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**The Center for Cultural Diplomacy Studies (CCDS)**

## **Future Trends in Cultural Diplomacy & International Relations**

### **I. Academic Year 2019/2020, SS 2020**

**Discipline:** Future Trends in Cultural Diplomacy & International Relations

**Venue:** CCDS Berlin

### **II. Information Concerning the Course/Seminar/Practical Activity/Lab Holder**

**Main instructors:** Professor Dr. Hans Köchler (Austria), Ambassador Karl-Erik Norrman (Sweden)

**Contact:** [hans.koehler@uibk.ac.at](mailto:hans.koehler@uibk.ac.at), [karl-erik.norrman@kulturparlament.com](mailto:karl-erik.norrman@kulturparlament.com)

**Consultations:** On request

### **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 increase, increasing inequalities between rich and poor, and global efforts to achieve a sustainable development. The role of the digital and social media will be also 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 prepare for each course, however the real analytical work will come in the class discussions and the final papers.

Students of this course will be able to understand the future prospects for cultural diplomacy as a field as well as to analyze a variety of specific examples of successes and failures in cultural diplomacy from the contemporary period as well as the challenges that await cultural diplomacy of the future such as the lack of inter-religious dialogue or the large distance and lack 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 work, 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, technological, political or socio-economic development, country or region, and 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>

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. Schweizer Vorträge: Texte zu Völkerrecht und Weltordnung. Zurich: Verlag Zeit-Fragen, 2019.

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.likhachev.ru/pic/site/files/lihcht/2019/dokladi/KoechlerH\\_plen\\_eng\\_120319.pdf](https://www.likhachev.ru/pic/site/files/lihcht/2019/dokladi/KoechlerH_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>

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](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](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)

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

Schafer, D. Paul. The Age of Culture (2014)

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>

Ingvar Carlsson/Shridath Ramphal: Our global Neighbourhood, Oxford (1995)  
(available at Humboldt- University Library)

[www.un.org](http://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 Reading 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

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### 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 has become particularly evident in the coronavirus pandemic of 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 to avoid causing harm to other countries. If responsibility - and accountability - of states are ignored, globalization as such will be at stake. 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 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](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/field/field_document/20140521LondonConference1.pdf)

[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>

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>

[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 particular 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, 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 the traditional sense. The coronavirus pandemic of 2020 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:

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](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=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.at/books?id=5QeqBAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

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](http://books.google.com/books?vid=ISBN3771103118&id=YI_nZjqwPIYC&printsec=frontcover&dq=isbn:3771103118&sig=Sz7RO6sk3FV0Kf_VqxDIC15mhdA)

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.  
[https://books.google.at/books?id=eVPaI2zYiAQC&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs\\_v2\\_summary\\_r&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.at/books?id=eVPaI2zYiAQC&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs_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 Globalisation*. 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>.

D. Paul Schafer (1980), "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.





Speech by Hans Köchler (video link)

*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 FOR 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](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](https://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

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](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

Köchler, Hans. Coexistence 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/>

Raj Isar, Yudhishtir. Cultural Diplomacy: An Overplayed Hand? *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, Winter 2010: Cultural Diplomacy, 29-44.

[www.publicdiplomacymagazine.org](http://www.publicdiplomacymagazine.org)

York/Toronto/Plymouth (UK): Lexington Books, 2014. 19-33.

[http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-Civilization\\_as\\_Instrument\\_of\\_World\\_Order-2006.pdf](http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-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/Koehler-Culture\\_and\\_Empire-IPO-OP-2009.htm](http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-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/Koehler-Cultural-Diplomacy-World-of-Conflict-ICD-Berlin-20Dec2017-V2.pdf>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CZrSW5N6l48>

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=1Gw97VmaeylC&printsec=frontcover&hl=de#v=onepage&q&f=false>

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

<http://hanskoehler.com/Koehler-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 Koehler, 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/koehler-Religion\\_Reason\\_Violence-16Sept06.htm](http://i-p-o.org/koehler-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](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 21<sup>ST</sup> 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 of 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 force 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. Unlike other factors in the global interplay of forces, culture – as expression of a nation’s or people’s “Lebenswelt” (life-world) – requires a unique space of freedom from politics and societal pressure to preserve its integrity. 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-vWzLfdAhVEIiAKHc2AAAEIKJAA#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 Encyclopedia 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://hanskoehler.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://hanskoehler.com/Koehler-Philosophy-and-Politics-of-Dialogue-Aarhus-2009.pdf>

International Progress Organization. *International Symposium 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](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

### Readings:

Köchler, Hans. *The New Social Media and the Changing Nature of Communication: Chance or Challenge for Dialogue? Force or Dialogue: Conflicting Paradigms of World Order*. Collected Papers Edited by David Armstrong. Studies in International Relations, Vol. XXXIII. New Delhi: Manak, 2015. 323-340.

[http://hanskoechler.com/Koehler-New\\_Social\\_Media-Oct2012-V5.pdf](http://hanskoechler.com/Koehler-New_Social_Media-Oct2012-V5.pdf)

<http://hanskoechler.com/Koehler-8-divan35.pdf> (Turkish)

<http://www.politstudies.ru/files/File/2013/4/7.pdf> (Russian)

Adesina, Olubukola S. *Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy*. Cogent Social Sciences (2017), 3: 1297175.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2017.1297175>

Alexandru, A. *Twiplomacy 2015 report: Twitter is the channel of choice for digital diplomacy* (2015).

<http://digitaldiplomacy.ro/twiplomacy-2015-report-twitter-is-the-channel-of-choice-for-digital-diplomacy/?lang=en>

Bradshaw, S. *Digital diplomacy - #notdiplomacy* (2015).

<https://www.cigionline.org/articles/digital-diplomacy-notdiplomacy>

Köchler, Hans. *Information Technology in the Global Age: Anthropological and Human Rights Implications*. Keynote Speech, 12th International Forum on Lifelong Integrated Education. Yokohama, Japan, 9 December 2018. *I.P.O. Online Publications*. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2018.

[http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-Information\\_Technology-Global\\_Age-IPO-OP-2018.htm](http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-Information_Technology-Global_Age-IPO-OP-2018.htm)

Köchler, Hans. *Selbstbestimmtes Handeln im Digitalzeitalter: Philosophische und anthropologische Überlegungen*. Wien: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wissenschaft und Politik, 2019.

<http://hanskoechler.com/Koehler-Selbstbestimmtes-Handeln-im-Digitalzeitalter-2019-PREPRINT.pdf>. (Preprint version)

Pohan, Syafruddin; Pohan, Hazairin; Savitri, Indah Nuria. *Digital Diplomacy – Maximizing Social Media in Indonesia's Economic and Cultural Diplomacy*. 1st International Conference on Social and Political Development (ICOSOP 2016). Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR), Vol. 81.

<https://download.atlantis-pess.com/article/25873531.pdf>

Permuy, Carmen Villasante. *Facebook as a Public Diplomacy Tool: Canadian Diplomatic Missions in Europe*. Facultad de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Universidad Pontificia Comillas ICADE- ICAI. Madrid 2015.

<https://repositorio.comillas.edu/jspui/bitstream/11531/6047/1/TFG001380.pdf>

Su, Shumin. *Twiplomacy: Social Media as a New Platform for Development of Public Diplomacy*.

International Journal of E-Politics (IJEP), Vol. 6(1) 2015.

<https://www.igi-global.com/article/twiplomacy/124890>

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

As 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 is also the special challenge posed by 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 counterproductive 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)

#### Readings:

Ang, Ien; Raj Isar, Yudhishthir; Mar, Phillip. *Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest?* International Journal of Cultural Policy, Vol. 21(4), 2015. 365-381.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2015.1042474>

Bermingham, Finbarr, Orange Wang and Wendy Wu. *Coronavirus: China pessimistic over global powers' efforts to save world economy amid distrust.* South China Morning Post. Hong Kong, March 17, 2020.

<https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/3075606/coronavirus-china-says-efforts-save-world-economy-may-be>

Davies, Sara E. *The Coronavirus and Trust in the Process of International Cooperation: A System Under Pressure*. EIA - Ethics & International Affairs. Carnegie Council. New York, NY, February 2020.

<https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2020/the-coronavirus-and-trust-in-the-process-of-international-cooperation-a-system-under-pressure/>

[European Union.] *How culture and the arts can promote intercultural dialogue in the context of the migratory and refugee crisis*. European Agenda for Culture, March 2015. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2017.

<https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4943e7fc-316e-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1/language-en>

Köchler, Hans. *The "Clash of Civilizations": Perception and Reality in the Context of Globalization and International Power Politics*. Lecture delivered at the International Forum on Globalization and a Dialogue between Civilizations, Tbilisi, Georgia, 30 September 2004.

<http://hanskoechler.com/Kochler-civilizations-Tbilisi-2004-V3f.pdf>

Köchler, Hans. *After September 11, 2001: Clash of Civilizations or Dialogue?* Dialogue among Civilizations, Vol. I. New York/Rome/Beijing: GSP/Fordham University/Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis/Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2005. 205-218.

Online version published by the University of the Philippines: <http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-FORUM%20ONLINE-UPManila-terrorism.htm>

Köchler, Hans (ed.). *The "Global War on Terror" and the Question of World Order*. Studies in International Relations, Vol. XXX. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2008. <http://books.google.com/books?id=eqEflQ0LxPkC>

de los Santos, Jaime. *Improving Muslim-Western Relations to Strengthen International Co-operation against Terrorism*. Hans Köchler (ed.), *The "Global War on Terror" and the Question of World Order*. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2008. 111-122.

[https://books.google.at/books?redir\\_esc=y&hl=de&id=eqEflQ0LxPkC&q=de+los+Santos#v=snippet&q=de%20los%20Santos&f=false](https://books.google.at/books?redir_esc=y&hl=de&id=eqEflQ0LxPkC&q=de+los+Santos#v=snippet&q=de%20los%20Santos&f=false)

McGregor, E.; Ragab, N. *The Role of Culture and the Arts in the Integration of Refugees and Migrants*. European Expert Network on Culture and Audiovisual (EENCA). United Nations University / Maastricht University, 15 February 2016. <https://www.merit.unu.edu/publications/uploads/1473335881.pdf>

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

[http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=15244&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

#### **Sessions 7- 12:**

Prof. Amb. Karl Erik Normann

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#### **7. Football World Cup, Olympics and other types of Sports Cultural Diplomacy;**

Ever since the first modern Olympic Games in Athens 1896 the role of Sports in international and human relations has been increasing. As from 1980 many aspects of sports have become commercial and hence the economic role has been booming. Football and some other big sports have become important "investment objects" for global billionaires. At the same time global TV broadcasting, streaming, etc. have contributed to making some sports events available to the whole world. The



leading European Football teams are now concrete examples of functioning multiculturalism or cultural diplomacy, recruiting and attracting top players from the whole planet.

Big sports events, in particular the Football World Cup and the Olympic Games, but also many regional leagues and events also offer opportunities and platforms for political meetings, opportunities which are sometimes well seized, sometimes however completely missed.

The role of professional sports, mega sport events and sports diplomacy is increasing by the year and the trend is continued growth. These events often have strong emotional elements and therefore can be used as “Diplomacy between Souls”. Football is sometimes called “the only world religion”. These trends have many consequences, not only positive ones. But it is beyond doubt that the role of sports and sports events will continue to grow as major instruments of cultural diplomacy.

Readings:

[www.olympic.org](http://www.olympic.org) International Olympic Committee

[www.fifa.com](http://www.fifa.com) International Football Federation

[www.uefa.com](http://www.uefa.com) European Football Federation

[www.cafonline.com](http://www.cafonline.com) African Football Federation

[www.conmebol.com](http://www.conmebol.com) South American Football Federation

Alex Mancham (ICD-student): Football. A Powerful Tool in International Cultural Diplomacy (2014)

Jorge Cordoba (ICD-student): Olympics and Power. Another field for International Conflict (2014)

[http://www.playthegame.org/news/comments/2015/018\\_after-sochi-2014-costs-and-impacts-of-russias-olympic-games/](http://www.playthegame.org/news/comments/2015/018_after-sochi-2014-costs-and-impacts-of-russias-olympic-games/)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/22/world/americas/rio-olympics.html>

<https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/north-korea-diplomacy-and-the-winter-olympics/>

Ryszard Kapuscinski: The Football War, Fischer (1992)

<http://www.iapss.org/wp/2018/07/08/the-world-cup-it-is-all-politics/>

Nick Hornby: Fever Pitch, Gollancz (1992)

Simon Kuper: Football against the Enemy, Phoenix (1994)

Jim Riordan: Comrade Jim, The spy who played for Spartak, Harper (2008)

<https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/india-and-pakistans-cricket-diplomacy/>

<https://www.history.com/news/ping-pong-diplomacy>

<https://www.baseballdiplomacy.org/about-baseball-diplomacy/>

Beck, PJ (2003). “The Relevance of the 'Irrelevant': Football as a Missing Dimension in the Study of British Relations with Germany.” *International Affairs*: Mar., 2003, Vol. 79, No. 2, pp.389-414.

Black, D (2007). “The symbolic politics of sport mega-events: 2010 in Comparative perspective.”

*Politikon*: 34(3) 261.

Chapman, C (2007). “Art across borders - International art exchange can forge valuable links where diplomacy and politics have failed.” *RSA Journal* :Vol. 154, No. 5527 (2007), p. 42-49.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/16/sports/world-cup/russia.html>

## 8. Universal Expositions, Festivals and other Mega Events

Some 20 years ago the International community seriously questioned the future of Universal Exhibitions, a type of event which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a platform for projecting industrial and technological progress. It was considered that modern, globalized society would not need this platform anymore. However, in recent decades the Universal Exhibitions have become huge prestige events for the organizing country, like Shanghai 2010 and Dubai 2020. The Expos remain a unique cultural diplomacy event. Almost all nations of the world participate and, like in sports, it is a “United Nations for peaceful competition”, not for conflict solution.

Other prestigious events and festivals, like the Nobel Prize, the Oscar award, the Venice Biennale, the Cannes film festival, the Ouagadougou film festival, the Bayreuth, Salzburg and Glyndebourne Opera Festivals, the Coachella Valley, Roskilde, Newport and Bonnaroo popular music Festivals are important instruments of practical cultural diplomacy. The family of festivals – both huge international and small local - is growing. This trend is likely to continue.

[www.bie-paris.org](http://www.bie-paris.org) Bureau International des Expositions, Paris



<http://www.expo2015.org/archive/en/index.html> Expo Milan  
[www.expo2020dubai.com](http://www.expo2020dubai.com) Expo Dubai  
<http://expomuseum.com/history/>  
<https://www.nobelprize.org/>  
<http://www.oscars.org/oscars>  
<https://www.labiennale.org/en>  
<https://www.festival-cannes.com/en/>  
<https://www.finelib.com/events/festivals/fespaco-panafrican-festival-of-cinema-and-television/613>  
<http://www.wagneropera.net/bayreuth/>  
<https://www.salzburgerfestspiele.at/en/programm/2018>  
<https://www.glyndebourne.com/>  
<https://www.coachella.com/home/>  
<https://www.roskilde-festival.dk/>  
<https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-live-reviews/newport-folk-festival-2018-12-best-things-we-saw-704668/>  
<https://www.bonnaroo.com/>

## 9. “Gastro-diplomacy”, Fashion Diplomacy, celebrities and sex-appeal

In the globalized world both the increased travelling and the migration of restaurant entrepreneurs is creating an enormous market and rich supply of “world food”. Not only the classical cuisines, like French, Italian and Chinese, are conquering the world’s cities, but also lots of more or less exotic restaurants and catering from various African, Asian, Latin American and Mideast countries. Experiencing food from other cultures is a strong aspect of cultural diplomacy. The way people eat and drink and entertain each other tells a lot about “the other” and opens possibilities for understanding and bridge building. Food and drinking culture is a crucial part of cultural diplomacy at all levels, from official state banquets to the test of fast food in a foreign street.

At the same time, large parts of the world are fighting against hunger – and eating disturbances, like obesity. FOOD has always been and will remain a major issue in international relations.

The interest in fashion is growing quickly. A globally growing middle class takes great interest in the latest fashion development in different cultures. The future of fashion involves not only Paris and Milan, but also Metropolis in China, Mideast and India. The hype for fashion goes hand-in-hand with the cult of celebrities and “beautiful people”. The interest in and commercialization of fashion is an obvious trend both in the globalized culture and in city- and nation branding, hence an important instrument in cultural diplomacy.

### Readings:

Rockower, Paul S. "Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach." *Issues & Studies* 47, no. 1 (March 2011): 107-152.

Chapple-Sokol, Samuel. Jump up to: "Culinary Diplomacy: Breaking Bread to Win Hearts and Minds." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* Volume 8, Issue 2 (2013): 161-183.

Mendelson Forman, Johanna, <http://www.e-ir.info/2016/10/05/foreign-policy-in-the-kitchen/>  
*Economist*, Asia Correspondent "Thailand's Gastro-Diplomacy"  
<http://www.economist.com/node/999687>

Rockower, Paul S Jump up to:a b . "Recipes for Gastrodiplomacy." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* Volume 8 (2012): 235-346.

Pham, Mary Jo A Jump up to:a b . "Food as Communication: A Case Study of South Korea's Gastrodiplomacy." *Journal of International Service* Volume 22, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 1-22.  
<http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2012-03-cdp/Food-as-an-Emerging-Diplomatic-Tool-in-Contemporary-Public-Art---Carly-Schmitt.pdf>

Slow Food movement, Italy: <https://www.slowfood.com/>

<https://www.straitstimes.com/lifestyle/food/a-short-history-of-the-michelin-guide-how-the-michelin-tyre-company-founded-a-foodie>

<https://winefolly.com/update/a-brief-illustrated-history-of-wine/>

<http://www.colangelopr.com/2017/09/millennials-shaping-future-wine-industry/>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/12/t-magazine/karl-lagerfeld-interview.html>

Fashion Diplomacy, <https://fashionadresse.com/what-is-the-fashion-diplomacy/>

“Vogue”, “Donna” and other fashion journals

<https://successstory.com/companies/prada>

<http://learnenglishteens.britishcouncil.org/skills/reading/upper-intermediate-b2-reading/are-celebrities-bad-you>

## 10. Future of Ideologies and Politics

Ideologies, values, identities, cultural and moral traditions are not only the backbone of Politics within and between nations. They also constitute the “soft infrastructure” and ideological ambiente in which Cultural Diplomacy has to be pursued. The 20th Century was a very ideological century. First the liberal and socialist movements paved the way to general suffrage. Then there was the fascist, nazi and communist brutal reaction to the democratic reforms. Then the ideological cold war between capitalism and communism was fought. And since the late 1990ies the post-secular era is there, with a renaissance of religions, but paralleled with strong “green” movements, feminist movements like #Metoo, fights for LGBT rights and other “issues” without direct ideological connections. All these tendencies + the role of social media have created some confusion in democratic states, leading even to many so-called “populist parties” and to the questioning of the democratic system as such. Some tendencies in the USA and UK may, however, indicate a come-back of a new type of Socialism. The strength of Cultural Diplomacy has always been and will have to remain the ability to function and build bridges across both ideologies and religions.

### Readings:

Joseph S. Nye, Jr: Soft Power: The means to success in world politics, Public Affairs (2004)

Jonathan Israel: A revolution of the mind. Radical enlightenment and the intellectual origins of modern democracy, Princeton (2010)

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

<http://www.robertdkirkby.com/blog/2015/summary-of-piketty/>

Attali, Jacques, A brief history of the future, Arcade Publishing

Brennan, Jason: Against Democracy, Princeton (2017)

Habermas, Jürgen, Europe: The faltering project, Polity Press (2009)

N. J. Demerath: Secularization Extended: From Religious ‘Myth’ to Cultural Commonplace (article) (2007)

Thomas Farr: Islam’s Way to Freedom (article) (2008)

Adonis: Violence and Islam, Seuil (2016)

Samuel Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations, The Free Press (2002)

Sonia Lucarelli & Co: Debating political identity and legitimacy in the European Union, Routledge (2011)

Harari, Yuval Noah: Homo Deus, Vintage (2016)

Lavelle, Ashley: The Death of Social Democracy. Rotledge (2008)

Schwab, Klaus: The fourth industrial revolution, World Economic Forum (2016)

Harari, Yuval Noah: 21 Lessons for the 21st Century, Vintage (2018)

ICD-papers, selected by professor (to be presented during the course)

## 11. The threatened planet – KE

How Climate Change, Overpopulation, Increasing Economic Inequality and Political Instability will affect Cultural Diplomacy.

Climate has been changing dramatically in the last decade. There is an almost complete agreement among scientists that these changes and the threats against environment and natural resources are due to human activities. A certain political commitment to turning the negative development has emerged (the Paris agreement), but the development is being sabotaged from many important international actors. Furthermore the international community has to re-discover over-population as a main threat towards climate and sustainable development. The gap between the few richest and the many poor is widening by the day, creating risks for political instability and at the same time hampering necessary efforts to promote a sustainable development. Cultural Diplomacy should be an ever more important instrument for informing and explaining the complicated links between population – nature – resources – economy – politics and for building bridges between cultural differences in the approach to these questions of fate for future generations.

Readings:

Jared Diamond: Collapse. How societies choose to fall or succeed, Viking (2005)  
Yuval Noah Harari: Sapiens. A brief history of humankind (2011)  
Brundtland, Gro Harlem, Our Common future, The World Commission on Environment and Development, Oxford (1989)  
Ingvar Carlsson/Shridath Ramphal: Our global Neighbourhood, Oxford (1995)  
Piketty, Thomas, Capital in the 21st Century, Harvard University Press (2014)  
[www.UNFPA.org](http://www.UNFPA.org) United Nations Population Fund. State of World population (2015)  
[www.worldwildlife.org](http://www.worldwildlife.org) Reports from World Wildlife Foundation  
[www.unfccc.int](http://www.unfccc.int) The Paris Agreement on Climate  
David Attenborough: The Life of Mammals (2002)  
Lester R. Brown: Outgrowing the earth. The food security challenge in an age of falling water tables and rising temperatures (2004)  
Randers, Jorgen: 2052 – A global forecast for the next forty years, a report to the Club of Rome, Chelsea green (2012)  
Bremmer, Ian (2012): “Every Nation for Itself. Winners and Losers in a G-Zero World”  
<https://overpopulation-project.com/about-us-2/>  
Gates, Melinda: The moment of Lift . How empowering women changes the World, MacMillan (2019)  
<https://www.gatesnotes.com/Books/The-Moment-of-Lift>

## 12. Oral Presentations (all day)

### NOTES:

(1) Your active participation during the classes is very important. Please ensure that you are well prepared for each course and seminar and that you actively contribute to the discussions. You will be evaluated also on the quality of your contribution.

### VII. Evaluation:

The marks for this discipline are awarded on a scale ranging from 1 (one) to 10 (ten) (min. of 5 in order to pass).

The evaluation for this discipline will take into consideration the overall activity of the students in the course throughout the semester and the grades obtained in the written exam and final paper and presentation.

**Grading:** The final grade will be calculated via the following formula:

Class participation and activities 20%,  
oral Presentation 20%,  
final paper 60%.

**A.** The mark for the semester activities will take into consideration your participation in class discussions (both course and seminar) throughout the semester.

**B.** The mark for the final paper takes into consideration the quality of your paper which should utilize both the stuff taught during the lectures and the issues discussed during the seminars.

**NOTE:**

1. Make sure that you take good notes during the courses and seminars so that you can prepare yourself properly for the exam! If you do not feel yourself good enough at taking notes, try at least to attend the classes in order to have an overview of what you will have to prepare for the exam.

2. **Re-sitting the exam and grade improvement.** The bibliography, the structure of the written exam and the points obtained by the student in the course stay the same for students who resit the exam (in the same academic year or in the following academic years). There is no possibility for resitting the exam or final paper grade improvement, in case the student did not fail the course. There is no possibility to recover or to improve the points awarded for the overall semester activity.

**VIII. Organizational Matters, Managing Special Situations**

The course information, requirements, schedule and reading assignments, even though accurate at the beginning of the semester, may have to be altered to accommodate special circumstances that may arise during the course of the semester.

It is recommended taking into consideration the synthesizing character of the course. Students have to participate in at least 75% of the seminars. At the same time it has to be taken into consideration that the participation in the seminars is directly reflected in the final grade for this discipline (see above).

Non-attendance of a course or seminar due to exceptional situations such as illness, accident etc. needs to be certified by documents in order to be verified.

It is also mandatory that the answers to exam questions be one's own. Any violation(s) of this prescription incur the appropriate university sanctions under the Code of Conduct of the University.

**IX. Additional recommended readings:**

Köchler, Hans. *The Dialogue of Civilizations: Philosophical Basis, Political Dimensions and the Impact of International Sporting Events*. Occasional Papers Series, No. 5. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2002.

[http://hanskoechler.com/koechler\\_worldcup-lecture.pdf](http://hanskoechler.com/koechler_worldcup-lecture.pdf)

Köchler, Hans. *Democracy and the International Rule of Law: Propositions for an Alternative World Order*. Springer: Vienna/New York, 1995.

Schafer, D. Paul. *The Age of Culture*. Foreword by Federico Mayor. Oakville, Ontario: Rock's Mills Press, 2014.

Seibt, J., and Garsdal, J. (eds.). *How is Global Dialogue Possible? Foundational Research on Values, Conflicts, and Intercultural Thought*. Process Thought, Vol. 24. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.

Alden, C (2005). "The new diplomacy of the South: South Africa, Brazil, India and trilateralism." *Third World Quarterly*: 26 (7): 1077-1095.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London/New York: Verso, 1983.

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- Barron, O (2007). "A New Approach - Engaging the Muslim World Through Public Diplomacy." *Harvard International Review*: Vol. 28, No. 4 (2007), p. 30-31.
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