



ACADEMY FOR CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

CENTER FOR CULTURAL DIPLOMACY STUDIES

Berlin, Summer Semester 2022

Seminar

**Future Trends of Cultural Diplomacy
and International Relations**

**Topics 1-6:
Professor Hans Köchler**

SYLLABUS

The Center for Cultural Diplomacy Studies (CCDS)

Future Trends in Cultural Diplomacy & International Relations

I. Academic Year 2021/2022, Summer Semester 2022

Discipline: Future Trends in Cultural Diplomacy & International Relations

Venue: CCDS Berlin

II. Information concerning the Seminar

Main instructors:

Professor Dr. Hans Köchler

Ambassador Karl-Erik Norrman

III. Description of the Discipline

This course will analyze the extent to which the process of globalization will influence the future conduct of cultural diplomacy & International Relations, and will explore what role cultural diplomacy can play in a dramatically changing world, taking into account e.g., globalization, geopolitical changes, climate change, world population growth, increasing inequalities between rich and poor, and global efforts to achieve a sustainable development. The role of the digital and social media will also be analyzed as well as the increasing role of sports, pop culture, mega events and other new trends.

In addition, the students will reflect and analyze on how the future trends in cultural diplomacy are linked to issues such as multiculturalism, human rights, international terrorism and freedom of expression. Course seminars will require students to develop and critically assess new forms of public sector, private sector and civil society-based cultural diplomacy initiatives.

A historical overview will be provided to create the context for the future. Course seminars will include the opportunity for students to present and discuss the required readings. The readings will help students to prepare for each course; however, the real analytical work will come in the class discussions and the writing of the final papers.

Students of this course will be able to understand the future prospects for cultural diplomacy as a specialized field as well as to analyze a variety of specific examples of successes and failures in cultural diplomacy from the contemporary period. They will also learn about the challenges that await cultural diplomacy of the future such as the lack of inter-religious dialogue or the large distance and absence of dialogue that exists between certain cultures and societies of the world.

Competences:

The course helps students to develop a broad approach for understanding the main currents in cultural diplomacy & international relations in the context of future developments. This discipline will contribute to fostering the students' capacity of analyzing the mechanisms, performances and inevitable drawbacks of such an approach. The aim of this course is to provide students with a clear overview of the different "vehicles" of cultural diplomacy that are being applied in the contemporary interdependent world, and to enable students to extrapolate them into the future in the context of new trends. By the end of the course, students will have obtained a broad knowledge of the many interdisciplinary vehicles of cultural diplomacy, new trends and their attendant technologies. Students will have the chance to analyze one of these trends in depth in the context of the final paper. Course seminars will complement analytical lectures by providing a platform for prescriptive presentations: Students will select a theme, concerning technological, political or socio-economic development, country or region, and will be required to suggest appropriate cultural diplomacy initiatives according to the situation, and do some scenario analysis.

Students will be able to draw links between a nation's geographic location, history, contemporary foreign policy goals and its approach to

cultural diplomacy, and to associate different types of initiatives with specific contexts as they look to the future.

As a good deal of class activity is dedicated to the analysis of cases relevant to cultural diplomacy, the students will also be able to work with source material related to such cases.

IV. General Readings:

Köchler, Hans. Online resources related to the role of culture in international relations:

<http://hanskoechler.com/roster.htm>

http://hanskoechler.com/dialogue_civilizations.htm

Köchler, Hans. Ed. *Cultural Self-comprehension of Nations*. Studies in International [Cultural] Relations. Vol. I. Tübingen/Basel: Erdmann, 1978.

Köchler, Hans. *Civilization and World Order*. In: *World Order: Vision and Reality*. Ed. David Armstrong. New Delhi: Manak, 2009. Part II: 365-510.

Köchler, Hans. *Culture and Identity*. In: *Force or Dialogue: Conflicting Paradigms of World Order*. Ed. David Armstrong. New Delhi: Manak, 2015. Part II: 217-298.

Köchler, Hans. Ed. *The New International Information and Communication Order: Basis for Cultural Dialogue and Peaceful Coexistence among Nations*. Vienna: Braumüller, 1985.

Köchler, Hans. *The Saint Petersburg Lectures: Civilization and World Order*. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2019.

Köchler, Hans. *The Swiss Lectures: World Order and the Rule of Law*. Zurich: Verlag Zeit-Fragen, 2021.

Köchler, Hans. Geopolitics and the law of unintended consequences: The Risks of Unilateralism in the Emerging Multipolar Order. Reports of the 19th International Likhachev Scientific Conference. Ed. A. S. Zapesotsky. St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, 2019.
https://www.lihachev.ru/pic/site/files/lihcht/2019/dokladi/Koehler_H_plen_eng_120319.pdf

Köchler, Hans. *The End of the Liberal World?* Op-ed article. The New Turkey. Istanbul: SETA Insight, 2019.

<https://thenewturkey.org/the-end-of-the-liberal-world>

Köchler, Hans. *Nation and Civilization in the Global Age*. Glocalism: Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation, Issue 2020, No. 2.

http://hanskoechler.com/Koehler_gjcp_i_2020_2-1.pdf

<https://glocalismjournal.org/nation-and-civilization-in-the-global-age/>

Nye, Joseph. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/joe_nye_wielding_soft_power.pdf

Nicolson, Harold. *Diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Berridge, G.R. *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

<http://drmarcjeanbernard.weebly.com/uploads/3/7/5/0/37501827/studies-in-diplomacy-geoff-berridge-h-m-a-keens-soper-thomas-g-otte-palgrave-connect-online-service-diplomatic-theory.pdf>

Kissinger, Henry. *World Order*, Penguin Random (2014)

https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/podzim2017/MVZ253/um/H_Kissinger_-_World_Order.pdf

Attali, Jacques. *A Brief History of the Future*, Arcade (2006)

Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*, Free Press (1992)

<https://www.democraziapura.altervista.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/1992-Fukuyama.pdf>

Schafer, D. Paul. *The Age of Culture*, Rock's Mills Press (2014)

Schafer, D. Paul. *The World as Culture*, Rock's Mills Press (2022)

Gienow-Hecht, Jessica; Donfried, Mark. *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, Berghahn (2012)

Brundtland, Gro Harlem. *Our Common Future*, The World Commission on Environment and Development, Oxford (1989)

<http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf>

Carlsson, Ingvar; Ramphal, Shridath. *Our Global Neighborhood*, Oxford (1995)

(available at Humboldt- University Library)

www.un.org The website of the United Nations

Randall, A.J. Ed. (2005). *Music, Power and Politics*. Routledge: Abingdon.

Piketty, Thomas. *Capital in the 21st Century*, Harvard University Press

<https://dowbor.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/14Thomas-Piketty.pdf>

* Specific compulsory readings are assigned throughout the course, as also outlined in each session. *

V. Teaching Materials:

In addition to the assigned readings and texts, students will be provided with a selection of supplemental educational material such as other readings and video lectures designed to enhance and deepen the students' knowledge of the course topics.

VI. Course/Seminar Structure:

Please note that the course structure, content and readings are subject to change based on current events and newly published research and publications. Please remain in close contact with the Professor to be aware of all updates or changes.

Topics 1- 6:
Prof. Dr. Hans Köchler

- (1) International Relations in the Age of Globalization
- (2) Geopolitical Changes: Implications for Cultural Identity and Intercultural Relations
- (3) Challenges of Cultural Diplomacy in the New Geopolitical Environment
- (4) Cultural Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Tool of Soft Power or Vehicle for Global Dialogue? – The Question of the Paradigm
- (5) Cultural Diplomacy in the Internet Age: The Role of the “New Social Media”
- (6) Dilemmata of Cultural Diplomacy and Guidelines for Future Best Practices

1. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

With the rapid progress of technology, in particular, in the fields of transportation and communication, states have become more and more interconnected, and their economies are increasingly interdependent. This process, commonly described as “globalization,” appears to be irreversible (at least as long as the free trade régime of the WTO is upheld). It has meant an erosion of the traditional nation-state and – not least due to labor migration – resulted in the emergence of multicultural societies on all continents, in particular also in some of the major industrial states. Parallel to the process of globalization – after the end of the Cold War – is the development from a *unipolar* to a *multipolar* order – not only at the political, but also at the socio-cultural level. This makes a reassessment of traditional notions of “sovereignty,” “national interest,” but also “cultural identity” unavoidable. The goals and methods of diplomacy must be adapted to the changing realities.

However, this development towards ever-closer global interconnectedness depends on all states acting responsibly vis-à-vis each other. This requirement has become particularly evident in the course of the coronavirus pandemic that began in 2020. The principles of national sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs will have to be rethought as regards the possible impact of states' health policies on the situation in other countries. With sovereignty comes responsibility - not only for the protection of a country's population, but also for avoiding causing harm to other countries. If responsibility - and accountability - of states are ignored, globalization as such will be at stake. Multilateralism, as advocated by today's global establishment, only makes sense if all actors play by the rules. Subsequently, the role of international organizations (such as the United Nations or the European Union) will also have to be re-evaluated in terms of their to ability to act in times of global crisis.

Questions and issues:

- Is "globalization" a sustainable model of international relations?
- What are the implications for national sovereignty?
- Globalization and multipolar balance of power
- Is there a relationship between multiculturalism and globalization?
- State responsibility and accountability at global level

Readings:

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Toward a Global Realignment*. The American Interest, Vol. 11, No. 6 (July/August 2016). 1-3.

<https://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/04/17/toward-a-global-realignment>

Buranyi, Stephen. *The WHO v coronavirus: why it can't handle the pandemic*. The Guardian, UK, April 10, 2020.

<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/apr/10/world-health-organization-who-v-coronavirus-why-it-cant-handle-pandemic>

[Chatham House] *Globalization and World Order*. London Conference on Globalization and World Order. Conference Papers. May 2014.

https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/field/field_document/20140521LondonConference1.pdf

Mark C. Donfried, *Midlife crisis in global relations exposed by COVID-19*. Arab News, Jeddah, July 28, 2021

<https://www.arabnews.com/node/1899166>

[Foreign Policy] *How the World Will Look After the Coronavirus Pandemic*. Foreign Policy, Washington DC, March 20, 2020.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/20/world-order-after-coronavirus-pandemic/>

Kissinger, Henry. *The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order*. Wall Street Journal, April 3, 2020.

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coronavirus-pandemic-will-forever-alter-the-world-order-11585953005>

Köchler, Hans. *World Order: Vision and Reality*. New Delhi: Manak, 2009.

http://i-p-o.org/koechler-World_Order-Manak-2009.htm

Read: Part I, Chapter A: International Relations in the Era of Globality, Articles No. 1+2.

*The full book is found under the section books in the online platform

Köchler, Hans. *Philosophical Aspects of Globalization: Basic Theses on the Interrelation of Economics, Politics, Morals and Metaphysics in a Globalized World*. Globality versus Democracy? Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2000. 3-18.

<http://hanskoechler.com/rtg-hk.htm>

Köchler, Hans. *Questioning Globality: Ethically Responsible Alternatives to the Global Economic and Financial System*. Current Concerns, Zurich, No. 4, 2 March 2020, 1-4.

<https://www.zeit-fragen.ch/en/archives/2019/no-29-9-january-2020/questioning-globality-ethically-responsible-alternatives-to-the-global-economic-and-financial-system.html>

McLuhan, Marshal. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* [1964]. London/New York: Routledge Classics, 2001, reprint 2010.

[National Review] The Editors. *WHO Failed*. National Review. April 7, 2020. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2020/04/coronavirus-pandemic-world-health-organization-failed/>

2. GEOPOLITICAL CHANGES: IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL IDENTITY AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

The role of cultural diplomacy will profoundly change under the conditions of (a) the multicultural realities at the international, regional and domestic levels and (b) the gradual emergence of a new multipolar power balance between the global regions. In an ever more complex parallelogram of power relations, including political, economic, social and cultural factors, and in view of global threats to health and environment, cultural diplomacy must be more than “propaganda” (meaning the propagation of a country’s cultural traditions and system of values). It should not be instrumentalized by global actors simply as a tool of “soft power,” but ideally should become part of a global dialogue of cultures. The policy of peaceful co-existence among nations (states), the very rationale of the United Nations Organization, ought to be complemented by a policy of co-existence among cultures and civilizations – as originally envisaged by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Cultural diplomacy should ideally be conducted in an atmosphere of confidence and mutual trust. This applies to all aspects of international relations, including environment and health policies, and not only to culture in a narrow, conventional sense. The coronavirus pandemic has made this more than obvious.

Questions and issues:

- The notion of "cultural diplomacy": the problem of definition
- Redefining international co-existence on the basis of civilizational/cultural diversity
- The role of specialized agencies of the United Nations (e.g., UNESCO)
- Preconditions of a credible cultural diplomacy
- Comprehensive/integrative notion of cultural diplomacy

Readings:

Ahmad, Junaid S. *America’s humiliation in Afghanistan reveals a terminal crisis of empire*. Middle East Eye, 23 August 2021.

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/us-afghanistan-humiliation-empire-terminal-crisis>

Bissio, Beatriz. *Quarantine Reflections – For a New Humanity*.

Department of Political Science, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro

(UFRJ), 2020. http://i-p-o.org/Bissio-Quarantine_Reflections-UFRJ-2020.pdf

Cadeddu, Davide. Ed. *Italics as a Global Commonwealth*. Torino: G. Giappichelli Editore, 2018.

Dallmayr, F; Kayapınar, M. Akif; Yaylacı, İsmail (eds.). *Civilizations and World Order: Geopolitics and Cultural Difference*. Series "Global Encounters: Studies in Comparative Political Theory." Lanham/ Boulder/New York/Toronto/Plymouth (UK): Lexington Books, 2014. https://books.google.at/books?id=5QeqBAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbg_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Read: Chapter 4: Chris Brown, "International Society, Cultural Diversity, and the Clash (or Dialogue) of Civilizations" (pp. 51-71)

Hearst, David. *Will Taliban victory mark the beginning of the end of the western empire?* Middle East Eye, 17 August 2021. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/afghanistan-us-taliban-victory-end-western-empire>

Jora, Lucian. *New Practices and Trends in Cultural Diplomacy*. Pol. Sc. Int. Rel., Vol. X, No.1, 43–52, Bucharest, 2013. [.http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/pdf/research/articles/cultural_diplomacy/New_Practices_And_Trends_In_Cultural_Diplomacy_-_Lucian_Jora.pdf](http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/pdf/research/articles/cultural_diplomacy/New_Practices_And_Trends_In_Cultural_Diplomacy_-_Lucian_Jora.pdf)

Kim, Hwajun. *Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy*. The Korean Journal of International Studies, Vol.15, No. 2 (August 2017), 293-326. <https://doi.org/10.14731/kjis.2017.08.15.2.293>

Köchler, Hans. (Ed.) *Cultural Self-comprehension of Nations*. Studies in International [Cultural] Relations. Vol. I. Tübingen/Basel: Erdmann, 1978. http://books.google.com/books?vid=ISBN3771103118&id=YI_nZjqwPIYC&printsec=frontcover&dq=isbn:3771103118&sig=Sz7RO6sk3FV0Kf_VqxDIC15mhdA

Read: Umberto Gori: "Critical View on Cultural Diplomacy" (pp. 117-123)

Köchler, Hans. *Cultural-philosophical Aspects of International Cooperation*. [Lecture delivered at the Royal Scientific Society, Amman, Jordan, 9 March 1974.] Vienna: International Progress Organization, 1978.

Please read online under:

https://books.google.at/books?id=eVPa12zYiAQC&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbv_v2_summary_r&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

Köchler, Hans. *Unity in Diversity: The Integrative Approach to Intercultural Relations*. United Nations Chronicle. Vol. XLIX, No. 3, 2012. <https://unchronicle.un.org/article/unity-diversity-integrative-approach-intercultural-relations>

Köchler, Hans. *Cultural Diplomacy in a World of Conflict*. Annual Conference on Cultural Diplomacy, "Promoting Global Collaboration, Unity & Peace through Cultural Diplomacy." Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin, Germany, 20 December 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CZrSW5N6I48>

Köchler, Hans. *Culture in the Age of Globalization*. Report on the XVIIIth International Likhachev Scientific Conference "Contours of the Future in the Context of the World's Cultural Development," Saint Petersburg, Russia, 17 May 2018. DOC Research Institute, Berlin, 29 June 2018. <https://doc-research.org/2018/06/culture-in-the-age-of-globalization>.

Schafer, D. Paul. "Culture and the New World Order." Hans Köchler, ed. *The New International Economic Order: Philosophical and Socio-cultural Implications*. Guildford: Guildford Educational Press, 1980, pp. 32-38.



Interviews and speech by Hans Köchler (video link)

** Civilization and Identity **

Dante Alighieri Institute, Berlin, 12 July 2021

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DPO2wIOqoF0>

** Transformations of Dialogue **

Opening Plenary Meeting, 10th Anniversary Session of the Rhodes Forum

Rhodes, Greece, 4 October 2012

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6pTH8jmf9M>

3. CHALLENGES OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THE NEW GEOPOLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

In the unipolar constellation resulting from the collapse of the bipolar order of the Cold War, and after the end of the ideological rivalry between the socialist and capitalist blocs, tensions have been increasing among nations with different worldviews and value systems. Samuel Huntington's paradigm of the "clash of civilizations" has increasingly shaped the discourse on and perception of international relations. In repeated instances, armed force has been used with the purpose of "régime change," justified by reference to humanitarian principles or democracy and the rule of law. The resulting destabilization in the affected regions led to increasing tensions between Islam and the West in particular, and has been at the roots of the migration crisis in Europe. The question cannot be avoided whether cultural diplomacy can play a constructive role or not under the prevailing circumstances. (A conceptual distinction must be made, in this regard, between conventional "cultural diplomacy" as governmental practice and "cultural relations" in which civil society plays a major role.) What are the criteria of a *credible* and, at the same time, *effective* effort to promote co-existence between nations through cultural diplomacy? (These questions will be addressed in more detail in session 6.)

Questions and issues:

- Does the paradigm of "clash of civilizations" describe the reality of today's international relations?
- What is the role of cultural diplomacy in such a scenario?
- The role of "citizen diplomacy" (at NGO-level) vs. "cultural diplomacy" (at governmental level)
- "Clash of civilizations": ideology of the post-Cold War era?

Readings:

Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations?* Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993. 22-49.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/20045621?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History?* The National Interest, Summer 1989. 3-18.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Köchler, Hans. *Co-existence of Civilizations in the Global Era*. Glocalism: Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation, Issue 2020, No. 1.

<https://glocalismjournal.org/co-existence-of-civilizations-in-the-global-era/>

Lewis, Bernard. *The Roots of Muslim Rage*. The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 266, No. 3, September 1990. 47–60.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643>

International Progress Organization. *The Baku Declaration on Global Dialogue and Peaceful Co-existence among Nations and the Threats Posed by International Terrorism*. International Progress Organization. Baku, Azerbaijan, 9 November 2001.

http://i-p-o.org/Baku_Declaration.pdf

Köchler, Hans. *Civilization as Instrument of World Order? The Role of the Civilizational Paradigm in the Absence of a Balance of Power*. Fred Dallmayr, M. Akif Kayapınar, İsmail Yaylacı (eds.). *Civilizations and World Order: Geopolitics and Cultural Difference*. Lanham/Boulder/New York/Toronto/Plymouth (UK): Lexington Books, 2014. 19-33.

http://i-p-o.org/Koechler-Civilization_as_Instrument_of_World_Order-2006.pdf

Köchler, Hans. *Culture and Empire: The Imperial Claim to Cultural Supremacy versus the Dialectics of Cultural Identity*. Lecture delivered at the Second People's Forum, Bogotá, Colombia, 22 March 2009. I.P.O. Online Papers, 2009.

http://i-p-o.org/Koechler-Culture_and_Empire-IPO-OP-2009.htm

Köchler, Hans. *Cultural Diplomacy in a World of Conflict*. [Keynote Speech, Annual Conference on Cultural Diplomacy 2017: “Promoting Global Collaboration, Unity and Peace through Cultural Diplomacy.” Berlin, 20 December 2017.] *Current Concerns*, Zurich, No. 2, 22 January 2018. 1-4.

<http://i-p-o.org/Koechler-Cultural-Diplomacy-World-of-Conflict-ICD-Berlin-20Dec2017-V2.pdf>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CZrSW5N6I48>

Köchler, Hans, and Grabher, Gudrun (eds.). *Civilizations: Conflict or Dialogue?* Studies in International Relations, Vol. XXIV. Vienna:

International Progress Organization, 1999.

<https://books.google.at/books?id=1Gw97VmaeyIC&printsec=frontcover&hl=de#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Köchler, Hans. *تشنج العلاقة بين الغرب والمسلمين.. الاسباب والحلول*. Jadawel: Beirut, 2013.

<http://hanskoechler.com/Koechler-Muslims-West-Arabic-2013.pdf>

Köchler, Hans. *Religion, Reason and Violence: Pope Benedict XVI and Islam. Statement by the President of the International Progress Organization, Prof. Hans Koechler, on the lecture delivered by Pope Benedict XVI at the University of Regensburg on 12 September 2006.*

International Progress Organization. Vienna, 16 September 2006.

http://i-p-o.org/koechler-Religion_Reason_Violence-16Sept06.htm



Speeches by Hans Köchler (video links)

** On Dialogue of Civilizations **

Interview, World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilizations." Vienna, 2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RWNjwo4Q_jw

** Monotheism and the Meaning of Coexistence: A Philosophical Perspective **

Istanbul, 28 April 2018

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yMYwlb8cW0E>

4. CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THE 21ST CENTURY: TOOL OF SOFT POWER OR VEHICLE FOR GLOBAL DIALOGUE? – THE QUESTION OF THE PARADIGM

Traditionally, cultural diplomacy has been situated in the domain of *information* and *public relations*, with a view of assisting a country's foreign policy through the propagation of its intellectual and artistic exploits. Its motivation was not intellectual curiosity in other cultures and lifestyles, but to improve the international image of a country and, thus, to strengthen its position in the global bargaining over interests among sovereign states. In this sense, cultural diplomacy was *monological* (as opposed to *dialogical*) and *unidirectional*. In the ever more complex environment of globalization and in the global struggle for power and influence that is typical for periods of transition, when a new balance of power is being "negotiated" among global players, culture is – more than in other periods – being used as a *tool to project power*. This is where the fashionable notion of "soft power" comes into play. However, in view of the ever more visible and distinct *multicultural reality* at the global level, with the threat of a "clash of civilizations" becoming the new normal (replacing the earlier ideological conflict as driving factor of inter-state relations), the role of cultural diplomacy must be redefined and recalibrated. Instead of an ultimately *reductionist* approach, defining culture as an aspect of power, the paradigm of dialogue may be more adequate for the definition of the role of cultural diplomacy. To preserve its *integrity*, culture, as expression of a nation's or people's "Lebenswelt" (life-world), requires a unique space of freedom from politics and societal pressure (whether in the form of "political correctness" or of any other ideological scheme). This must also be reflected in the cultural diplomacy of the future. Only if states resist the temptation to instrumentalize culture for the projection of power, can cultural diplomacy become part of a dialogue of civilizations – which is indispensable for the preservation of peace under conditions of globalization.

Questions and issues:

- The evolution of cultural diplomacy on the basis of mutuality: the dialogical approach
- The concept of "soft power"
- Cultural diplomacy as a tool of "soft power"? The problem of instrumentalization

- Cultural diplomacy in a context of power politics
- Cultural diplomacy vs. public relations

Readings:

Nye, Joseph. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

<https://books.google.at/books?id=x5Q5DgAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=%22Joseph+Nye%22+%22Soft+POwer%22&hl=de&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiK4-vWzLfdAhVEiIAKHc2AAAtEQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=%22Joseph%20Nye%22%20%22Soft%20POwer%22&f=false>

Ellwood, David. *'Soft power' is a flawed tool in foreign policy, but a valuable form of global leadership*. LSE USCentre / London School of Economics United States Centre. [01.08.2018]

<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2014/01/18/soft-power-is-a-flawed-tool-in-foreign-policy-but-a-valuable-form-of-global-leadership>

Khatami, Mohammad. *Address by H.E. Mr Mohammed Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran*. Round Table: Dialogue among Civilizations. United Nations, New York, 5 September 2000. Provisional verbatim transcription.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20070310224647/http://www.unesco.org/dialogue2001/en/khatami.htm>

Köchler, Hans. *Clash of civilizations*. Bryan S. Turner, Kyung-Sup Chang, Cynthia F. Epstein, Peter Kivisto, J. Michael Ryan, William Outhwaite (eds.). The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Social Theory (Vol. I). 1-3. Chichester, West Sussex (UK): Wiley-Blackwell, 2017.

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118430873.est0838>

Köchler, Hans. *Philosophical Foundations of Civilizational Dialogue: The Hermeneutics of Cultural Self-comprehension versus the Paradigm of Civilizational Conflict*. International Seminar on Civilizational Dialogue (3rd: 15-17 September 1997: Kuala Lumpur). BP171.5 ISCD. Kertas kerja persidangan / conference papers. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Library, 1997.

<http://hanskoechler.com/civ-dial.htm>

Köchler, Hans. *The Philosophy and Politics of Dialogue*. [Lecture delivered at the Global Dialogue Conference 2009. University of Aarhus, Denmark, 6 November 2009.] *Culture and Dialogue*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2011). 5-19.

<http://hanskoechler.com/Koechler-Philosophy-and-Politics-of-Dialogue-Aarhus-2009.pdf>

International Progress Organization. *International Symposion on The Cultural Self-comprehension of Nations*. Final Resolution. Innsbruck, Austria, 27-29 July 1974.

<http://i-p-o.org/iccsn.htm>



Speech by Hans Köchler (video link)

** Culture and World Order **

ICD, Berlin, 13 December 2015

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eGf_pComM4Y

5. CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THE INTERNET AGE: THE ROLE OF THE “NEW SOCIAL MEDIA”

Digital media has profoundly changed society in diverse cultural environments – in terms of *communication* between individuals and collectives, but also as regards *decision-making* in the domestic and international framework. Its use has further accelerated the process of globalization, bringing different life-worlds and value systems in direct, almost constant contact. It has empowered individuals, enabling them to circumvent “officialdom,” access alternative information, and propagate their own views and positions in an *interactive* way. “Citizen diplomacy” is one of the most creative forms of its use. However, the *advantages* in terms of social and democratic empowerment have to be measured against the *risks* of disinformation, stereotyping (of a magnitude not imaginable in the pre-digital world) and, in general, trivialization of the public space. The new social media has not only “empowered” *citizens*, but also *those who rule over them*. It has become a formidable tool in the hands of governmental actors and international organizations. This relates, first and foremost, to a new form of public relations that gives political actors direct and immediate access to the electorate, allowing them to circumvent the mainstream media. It remains to be seen whether a tool of *social emancipation* (as which the social media were initially described) can indeed be responsibly used by the holders of power – or whether it is not all too often used for purposes of *propaganda*, or exploited by intelligence services as part of the arsenal of *hybrid war*. Diplomacy requires careful deliberation and negotiation – or, in terms of realpolitik and national interest, *bargaining* between geopolitical competitors on the basis of confidentiality. In this regard, use of social media by governments cannot be part of diplomacy per se. It is *citizen diplomacy* where social media can play its most productive and constructive role.

Questions and issues:

- The New Social Media as tool of citizen diplomacy?
- Digital technology: does it contribute to social emancipation and the democratization of society?
- Risks of digital technology: disinformation / fake news / trivialization of the public space?
- Digital technology and mass psychology: stereotyping / manipulation of public opinion

- Implications of New Social Media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter) for the conduct of diplomatic relations
- New Social Media: chance or challenge for dialogue?
- The dual-use aspect of the New Social Media

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6. DILEMMATA OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND GUIDELINES FOR FUTURE BEST PRACTICES

As is the case with any other tool for the conduct of international relations, the value and credibility of cultural diplomacy will be tested under *adverse political conditions*. If it is meant to be more than just an ornament of a state's self-presentation and international projection of power – or a mere corollary of the assertion of national interests, cultural diplomacy must be able to operate also under conditions of tension and conflict. It would be essentially meaningless and irrelevant, should it only be applicable in situations of inter-state harmony and peace. This was also the special challenge posed by the migration crisis of 2015 and the pandemic of 2020.

The crucial question is what concrete impact cultural diplomacy may have in situations when these conditions are absent. Some of the issues – or dilemmata faced by cultural diplomacy – are:

- a) What impact, if any, can it have in a clash of civilizations scenario?
- b) How, if at all, can it operate under conditions of armed conflict (bilateral as well as multilateral)?
- c) How will a hostile multicultural climate at home (which more and more has become political reality also in European states) impact on a country's cultural diplomacy? Is the rejection of "multiculturalism" at the domestic (national) level compatible with a cooperative approach at the international level?
- d) Can a country whose self-perception is based on the conviction of moral and civilizational supremacy – and its indispensability at the global level – credibly engage in cultural diplomacy?
- e) Can *exceptionalism*, or a missionary attitude in terms of religious doctrine or ideology, in any way be reconciled with a *diplomatic* approach towards other cultures?
- f) How can cultural diplomacy be conducted in a socio-political climate that is more and more characterized by fear or mutual mistrust – as has become evident in the *global health emergency* of the coronavirus pandemic in 2020 or in the course of the *migration crisis* since 2015 (and not only in Europe)?

These are some of the questions that touch upon the delicate relationship between the essentially dialogical dimension of the

cultural approach on the one hand and power- and interest-centered international realpolitik on the other. The problems listed here are not abstract or artificial; they determine day-to-day reality in the majority of countries and regions around the globe. An evasive approach will not only be intellectually disingenuous, but also politically counter-productive in the long term.



Speech by Hans Köchler (video link)

** Cultural Diplomacy in a World of Conflict **

ICD, Berlin, 2 December 2017

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CZrSW5N6I48>

Questions and issues:

- See the list a) - f) above.
- Structural comparison of methodological approaches to cultural diplomacy: question of the paradigms
- Cultural diplomacy as element of a policy of peace
- Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): guideline for cultural diplomacy in the 21st century?
- Comparative analysis of cultural diplomacy practices (case studies)

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United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): *Constitution*. 16 November 1945.

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