, practices and other “soft power” projects, promise an exceptional approach to this part of “new diplomacy”. Especially because, as Rockower claims: “For Taiwan, public diplomacy is not only a means of promotion, but also a means for ensuring its diplomatic survival and access to the international arena.”<sup>302</sup> Therefore, the subsequent analysis of the Taiwanese public diplomacy evolution, strategies and adaption to the new environment might portray exceptional or unique tools for an effective conduct of foreign policy goals.



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<sup>301</sup> Rockower, P. S., 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach*. Issues and studies, Issue 47.,p.109.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

## 7.4 The Non-Official Diplomacy

Jan Melissen, in his book *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, states that due to the historical context, Taiwan has obtained a status of a peripheral or even a non-state player in global affairs. However, this expert on public diplomacy proclaims that from the perspective of soft power and PD, there is another side of Taiwan that deserves to be in the spotlight. He notes “Excluded, as Taiwan has been, from all the privileges that come with diplomatic recognition, Taiwan’s success became strongly dependent on international lobbying skills, international public relations and indeed, an imaginative approach towards developing its soft power.”<sup>303</sup> In the following part of this chapter, three indispensable parts of Taiwan’s public diplomacy strategies will be discussed: Foreign Aid, Cultural and Exchange diplomacy.

### 7.4.1 Checkbook diplomacy & Foreign Aid

One of the strong pillars of Taiwanese public diplomacy has been the foreign and development aid as a tool of augmenting international support.

Taiwan started proffering developmental assistance, in the form of technical cooperation, to Vietnam in 1959. In order to help develop the agricultural practices of the newly independent African nations, a year later, in 1960, Taiwan introduced Operation Vanguard which provided them with agricultural missions. The results showed quickly, as the number of African countries supporting the membership of the ROC in the UN nearly doubled from nine in the previous year to seventeen in 1962.<sup>304</sup> Due to the growing diplomatic isolation of Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s, the island extended its developmental aid outreach in the

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<sup>303</sup> Melissen, J., 2011. *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.p.255.

<sup>304</sup> Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 2009. *Partnership for Progress and Sustainable Development: White Paper on Foreign Aid Policy*, Taipei: p.9.

form of projects and grants to many of the world's poorer countries in Africa, Central America, and the Pacific in an effort to secure and maintain recognition.<sup>305</sup>

One of the main characteristics of the Chinese and Taiwanese rivalry in the South Pacific used to be 'checkbook diplomacy' as each competed for diplomatic recognition in the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>306</sup> Especially, as Beijing's antipathy during the Chen administration and its pro-independence attitude increased tensions across the Taiwan Strait, and elevation of the long-running game of 'checkbook diplomacy'. "Dollar diplomacy", better known as "Checkbook diplomacy," is a term used for the practice of securing and maintaining diplomatic recognition through the provision of foreign aid, with both China and Taiwan offering large sums of money.<sup>307</sup>

It is important to note, that at that time, this method threatened to discredit Taiwan's recently-earned democratic credentials and diplomatic reputation as the financial assistance was often dispensed to 'unsavory' regimes in exchange for diplomatic recognition.<sup>308</sup>

The competition for diplomatic recognition between Taipei and Beijing continued until the election of President Ma Ying-jeou in 2008, since when Beijing ceased inciting Taiwan's diplomatic allies and Taipei stopped its annual request for UN membership for the first time since 1993.<sup>309</sup>

President Ma, alongside other new initiatives to co-operate reasonably with China, declared an end to this diplomatic rivalry and he announced a reform of Taiwan's aid programs in 2009.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Baker, K. & Edmonds, R. L., 2004. *Transfer of Taiwanese Ideas and Technology to the Gambia, West Africa: A Viable Approach to Rural Development?*. The Geographic Journal, September, 170(3), p. 191.

<sup>306</sup> Hoadley, S., 2013. *Taiwan update: domestic reform and soft power diplomacy*. New Zealand International Review, January/February, 38(1), p.9.

<sup>307</sup> Rockower, P. S., 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach. Issues and studies*, Issue 47.p.116.

<sup>308</sup> Ian, T., 2002. *Taiwan's Foreign Policy and Africa: The Limitations of Dollar Diplomacy*. Journal of Contemporary China, 30(11), pp. 125-140.

<sup>309</sup> Gilley, B., 2010. *Not So Dire Straits*. Foreign Affairs, January-February, 89(1), pp. 44-60.

<sup>310</sup> Hoadley, S., 2013. *Taiwan update: domestic reform and soft power diplomacy*. New Zealand International Review, January/February, 38(1), p.9.

Taiwan's foreign aid programs are carried out mainly by the International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF) which is the dedicated foreign aid organization representing the government of the Republic of China. ICDF has overall responsibility for organizing and operating Taiwan's overseas cooperation projects. The principal mission of the fund is to strengthen international development, promote foreign relations and facilitate economic development, social progress among Taiwan's developing partner nations.<sup>311</sup>

The present focus of Taiwan's International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF) is no longer on budgetary and infrastructure grants as before Ma's presidency, but on carefully targeted and monitored project aid, much of it for agricultural, medical and educational improvements in the receiving countries.<sup>312</sup> For a better illustration, one of the notable projects aims to make Tuvalu the first country in the world entirely independent of imported diesel fuel by installing solar panels for power and lighting. The ROC gives aid to 39 countries plus several international agencies worldwide.<sup>313</sup>

Taiwan has understood that its humanitarian aid and emergency work can be used to enhance its soft power. In one recent example, Taiwan's rescue and relief work following the earthquake in Haiti was highlighted by international media giants such as CNN and BBC.<sup>314</sup>

#### 7.4.2 Cultural Diplomacy

Taiwan's current approach emphasize culture as the dominant theme in its international communications programs and it has been given augmented prominence in Taiwan's PD efforts, states Rockower.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> ICDF, 2014. *Directions in Strategic Planning*. [Online] Available at:

<http://www.icdf.org.tw/ct.asp?xItem=8110&CtNode=30180&mp=2> [Accessed 8 6 2014].

<sup>312</sup> ICDF, 2011. *International Cooperation and Development 2011 Annual Report*, Taipei.

<sup>313</sup> Hoadley, S., 2013. *Taiwan update: domestic reform and soft power dilomacy*. New Zealand International Review, January/February, 38(1), p.9.

<sup>314</sup> Kelly, H., 2010. *A Helping Hand in Haitii*. [Online] Available at:

<http://taiwan.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=97944&ctNode=nreview> [Accessed 7 6 2014].

<sup>315</sup> Rockower, P. S., 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach*. Issues and studies, Issue 47,p.123.



Throughout the process of deciding which elements or features of Taiwanese culture should be promoted, in order to find a proper national brand, the character of the PD has transformed, as this paper discusses later in this chapter. This section will rather focus on the present day efforts, views and recent activities of the MoFA in this field.

The Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) plays a central role in Taiwan's cultural diplomacy efforts. The Council cooperates with MoFA to promote Taiwanese cultural diplomacy abroad mainly through the sponsorship of film festivals, theatrical and musical performances, and art exhibitions.<sup>316</sup>

Concerning the most recent trends and soft power the topic of pop-culture is indispensable. “Taiwan should increase efforts to foster creativity and boost the nation’s soft power in the face of China’s rapid development in the arts sphere”, Minister of Culture Lung Ying-tai proclaimed in 2013, urging the government to recognize China’s strength in this regard as a reaction to a Chinese singing-contest TV show. “We cannot compete with China in terms of capital investment. We should think about how to maintain our competitiveness via other policies,” she added, praising the strength of Taiwanese singers in terms of performance and songwriting skills.<sup>317</sup>

As a part of Taiwanese cultural diplomacy and as proof of its evolution and flexibility, artefacts from Taiwan’s National Palace Museum will be displayed at an upcoming exhibition in Japan. The director of the National Palace Museum, Fung Ming-Chu, said she hopes upcoming historical exhibits of NPM cultural treasures in Japan will showcase Taiwan's 'soft

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<sup>316</sup> ROC Ministry of Culture, 2014. *Ministry of Culture: About Us*. [Online] Available at: <http://english.moc.gov.tw/dir/index.php?sn=85>[Accessed 3 6 2014].

<sup>317</sup> Yan-Chih, M., 2013. *Culture minister urges soft power boost*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2013/04/14/2003559577>[Accessed 6 6 2014].

power and she expressed her confidence that the exhibitions will “touch the hearts” of Japanese visitors, as Japan and Taiwan share very similar cultural roots.<sup>318</sup>

The CCA has been charged with establishing Taiwan Academies with the aim of teaching Mandarin and Taiwanese/Chinese culture. These academies will serve several functions: Help preserve traditional Chinese culture and its Taiwanese characteristics; to offer a window on Taiwanese society, and also to carry out various cultural and exchange activities.<sup>319</sup>

### 7.4.3 Exchange Diplomacy

Nancy Snow highlights the significance of the exchange diplomacy as following: “International exchange is a vital avenue of public diplomacy because it offers the ability to influence in both the short and long term. Beyond personal and academic enrichment for students, academic and cultural exchange can foster personal connections that shape long-term support for a nation and its policies.”<sup>320</sup>

The Taiwanese government launched the Taiwan Scholarships program in 2004 to attract foreign students to study in Taiwan. In the case of countries which hold official diplomatic relations with Taiwan, the scholarships are administered by MoFA while for nations without official ties, they are administered jointly by the National Science Council, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Almost four hundred scholarships for undergraduate, graduate, or doctoral degrees are granted annually, and another three hundred scholarships are presented to students participating in Chinese-language programs.<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> The China Post, 2014. *NPM hopes exhibits in Japan will highlight the nation's 'soft power'*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national-news/2014/05/28/408768/p1/NPM-hopes.htm> [Accessed 8 6 2014].

<sup>319</sup> Agence France-Presse, 2010. *Taiwan to Challenge China's 'Soft Power'*. Agence France-Presse, 17. 2.

<sup>320</sup> Snow, N., 2010. *Exchange Power*. PDiN Monitor, 1(7).

<sup>321</sup> Lee, C., 2010. *Study in Taiwan: All the Rage*. Taiwanese Panorama, 35(4), p. 70-79.

Together with the scholarships which are offered in the form of subsidies for foreign students to attend Taiwan's universities, these programs have led to an increase in the number of foreign students studying in Taiwan, with the Ministry of Education reporting a record high of over 40 843<sup>322</sup> foreign students in 2012.<sup>323</sup>

## 7.5 Institutional Design

The government of Taiwan is the main producer of the public diplomacy and in 2012 it overhauled some of the communications institutions. This process included the dissolution of the Government Information Office (GIO) into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the creation of the Public Diplomacy Coordination Council (PDCC) responsible for public diplomacy planning, press relations, speechwriting, e-diplomacy, and English and non-English translation and interpretation.<sup>324</sup>

Colin Alexander states that the role played by the key institutions in Taiwan regarding the public diplomacy activities, also include the Taiwan International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF), the Political Warfare Cadres Academy (PWCA), Taiwan's international media organizations, the Public Diplomacy Coordination Council (PDCC), and ROC Embassies and Taipei Representative Offices around the world.<sup>325</sup>

Taiwan designs its soft power strategy around public and cultural diplomacy, international broadcasting and exchange programs assuming that the island will attract attention, sympathy and support and eventually raise Taiwan's profile among the international community, states Rawnsley.<sup>326</sup> A range of governmental departments like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) (which is responsible for the creation of public diplomacy until now) together with

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<sup>322</sup> The number excludes the Overseas Chinese students. Together with the overseas Chinese students: 55 463.

<sup>323</sup> Ministry of Education of ROC., 2012. *Overseas Students in ROC: 2012 Statistics*, Taipei.

<sup>324</sup> MOFA, M. O. F. A., 2012. *Public Diplomacy Coordination Council: Structure and Functions*, Taipei.

<sup>325</sup> Alexander, C., 2012. *Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Towards its Formal Diplomatic Allies*.

<sup>326</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. *The Journal of International Communication*, 8(2), p. 127.

others institutions (which are not active nowadays) such as the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), the Mainland Affairs Commission (MAC) and even the Tourism Bureau, have been encompassed into defining Taiwan's international outreach strategy.<sup>327</sup>

One of the most important institution working on the subject, Taiwan's Government Information Office (GIO), used to be the main government agency that supervised its public diplomacy. The main mission of GIO's representative offices was the promotion of mutual understanding between different countries. This goal was achieved through various channels including, but not limited to, responding to requests for information from the media and educational institutions, writing editorial articles that clarify or explain Taiwan policy, and hosting or coordinating seminars/conferences.<sup>328</sup>

The GIO, through its 57 offices abroad, was responsible for clarifying national policy, publicizing government ordinances and administrative achievements, releasing important information abroad, actively developing overseas information and cultural projects, and strengthening cultural communication worldwide. In response to inaccurate foreign media reports about Taiwan, GIO's overseas offices use to submit explanations to the media to protect ROC's national image.<sup>329</sup>

As Professor Kwei Bo Huang portrayed the situation, in May 2012, at the beginning of President Ma Ying-Jeou's second term, remarkable changes were imposed on Taiwan's diplomatic apparatus as a merger of two major implementers of Taiwan's public diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Government Information Office was exercised.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. The Journal of International Communication, 8(2), p. 128.

<sup>328</sup> Wang, S. J., 2010. *Public Diplomacy and organizational conflict: Study of Taiwanese Government Information Offices in the United States*, La Verne: University of La Verne.

<sup>329</sup> Winter, P., 2006. *Taiwan's Public Diplomacy*. [Online] Available at: [http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Taiwan\\_\(Republic\\_of\\_China\)](http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Taiwan_(Republic_of_China))[Accessed 6 6 2014].

<sup>330</sup> Huang, K.-B., 2010. *Taiwan's Public Diplomacy at a Time of Institutional Change*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/05/10-taiwan-diplomacy-huang>[Accessed 7 6 2014].

The GIO was dissolved and its international information and communication programs moved to MoFA in September 2012. MoFA created two units, a Department of International Information Service and a Coordination Council for Public Diplomacy, to meet the demands of a well-planned public diplomacy agenda.<sup>331</sup>

In his article, *Taiwan's Public Diplomacy at a Time of Institutional Change*, Kwei-Bo Huang, former Chairman of the Research and Planning Committee at the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, indicated the emerging problems related to the merger and the scholar also pointed out the need of "Reconfiguration and re-engineering of Taiwan's public diplomacy programs which will become one of the urgent tasks for MoFA in the near future. Creating a proper institutional framework is very urgent and important. Otherwise, the integration of GIO's international information and communication programs into MoFA would not be a helpful way to improve Taiwan's public diplomacy."<sup>332</sup>

## 7.6 Evaluation of the New PD

### 7.6.1 Increasing number of international actors

Jan Melissen in his book *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* draws attention to Taiwan as a successful example of an employment of third sector bodies within the foreign policy framework. He proclaims that social actors can perform as an effective substitute for public diplomacy, as a government initiated activity. Such actors are not mere official communicators but rather independent agents like NGOs, academics, entrepreneurs and professionals that are engaged in certain form of social diplomacy.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014. *Structure and Functions*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/Organization.aspx?n=71C67D43CEB5EF3F&sms=A8F1FA2030B6089B> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

<sup>332</sup> Huang, K.-B., 2010. *Taiwan's Public Diplomacy at a Time of Institutional Change*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/05/10-taiwan-diplomacy-huang> [Accessed 7 6 2014].

<sup>333</sup> Melissen, J., 2011. *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.p.520-521.

The Taiwanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs participates in polylateral public diplomacy within global civil society. While bilateral relations consist of interaction between two states and multilateral relations involve diplomacy between three or more states at diplomatic posts or international conferences, polylateral diplomacy focuses on states working with non-state actors to deal with issues of global interest.<sup>334</sup>

According to Chen Jie, Taiwan's non-governmental organization (NGO) sector has historically been weak as a consequence of factors ranging from the extended period of martial law in Taiwan to Taiwan's complex position within the international community.<sup>335</sup>

Nonetheless, in 2000 an NGO Affairs Committee was established by MoFA in order to foster engagement by local NGOs with global civil society and to facilitate people-to-people diplomacy.<sup>336</sup> In 2009, the NGO Affairs Committee helped Taiwan's domestic NGOs attend over six hundred international conferences, and supported organizations such as the Tzu Chi Foundation, Taiwanroot Medical Peace Corps, and the Buddha's Light International Association in their international activities.<sup>337</sup>

Also, in 2003, the Chen administration launched the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (TFD) which is a nonpartisan, non-profit organization. In the global civil society terms it is considered to be a government-organized nongovernmental organization (GONGO). Its task is to work trans-nationally with other democratic institutions and networks, in both the governmental and nongovernmental sphere. The TFD's work and cooperation with civil society groups and NGOs advances a positive image of Taiwan's own transition to democracy and directly and indirectly enhances Taiwan's democratic soft power. TFD carries out projects

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<sup>334</sup> Rockower, P. S., 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach*. Issues and studies, Issue 47, p.110.

<sup>335</sup> Jie, C., 2001. *Burgeoning Transnationalism of Taiwan's Social Movement NGOs*. Journal of Contemporary China, 10(29), p. 613-44.

<sup>336</sup> Republic of China (Taiwan) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006. *Taiwan NGOS: Reaching out the World*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/webapp/publicData/732314264571.pdf> [Accessed 9 6 2014].

<sup>337</sup> Republic of China (Taiwan) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011. *Foreign Policy Report*, 7th Congress of the Legislative Yuan, 5th Session. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/webapp/ct.asp?xItem=45688&ctNode=1877&mp=6> [Accessed 9 6 2014].

in fields such as human rights and promotion of democracy, and it operates on bilateral and multilateral basis in the region,<sup>338</sup>

Gary Rawnsley adds that non-governmental organizations, especially the Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation and the Youth Ambassadors, have been more successful than government departments in projecting soft power through their personification of ideals and values, and in building relationships across the cultural differences.<sup>339</sup>

### 7.6.2 New, real-time and global technologies

As Rawnsley points out, “In the age of participatory and unmediated methods of communication – twitter, blogs, social networking sites, citizen journalism – there is no excuse for assuming that governments should speak and publics should listen.”<sup>340</sup> This is valuable for public diplomacy because audiences tend to trust each other more than governments and the element of “listening” is fundamental for effective public diplomacy.

The employment of the new technologies in Taiwanese public diplomacy can be witnessed as a crucial part of a program called “Say Taiwan!” which was designed and promoted in 2011 by the Council of Cultural Affairs. This activity invites visitors to stay on the island, to live with locals, and then narrate their impressions and experiences on social media sites. This tactic is based on the idea of trust, credibility and legitimacy as the participants in the program are not representing Taiwan’s political interests or any government department. It is also a great promotion of people-to-people contact.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> Rockower, P. S., 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach*. Issues and studies, Issue 47, p.121.

<sup>339</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. 8(2), p. 128.

<sup>340</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

<sup>341</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014]. p.130-31.

The direct engagement of the Ministry on the web-pages is not very pro-active. Even though the official web-page of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>342</sup> is well-organized, available in English together with other portals such as Portal of ROC's Diplomatic Missions<sup>343</sup> or the official ICDF<sup>344</sup> web-page, the use of social media sites is very limited. There is an official Facebook page of MoFA<sup>345</sup> with no publications or posts since its creation in 2011 and no YouTube channel which are the basic tools of various ministries in other countries in the promotion of their activities.

### 7.6.3 Blurred lines between domestic and international news

The “Sunflower Revolution” or the internal developments in Taiwan which took place in March 2014 have questioned Taiwanese soft power and its credibility as the images of the peaceful protesters have met with apparently violent response from the side of the government.

In the present day globalized world with the instantaneous communication and world-wide net of media, the news spreads literally within seconds and it is essential to pay attention to the content of the reports as it has a capacity to shape (foreign) public opinions immensely and can therefore change a country's image quite easily. In relation to this phenomenon, Chinese scholar Ming-Jiang Li says: The domestic political values, institutions, and political system are important considerations for a state's soft power because all these things demonstrate how the ruling elite in that state uses power on its own people. Such use of power in the domestic context can resonate in the international arena because people outside see and observe how foreign rulers treat their own nationals and associate that practice with their dealings in the international community.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/default.aspx>.

<sup>343</sup> <http://www.taiwanembassy.org/lp.asp?ctNode=2240&CtUnit=43&BaseDSD=7&mp=1>.

<sup>344</sup> <http://www.icdf.org.tw/mp.asp?mp=2>.

<sup>345</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs-Republic-of-China-Taiwan/212515672114028?ref=ts&fref=ts>.

<sup>346</sup> Li, M., 2009. *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics*. MD.: Lexington: Lanham.p.9.



Gary Rawnsley comments on the happenings:” In choosing to respond with violence to the peaceful protests in Taipei on 23 March, President Ma Ying-jeou’s government has risked the soft power capital it has accumulated in three decades as the first Chinese democracy. Now, however, images of police wielding batons and bloodied students are re-tweeted around the world, leading commentators to question the government’s values and principles that underpin Taiwan’s soft power capacity.”<sup>347</sup>

On the other hand, Wang and Lu suggest that Taiwanese concepts of soft power expand their loom beyond the ‘western’ focus on international outreach and understand how soft power has domestic political effects<sup>348</sup> as government agencies responsible for international communications and public diplomacy have consciously planned their strategies with one eye on the internal political setting, thus avoiding topics and issues which might have soft power echo abroad, but may also have electoral consequences at home.<sup>349</sup>

#### 7.6.4 New terminology (Branding)

Professor of Public Diplomacy, Gary Rawnsley, highlights the central questions when searching for a nation brand: ‘Do they really know us?’ which is directly related to another crucial question: ‘Do we know ourselves?’ PD must begin by comprehending who ‘we’ are before we try to understand the audience with whom we wish to communicate.<sup>350</sup>

Regarding Taiwanese brand and PD he adds that for Taiwan agreeing on who ‘we’ are is difficult, and the outline of successful public diplomacy strategies is understandably held back by reluctance at all levels of the government to confront this issue. After the end of the

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<sup>347</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2014. *Student protests and Taiwan’s soft power*. [Online] Available at: <http://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/chinapolicyinstitute/2014/03/25/student-protests-and-taiwans-soft-power/> [Accessed 8 6 2014].

<sup>348</sup> Wang, H. & Lu, Y., 2008. ‘*The conception of soft power and its policy implications: A comparative study of China and Taiwan*. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 56(17), p. 445.

<sup>349</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. *The Journal of International Communication*, 8(2), p. 122.

<sup>350</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

Cold War, democracy and human rights has played an important role in the question of international acceptance and reputation of states and state like entities which has become one of the building stones of Taiwan's soft power strategy and its brand. As deLisle states, Taiwan has heavily played the "values card." Taiwan has emphasized that, unlike the mainland, it deeply shares cosmopolitan and, especially, U.S.-supported political norms of democracy and human rights.<sup>351</sup>

A contested national identity makes the Taiwan 'brand' difficult to identify and sell. Taiwan has long been recognized as a leading economic power – part of the Taiwan 'brand', long before China began its own comprehensive process of economic reform. Yet neither Taiwan's international strength nor its image positively reflects its credentials.<sup>352</sup>

It appears that it is essential for Taiwan to decide on and establish a brand and make sure that there is a unified message that is centrally coordinated and it is part of a all-embracing diplomatic strategy that is integrated within the Taiwan's foreign policy architecture.<sup>353</sup>

### 7.6.5 People-to-people contact

MoFA has been engaging in public diplomacy actively by facilitating people-to-people diplomacy. One of the principal strategies has been the international language and cultural exchanges. These exchanges help the diffusion of Taiwanese cultural values, believes Christina Dinh from the Asia Society Policy Institute.<sup>354</sup>

A great example of a successful, credible and unstrained tactics of people-to-people contact, has been Taiwan's Youth Ambassador Program which was launched in 2009. The principal idea is a send out of teams of University students to Taiwan's diplomatic allies with

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<sup>351</sup> deLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy*. Orbis, Fall, p. 517.

<sup>352</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

<sup>353</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

<sup>354</sup> Dinh, C., 2012. *Hard Look at Soft Power: Global Public Diplomacy*. [Online] Available at: <http://publicdiplomacysummer2012au.blogspot.tw/2012/06/taiwans-public-diplomacy-challenges-and.html> [Accessed 7 6 2014].

the aim of meeting with young people of their own age. Rawnsley believes that this is a promising communications strategy as it is based on the prospect of sustainable personal relationships, which in public diplomacy terms is described as ‘the last three feet’.<sup>355</sup> The Youth Ambassadors do not see their organization in any way political, nor do they acknowledge that they are engaging in ‘public diplomacy’. The natural character of the program and its autonomy from any political attachment and agenda is one of its greatest strengths.<sup>356</sup>

As discussed previously in this chapter, Taiwan has been engaged quite actively in exchange diplomacy which is also part of the people-to-people contact. The program announced in early June 2014, called "Mosaic Taiwan" will provide an opportunity for students and young professionals from the United States to visit Taiwan to learn more about the country through engaging with their Taiwanese counterparts and meeting government officials. Apart from the first-hand experience of Taiwanese culture and tour around the island, the group is also scheduled to visit government agencies that include the Foreign Ministry and the Mainland Affairs Council, having an opportunity to discuss different issues, explains Kelly Hsieh, director-general of the ministry's Department of North American Affairs, at a regular news briefing. The program is sponsored by the MoFA and it is one of a few as the ministry already runs programs such as the annual International Youth Culture and Study Tour to promote youth exchanges with other countries and to promote Taiwan's international image.<sup>357</sup>

## 7.7 Challenges for the Taiwanese PD

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<sup>355</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. The Journal of International Communication, 8(2), p.130.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid, p.131.

<sup>357</sup> Hou, E., 2014. *Taiwan launches new youth exchange program with U.S.*. [Online] Available at: <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/asoc/201406030032.aspx>[Accessed 8 6 2014].

De Lisle asserts that soft power matters greatly for Taiwan due to its relations with its giant neighbor, China. Soft power offers Taiwan imperative substitute for hard power resources that this island is otherwise deficient in. As the author adds: “It provides an indispensable means for seeking support from the United States and others in the international community and for parrying China’s efforts to use soft power to its advantage in pursuing its Taiwan policy.”<sup>358</sup>

Soft power and public diplomacy is a valuable tool for Taiwan which searches for the means to deal with a powerful PRC that aspires, at minimum, to deter Taiwan from pursuing full-fledged or formal independence and, more ambitiously, to achieve Taiwan’s formal political integration into a larger China. As he proclaims, one of the central elements in Taiwan’s soft power resides in principles of national sovereignty and this factor has been slightly complicated and volatile, affected by political transformation, alternations of the party in power and open partisan divides which can bring challenges to Taiwan in the future.<sup>359</sup>

In recent years, Taiwan has been losing diplomatic allies which have been switching to China and keep establishing relations with this power. Chinese take up may show little more than an implicit quid pro quo for diplomatic support, modest development assistance and foreign investment.<sup>360 361</sup>

The last country to cut its official ties with Taiwan was Gambia which announced its surprising decision in November 2013. Even though it is not known whether or not The Gambia will officially establish diplomatic relations with China, and what would it mean for the “diplomatic truce” between China and Taiwan. Partnering with China could pay off to Gambia as it has to its predecessors, Malawi and Costa Rica, which have withdrawn from the

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<sup>358</sup> deLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy*. Orbis, Fall, p. 494.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid, p.495-514.

<sup>360</sup> These are not the most pure forms of soft power. In some cases and on some accounts, they do not even count as soft power. (deLisle 2010, p.520) As Huang and Ding (2006, p.24) have remarked, “A country’s economic clout reinforces its soft power if others are attracted to it for reasons beyond trade, market access or job opportunities.”

<sup>361</sup> deLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy*. Orbis, Fall, p. 520.

official diplomatic relations with Taiwan in the last years. After switching the relations from the ROC to PRC, both of the countries have enjoyed extensive financial aid and wide-ranging investments in a number of areas such as infrastructure development, agriculture and trade.<sup>362</sup>

With China's growing economic presence, focused on extractive industries, low-end service sectors and manufactured exports, threats to China's image have been arising, especially in Africa, Latin America. Complaints about the labor abuses, neocolonialism, environmental degradation and depression of labor-intensive local economic sectors have already begun to emerge<sup>363</sup> which might be a positive message for Taiwan vis-à-vis the competition for diplomatic allies.

Related to this phenomenon and one of Taiwan's biggest challenges is its lack of recognition from the international community under that shadow of China's economic and political dominance. Taiwan only has formal diplomatic relations with 22 minor powers and does not have any formal relations with any major power. Taiwan lacks the international clout demonstrated by China, but also a distinct, unified national image to promote the country with. Taiwan also lacks the hard power capabilities to that of China and any public diplomacy effort that might upset China puts Taiwan in dangerous territory.<sup>364</sup>

Dinh argues that Taiwanese identity, even in the shadow of economic interest, is however present in the domestic politics and plays a significant role in the future of Taiwan. The huge challenge in front of Taiwan, is to define the unique characteristics of the island from other

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<sup>362</sup> Tiezzi, S., 2013. *Why Taiwan's Allies are Flocking to Beijing*. [Online]

Available at: <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/why-taiwans-allies-are-flocking-to-beijing/> [Accessed 7 6 2014].

<sup>363</sup> deLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy*. Orbis, Fall, p. 520.

<sup>364</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2007. *Selling Democracy: Diplomacy, Propaganda and Democratisation in Taiwan*,. China Perspective, Volume 47.

Chinese community economies.<sup>365</sup> Therefore the confusion among Taiwanese citizens and politicians whether China is a domestic or international issue need to be resolved.<sup>366</sup>

Professor Gary Rawnsley also mentions the question of identity when talking about the very basic foundations of public diplomacy which are the values and the identity of people on which the brand of the island should be built. He suggests that this issue continue to define politics in Taiwan (Chinese, Taiwanese, new Taiwanese, indigenous) and there is a need to question who has the power to define Taiwan's culture; whose narrative dominates the story. Coming to an agreement might not be very easy. As the author explains, the DPP administration tried to privilege Taiwanese culture over Han Chinese, while the KMT have reversed this stance to emphasize the traditional Chinese culture. Therefore, a discrepancy of the legitimate representation arises as one of the challenges for a creation of a successful public diplomacy strategy for Taiwan.<sup>367</sup>

One of the other major obstacles in producing a successful PD is a lack of coordination among the Taiwanese institutions as Dr. Kwei-Bo Huang explains in his article Taiwan's Incomplete Third Line of Defense for National Security. As he further argues, there are three lines President Ma Ying-jeou announced in May 2011, through which Taiwan should pursue its policies in order to improve its international status and security. The first line of defense is the institutionalization of cross-Taiwan Strait rapprochement. The second line of defense involves public diplomacy considerably and it consists of "the utilization of Taiwan's geographic location, infrastructure, and democracy to interact with and make concrete contributions to the world, hoping for an increase in Taiwan's economic performance and humanitarian aid, the latter of which looks at international development that can establish a

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<sup>365</sup> E.g Hong Kong, Singapore and China itself.

<sup>366</sup> Dinh, C., 2013. *Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Challenges and Opportunities*. [Online] Available at: <http://publicdiplomacysummer2012au.blogspot.tw/2012/06/taiwans-public-diplomacy-challenges-and.html>[Accessed 6 6 2014].

<sup>367</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. The Journal of International Communication, 8(2), p. 130.

place for Taiwan on the moral high ground of international relations.”<sup>368</sup> Author assesses the first two lines of defense as being in good shape which is a very positive implication coming from the former Chairman of the Research and Planning Committee at the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The foremost impediment he mentions, related especially to the third line of defense which is the alignment of Taiwan’s defense with diplomacy, is the deficiency of coordination among the institutions involved in the process and he concludes by saying that “Taiwan must rethink its practices for interagency collaboration and make some tangible action plans”.<sup>369</sup>

## 7.8 Conclusion

Gary Rawnsley believes that: “Occupying such a precarious position in the international community, Taiwan has found it necessary to innovate in both its formal and public diplomacy. Taipei has proved adept at conducting non-official diplomacy that mirrors diplomacy through official channels. Meanwhile, deprived of access to conventional diplomatic channels, links, and procedures, it has used alternative channels to express its opinion and convey information to global audiences.”<sup>370</sup>

Yet neither Taiwan’s international economic strength nor its democratic credentials reflect its status within the global political system. As Gerald Chan has noted, Taiwan is ‘financially rich, but diplomatically poor’.<sup>371</sup>

DeLisle’s conclusions are not very optimistic as he proclaims that no matter what the Taiwan’s soft power resources and the efficacy of Taiwan’s attempts to deploy them will be, their restricted and defensive nature and cross-Strait focus are obvious. According to this

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<sup>368</sup> Huang K.B, 2013, *Taiwan’s Incomplete Third Line of Defense for National Security*, [Online] <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2013/02/12-taiwan-security-huang> [Accessed 24 7 2014].

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

<sup>370</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2000. *Selling Taiwan: Diplomacy and Propaganda. Issues & Studies*, 36(3), p. 2.

<sup>371</sup> Chan, G., 1997. *Taiwan as an emerging foreign aid donor: developments, problems, and prospects*. *Pacific Affairs*, 1(70), p. 37.

author, Taiwan's soft power and its use are not aimed at, or able to make, Taiwan an object of widespread imitation or a society to which the others will bend with no coercion or bribes. They are, rather, means for mainly pressing back against the soft and hard power efforts of the PRC to reject Taiwan state-like stature or to marginalize Taiwan in the international order. As deLisle finalizes: "They serve as second-best substitutes in pursuing the security that Taiwan cannot achieve with its overmatched hard power resources."<sup>372</sup>

Gary Rawnsley further states that there is a paradox in this topic as Taiwan should be more successful at soft power since it is the epitome of political values which should make it attractive to the liberal-democratic world. In contrast, the People's Republic of China, despite being an authoritarian regime, is attracting far more attention and gives the impression of possessing and exercising far more soft power capital than Taiwan.<sup>373</sup>

The advice of this expert on the topic with a special focus on Taiwan and PRC is to follow the words of President Ma, in which he defined the 'most important asset' of Taiwan's foreign policy to be "Taiwan's democracy, Taiwanese way of life, the island's willingness to maintain cross-Strait stability, and the determination to fulfill its obligations to the international community."<sup>374</sup>

Rawnsley also believes that if Taiwan was able to achieve these soft power ambitions, it would have a good chance of compensating for the shortcomings in the hard power domain of traditional diplomacy. Taiwan has many opportunities to improve its soft power competence and there is a lot of space to convince the world that Taiwan is a modern, democratic society.

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<sup>372</sup> deLisle, J., 2010. *Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy*. Orbis, Fall, p.494 .

<sup>373</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. The Journal of International Communication, 8(2), p. 121.

<sup>374</sup> Yu, S., 2008. *President Ma explains his new diplomatic approach*. [Online] <http://www.taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=44877&CtNode=427> [Accessed 9 6 2014].



According to Yun Han Chu, without soft power, Taiwan would become increasingly vulnerable, irrelevant and marginalized in international society.<sup>375</sup>

As a result of the recent history and its rich culture, there is a great amount of soft power potential in the case of this Asian “tiger”. As mentioned previously, Rawnsley suggests to acknowledge the limitations of Taiwanese cultural approach to soft power and rather focus on a more holistic approach, which might involve telling a political and social, as much as a cultural, story.<sup>376</sup>

The particular political and strategic environments that Taiwan operates in, limits the discussion about the identity. It is extremely challenging for Taiwan to promote an image of itself until Taiwan knows what Taiwan is. Until this can be answered internally it is difficult to picture how Taiwan’s public diplomacy and soft power can progress.<sup>377</sup>

Overall, The Republic of China has been adapting to the challenges of the new environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century quite flexibly and has been responding to the changes in international relations. The new public diplomacy pursued by Taiwan can be also considered as acquiescent and even though there are still many tasks to be done and quite a few obstructions in the way, Taiwan has been employing several very promising strategies such as the exchange diplomacy at a nonpareil level considering its position of being a smaller power.

Taiwan’s diplomatic challenges will most probably not be resolved through public diplomacy, however, this island nation can use the tools of soft power and public diplomacy to improve its international visibility and counterweigh its diplomatic disadvantages. Public diplomacy strategies can help Taiwan to adjust its international image and help to protect and preserve its national interests.<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Melissen, J., 2011. *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*. Ney York: Palgrave Macmillan.p.520.

<sup>376</sup> Rawnsley, G., 2012. *Approaches to soft power and public diplomacy in China and Taiwan*. The Journal of International Communication, 8(2), p. 131.

<sup>377</sup> Rawnsley, G. D., 2011. *Comparing the Soft Power and Public Diplomacy of China and Taiwan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.pdic.blogspot.tw/2011/03/taiwans-soft-power-and-public-diplomacy.html> [Accessed 5 6 2014].

<sup>378</sup> Rockower, 2011. *Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach*. *Issues and studies*, Issue 47.p.144.

### **What can be learnt?**

If the cases of Norway and Slovakia were previously described as specific, the Taiwanese story can be denoted as very peculiar taking into consideration its international position and situation vis-à-vis China. Therefore, the lessons to be learnt might be helpful especially for countries or territories searching for a broader official international recognition and other non UN members. Nevertheless, some of the exceptional PD approaches can serve as an example for any country looking for an inspiration.

The essential part to be learnt from Taiwan is the ability to pursue diplomacy via non-official diplomatic channels. Even without the possibility to engage in most of the multilateral international organizations, especially those related to the UN, Taiwan is capable of interacting with other countries through other means.

Taiwan has decided to build its brand on soft power; namely its economic performance, democratic regime and traditional Chinese culture. Since several years ago, the element of soft power has been incorporated into more influentially into the central defense strategy which is vital for Taiwan. This occurrence indicates the augmenting tendency in the prioritization of soft power and PD. Higher ranking of soft power within the foreign policy planning can certainly be evaluated as a positive development worth following.

The most extensive and probably also the most remarkable endeavors in Taiwanese public diplomacy are the foreign aid and exchange diplomacy.

Taiwanese foreign aid employed responding to tragic occasions such as the 2010 Haiti earthquake or the 2011 tsunami in Japan, is a great example of how to promote your country while helping others in the international community. Even though not all the help comes directly from the government but rather from the non-profit organizations, the rapidness and efficiency of the assistance during the crises is something Taiwan is outstanding in. Not only Taiwan might focus more on the presentation of its efforts during the times of crises but the other countries can get an insight from this experience in order to provide aid to those in need and also improve its international image.

On the other hand, foreign aid granted to Taiwan's allies might be blunder for Taiwanese reputation. In order to secure the alliance, the funding goes to Taiwanese allies not depending on the character of the regime. It is important to realize the negative image this behavior reflects and avoid such a steps if not necessary.

To conclude, the foremost inspiration to learn from Taiwan is the wide-ranging exchange diplomacy. Even though this is a long-term investment with no granted results Taiwan decided to invest in this technique. Whether or not will it be effective is an intricate question. More importantly, the determination to pursue this form of public diplomacy and the range of its practice is admirable. Abundant opportunities of scholarships, academic exchanges, short term exchange programs, student organizations support etc. are a useful strategy of public diplomacy. Taiwan and its exchange diplomacy policies which are enhanced by the cooperation with the third sector are undeniably a lesson to be learnt from this island.

## 8. Conclusions

With the aim of assessing the Norwegian, Slovak and Taiwanese public diplomacy, their soft power projection and character in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, a deeper evaluation of their public diplomacy strategies and tactics, including diplomatic institutions, tools, and the instruments employed to implement public diplomacy outreach, were conducted.

Results of the individual assessments are be summed up and concluded as a final outcome of this study in the following last chapter.

Public diplomacy stems from international relations and goes beyond traditional diplomacy in many respects. The most important attributes of PD are people, power, attracting, convincing, credibility, partnerships, networks and facilitating. Public diplomacy stands in contrast to traditional diplomacy which is characterized by state power, coercion, imposition, secrecy, self-serving and directing as highlighted by Oľga Algayerová<sup>379</sup>. This trend has been evaluated and observed in each of the studied cases.

Mallicková further asserts that public diplomacy cannot be precisely defined, where it begins and where it ends and its limits might be blurred. In everyday life, public diplomats are actually all citizens, the representatives of the governments, NGOs, academics, students, artist or athletes. We all share a part in the creation of the impression of our countries abroad. Each of us has the opportunity to contribute to the stereotypes on which the perceptions about our countries are built.<sup>380</sup> Nevertheless, it is almost always the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and related departments who should stipulate the basic concept of nation brand and participate further on its promotion home and abroad.

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<sup>379</sup> Algayerová, O., 2010. *Establishment of Public Diplomacy in Slovakia: An Effective New Approach*, Valletta: University of Malta. p. 49.

<sup>380</sup> Mallicková, E., 2010. *Public Diplomacy as a Priority of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Bratislava, Ústav európskych štúdií a medzinárodných vzťahov, FSEV UK. p.10.

Concerning the public diplomacy as a force multiplier, Jozef Bátora argues that "for small and medium-sized states, public diplomacy represents an opportunity to gain in influence and shape international agenda in ways that go beyond their limited hard power resources."<sup>381</sup> Østerud adds that via effective niche diplomacy, a smaller country may occasionally succeed in acting as a middle power in world affairs.<sup>382</sup>

While we can notice that this opportunity has been enjoyed by Norway, which is a successful model and a leader in "niche diplomacy" and that Taiwan apparently understands the advantages and possible beneficial features of this strategic tool as well, Slovakia doesn't implement much of PD and stagnates in the stage of discussion and effort revolving around creating a national brand.

Kurucz points out that diplomacy, like any other human activity, develops and changes. Many areas cease to be the exclusive domain of professional diplomats. The continuously increasing entry of the non-state actors in international relations is also significant. On the other hand, we can see sectorial expansion of diplomacy. Over the last hundred years, the work of diplomats expanded to such areas as economy, ecology, culture and many others. The emergence of public diplomacy is largely due to the recent changes in diplomacy and in international relations. Especially in the second half of the 20th century, the need to turn to the public is increasingly obvious.<sup>383</sup>

The central questions of this work were whether or not have the changes of the external environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century impacted the conduct of the diplomatic practice of smaller states? What have been the features and character of this impact, if any? Has the impact been positive or negative and the relation of the new public diplomacy to this impact?

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<sup>381</sup> Bátora, J., 2006. *Public Diplomacy between Home and Abroad: Norway and Canada*, Hague Journal of Diplomacy, p. 55.

<sup>382</sup> Østerud, Ø., 1997. *Between Realism and "Crusader Diplomacy": The Norwegian Channel to Jericho*. In: A. F. Cooper, ed. *Niche Diplomacy*. London: Macmillan Press LTD, p. 98.

<sup>383</sup> Kurucz, M., 2007. *Cultural Dimensions of Diplomacy*. Bratislava, University of Economics, p. 61-67.

The impact on the particular case studies subjects show us mostly different and unique observations in each case.

For smaller countries it is essential, as they intend to manage and promote their image, to concentrate their resources on few selected objectives. The experience and example of Norway and its focused diplomatic practice, allowing it to present the desired image involving the peace and development efforts and presenting itself as a modern and democratic nation, clearly shows us a successful example of an effective and efficient public diplomacy pursued by a smaller state. Norway has thus achieved world-wide recognition via dedication and emphasizing its long-term priorities. The closer evaluation of its practices and policies demonstrate a well-framed national brand which has become very strong and persistent.

Norwegians have become the pioneers of accomplished public diplomacy tactics which combine carrying out their national interests with an active involvement in the improvement of global peace and development efforts. When analyzing the features, the institutions and the employment of the Norwegian PD, we witness very flexible and advanced adaptation to the new changes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and how Norway is using these alterations of the international environment in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for its own advantage. The incorporation of the new technologies, progressive networking, extensive collaboration with the non-governmental sector and strong brand are proving that Norway is rightfully enjoying its international status of “global peacemaker” as a result of its devoted commitment to pursue its foreign policy goals, engaging PD as its principal tool. Though, it is important to stress the extraordinary economic status of this Nordic country which is also one of the determinants of the range of its possibilities and strategies.

Options and opportunities of public diplomacy for different states are influenced by their cultural, economic and communication potential. Differences between large and small states are rather evident in this area. For smaller states it is therefore particularly important to

be able to fully benefit from their realities, and concentrate their efforts on relatively small number of long-term objectives linked to the objectives of their foreign policy.<sup>384</sup>

Throughout the course of the evaluation of the Slovak public diplomacy, we can notice that this strategic means of diplomacy is significantly underdeveloped. Slovakia doesn't fully use the potential it possesses or its natural and cultural beauty. Even though there have been several efforts to create and pursue PD, apparently there has always been something more urgent or important to focus on, from the foreign policy point of view. The Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic has organized various conferences, seminars and talks, involving the prominent academics and professionals from the non-governmental sphere related to this topic, but the search for Slovak identity and thus an appealing country brand, is still in progress. The working group focused on the creation of Slovak brand and several reports on the subject reflect an increasing efforts in the field of public diplomacy.

One of the obstacles in achieving an effective public diplomacy strategy, is the constant transformation of the governmental agencies and structural changes within the ministry which has had a great effect on the coordination and evolution of the Slovak PD. Even though there are various efforts attempting to catch up with the transformation of the international environment, it is still insufficient and closely related to the undersized and weak Slovak public diplomacy.

Slovakia has a great potential to build on but there is still a long way to go in order to get even a little bit closer in gaining more visibility on the European and world stage. Despite this fact, it is vital for the Slovak foreign policy makers, to bear in mind the possible outcomes and benefits public diplomacy promises to countries like Slovakia. Active engagement in this way of country's promotion abroad and the dedication to follow its foreign policy goals, can

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<sup>384</sup> Kurucz, M., 2007. *Cultural Dimensions of Diplomacy*. Bratislava, University of Economics.p.70.

bring unprecedented results in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and help smaller country to make a statement, attract investment and tourism and gain more power on the regional, continental or even world scene.

The very specific case of Taiwan showcases the potential and capacity of public diplomacy and soft power. The unique position of Taiwan in international relations is portraying an even more compelling example from which many other countries can learn. As public diplomacy is one of the only tools parallel to the traditional diplomacy, it offers an exceptional opportunity for Taiwan and other smaller powers. This fact is reinforced by the increasing importance of the soft power in the international relations which gives public diplomacy even more power and prospects. What Taiwan is really distinctive in, is its dedication to exchange diplomacy and foreign aid which are both long-term strategies and hard to evaluate. As stated above, public diplomacy will probably not be able to resolve the issues and challenges Taiwan is facing, but it is certainly a good way to go and promises significant achievements for Taiwan. The island's growing capability to adapt to the 21<sup>st</sup> century can be observed in its engagement in the polyilateral diplomacy which is a crucial part of global networking. From the three studied cases, we can say that ROC comes in the middle and follows the trends of the current new public diplomacy practices.

In order to respond the three central research question more profoundly, it is adequate to assess the three studied cases in a more comparative way.

Norway, Taiwan and Slovakia share certain characteristics but they are also distinct in many areas. Norway is a naturally and economically rich Scandinavian country with the longest democratic tradition from the three studied cases. Slovakia is a new democracy located in Central European region, member of the EU fighting with low awareness and poor image abroad. Taiwan or the Republic of China is an Asian-Pacific island, in a rather unique



situation opposing the Peoples Republic of China in its strive for an official international recognition. Each of the countries examined has different priorities, strategies and motivations in their search for effective public diplomacy.

Norwegian tradition of public diplomacy has the longest history of practice and therefore more experience gained through the years. In the case of Taiwan, the path of the evolution of PD has been reflecting the political developments of the island. The roots of the public diplomacy practice in Slovakia don't go very far and hence the state of the current PD is rather constrained.

It is also crucial to look at the strategic prioritization of PD within the ministries of each country. While Norway set public diplomacy, image building and peacebuilding as one of their flagship strategies, and Taiwanese government has understood the vital importance for its causes and works on their further advancement, Slovakia has recently started to push the project of nation branding quite resiliently. Also, the financial and budgetary questions are of essential weight as each country has different possibilities and limitations in this regard. Norway as a rich country can afford to spend considerably higher amounts on development aid, resolution of global problems and peacebuilding. In the case of Taiwan public diplomacy forms an essential part of diplomatic practice and so it is expected to have a rather sufficient size but no exact figures are available for an additional evaluation. For Slovakia, PD has not formed a strategic part of its foreign policy strategies (except from the phases before crucial periods such as 2004 EU accession) and the budget varies according to the economic situation of the country. Apparently, as PD is gaining more attention, the funding augments together with its prominence.

Related to this phenomenon is also the topic of “niches” in public diplomacy. If the country is wealthy, as in the case of Norway, there are more options to consider. Norway created its brand mostly around the peacebuilding and development aid. Taiwan uses the tool

of foreign aid, mostly in order to maintain its diplomatic relation but also as mentioned above as a part of crises management when needed. Slovakia is noticeably behind and even though there is a development aid provided, mostly for Africa, it is not a focal section of the Slovak PD.

Cultural diplomacy is a field of the PD which is somehow naturally encompassed in the traditional diplomatic practice. Even though, it is not the strongest tool of the Norwegian nor Taiwanese PD. In the case of Slovakia cultural diplomacy plays an essential role.

Broadcasting is not fundamental neither very important in any of the cases. There are certain efforts developed by Taiwan through the Radio International Taiwan but In the case of Norway or Slovakia, there are no significant projects.

Exchange diplomacy is most typical for Taiwan and it is one of its pivotal PD strategies. Norway and Slovakia do not use this tool in any broader extent.

Foreign aid, international broadcasting, cultural and exchange diplomacy are all part of the “traditional” public diplomacy. One of the central research questions consists in the evaluation of the new public diplomacy. What did the studied cases tell us about the evolution in this area of diplomacy?

After an assessment of the five main characteristics of the new PD individually in each of the cases, it is apparent that Norway has been engaged in the new public diplomacy praxis most successfully and also most deeply.

Norway is a country which leads as an example, not only in the PD arena, but considering the cooperation with the third sector, NGOs, firms and other international actors, also in general. The government has an exceptional approach towards the society and public opinion. Taiwan and Slovakia are on their way and the efforts are recognizable and advancing.

As in the other subfields of the new PD, the interaction and use of modern technology and real-time media is developed on the highest level in the case of Norway. Slovakia makes

a noteworthy effort in the two-way communication strategy and also considering the engagement with social media. Taiwan is the weakest candidate in this field, not conducting almost any programs targeted at this currently very important subject.

Branding as one of the most powerful means and indispensable pieces of (new) public diplomacy is strong and deeply rooted in the Norwegian study. A consistent evolution of the PD practice, niche building and focused strategies brought about a brand which is clear, credible, attractive and potent. While Norway created a persuasive brand throughout the years, Taiwan and Slovakia have been searching for their own. As discussed in more detail previously in this paper, both of these countries still haven't found the right brand for their presentation. In the case of Taiwan it might be caused by a still present search of an agreement about the identity of its nation. In Slovakia the process of the creation has been started several years ago and even though the focus has been intensified in the recent period, a strong and effective brand is still to be found.

As demonstrated above, each of the cases have selected a different manner to achieve its PD goals and every country is successful in distinctive field according to its character and own choice.

As Mallicková states, "there is no one universal model, which could be applied across the world with the same success. Each country is specific and so is a form in which it should be presented. Current practice and results of developed countries, however, suggest that investment and increased attention paid to public diplomacy, promise great results and benefits show up in the long run."<sup>385</sup>

The hypothesis stating that "*the new external environment has produced an impact on the (public) diplomacy strategies of smaller states which resulted in evolution of the*

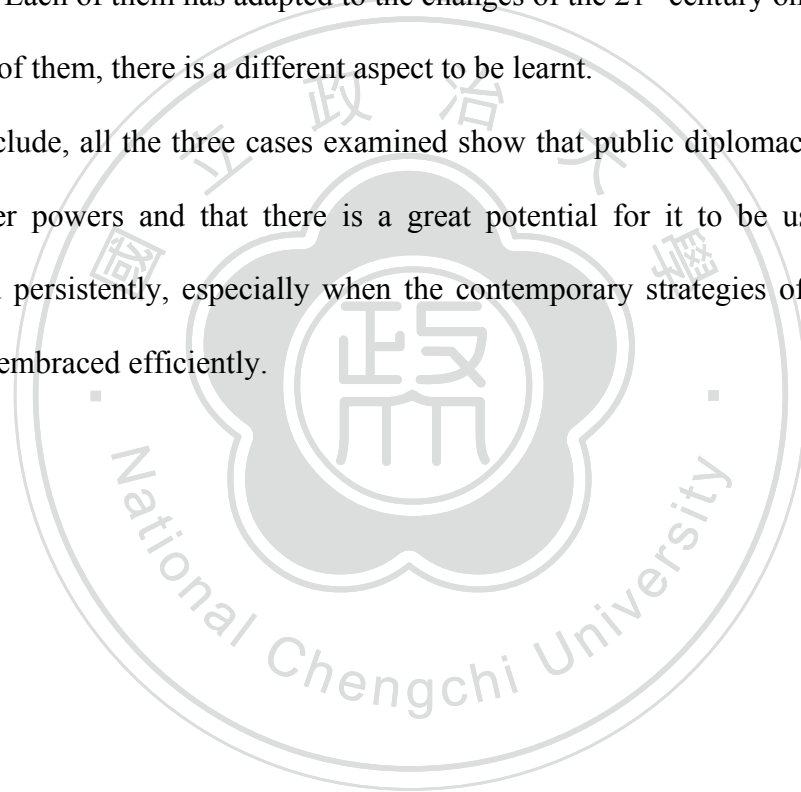
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<sup>385</sup> Mallicková, E., 2010. *Public Diplomacy as a Priority of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Bratislava, Ústav európskych štúdií a medzinárodných vzťahov, FSEV UK, p.13.

*additional practices to public diplomacy, especially in the rise of the new public diplomacy*”, can be considered as demonstrated. Taking into consideration the evaluation of each of the case studies, we can observe an engagement in the (new) public diplomacy in each case to a different extent. Nevertheless, in the diplomatic practice of each of the examples, the changes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and its impact on the international environment have been reflected in the strategies, tactics and work of Norway, Taiwan and Slovakia.

Each country studied in this thesis possesses different attributes and portrays a different story. Each of them has adapted to the changes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century on a different level and from each of them, there is a different aspect to be learnt.

To conclude, all the three cases examined show that public diplomacy is a promising tool for smaller powers and that there is a great potential for it to be used, if practiced effectively and persistently, especially when the contemporary strategies of the new public diplomacy are embraced efficiently.



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