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Giedrė PRANAITYTĖ

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THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE**

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No.	List of Abbreviations
1.	EU – European Union (<i>liet. Europos Sąjunga</i>)
2.	NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (<i>liet. Šiaurės Atlanto Sutarties Organizacija</i>)
3.	U.N. – United Nations (<i>liet. Jungtinės Tautos</i>)
4.	U.S. – United States (<i>liet. Jungtinės Valstijos</i>)
5.	USA - United States of America (<i>liet. Jungtinės Amerikos Valstijos</i>)
6.	USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (<i>liet. Sovietų Socialistinių Respublikų Sąjunga</i>)

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INTRODUCTION

In effect, as long as a culture is truly alive, it need have no fear of being displaced. And no law could keep it alive if it were already dead in people's hearts. In the dialogue between cultures, no side can be prevented from proposing to the other the values in which it believes, as long as this is done in way that is respectful of people's freedom and conscience.¹

Pope John Paul II, Message for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace, 2001.

Defining the Research Problem and its Relevance

Cultural diplomacy as a phenomenon of international relations has clearly been regarded as one of the most stimulating and inspiring domains of the diplomatic action since the end of World War II and up to the present day. Practitioners of cultural diplomacy have also enjoyed some possibilities to merge political ambitions and artistic creativity together by means of various cultural initiatives in order to develop a positive cooperation among countries and achieve concrete objectives on the international arena at the same time. In one of her articles Helena K. Finn, an American analyst, nicely indicated that “a diplomat should know the language, culture, and history of the country to which he or she is posted” because without these abilities it has never been possible to discern any common goals that might catch and captivate the attention of the foreign populace or make the local political elite more willing to solve a number of problematic issues². Cultural diplomacy has always remained such a sensitive sphere that it is an absolute necessity for ambassadors or cultural attachés to go through an adequate process of preparation in advance if they aspire for efficiency and success while working abroad. It is also worthwhile mentioning that a sense of purpose related to historical and cultural peculiarities of a particular country frequently serves as a prerequisite to the successful implementation of distinct strategies of cultural diplomacy adopted by different states engaged in a political conversation. Having in mind all the above mentioned aspects, the analysis of cultural peculiarities related to diplomatic challenges usually retains a high level of popularity inside the academic circles operating in Europe as well as the United States. Concurrently with this, serious questions are often raised about finding the right balance between the usage of hard power in order to compel the opponent to yield to coercion through intimidation or acts of threatening and the application

¹ Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace: Dialogue between Cultures for a Civilization of Love and Peace, 01 01 2001. Found: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/peace/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_20001208_xxxiv-world-day-for-peace_en.html. Checked: 16 07 2013.

² Finn, H. K. The Case for Cultural Diplomacy: Engaging Foreign Audiences. *Foreign Affairs*, 2003, Vol. 82, No. 6. P. 19.

of the so-called persuasive force meant to form a more or less universally acceptable and flexible system of political beliefs and deep cultural convictions often dependent on soft and smart types of power.

The focus of the dissertation has been on the examination of French and American models of cultural diplomacy which possess many elements that might be interesting and attractive to other states despite their considerable differences. In this delicate context, culture should be perceived and acknowledged as “an area for debates and interpretations about ways of life as well as the space of thought” that not only indirectly assists in making concrete political action plans but helps to discern “the future of politics”³. It is important to note that these issues have not been analysed in much depth by Lithuanian political scientists so far. Therefore, the current dissertation has been written taking into account the objective to partially fill in academic gaps on the subject.

The French pattern of cultural diplomacy deserves a thorough scrutiny due to its flexibility and traditional attractiveness worldwide. On the one hand, outstanding results of French cultural diplomats and specialized institutions operating in the field may even seem surprising since their quotidian activities have always been strictly regulated through special governmental mechanisms famous for highly bureaucratic management and stringent financial control. On the other hand, French diplomats sometimes fail to achieve much more influence on the global scale because of being cautious “to make cultural action into an auxiliary of commerce and that of politics” but at the same time they arduously strive to adjust traditional cultural features of the country to the necessities of the present so that France could be better understood by foreigners and have a stronger voice abroad⁴. It is essential to emphasise that innovative ideas about the potential interdependence among the practical conduct of international relations, culture and economics were put forward in France during the post-war period as a way out of a global political stalemate but all the three of these aforestated spheres have become equally important to the entire governmental diplomacy only after the establishment of the international network of cultural institutions under the umbrella of the *Institut Français* in 2010 and in the wake of the creation of a special directorate dedicated to economic diplomacy in 2013. Taking into account the obvious efforts of diplomats and politicians to make important structural reforms in order to combine all fields of activity on more equal grounds, it should be made absolutely clear that

³ Leonidas Donskis quoted in an interview done by Kryževičienė, J. Lietuvą suvienyti ir paversti tėvyne gali prasmės jausmas. *Bernardinai.lt*, 27 04 2013. Found: <http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2013-04-27-leonidas-donskis-lietuva-suvienyti-ir-paversti-tevyne-gali-prasmes-jausmas/99968>. Checked: 11 07 2013.

⁴ Guéhenno, J-M. Diplomatie culturelle : culture de France, culture d'Europe. *Politique étrangère*, 1986, Vol. 51, Issue 1. P. 166.

French cultural diplomacy can truly be proud of its long-lasting traditions despite the fact that the inclusion of economic matters into diplomatic practices still remains at the nascent stage.

Analysing the development of French cultural diplomacy I sought to unveil in what ways this particular phenomenon contributes to the spread of French culture and strengthens the standing of France around the world. Besides, I decided to find out which governmental institutions along with nongovernmental entities are actively involved in maintaining international dialogues on the cultural basis and indicate which particular initiatives of French cultural diplomacy bring France closer to other countries, including Lithuania.

The American pattern of cultural diplomacy has traditionally been different from the French one in terms of a more liberal organizational style and a far greater readiness to exploit private initiatives and non-governmental financial resources in order to showcase the best examples of American culture internationally. As Natalia Grincheva, a scholar from the United States and Canada, points out, the majority of Europeans believe that “arts shape a national historical identity of people” and often serve as a means to build up “a national heritage that should be protected and supported in society” while the inhabitants of the U.S., being extremely ethnically and racially diverse, usually tend to place a special emphasis on “equal rights for every cultural representative and freedom of expression”⁵. Therefore, the practitioners of cultural diplomacy representing the United States face three serious dilemmas in their daily jobs. Firstly, it might be difficult for them to decide which concrete artists might be able to grasp the versatile nature of the country and represent it properly since there are noticeable differences within local communities of the U.S. whose members often define themselves as belonging to different ethnic and racial groups (such as African-Americans, Chinese-Americans or Lithuanian-Americans). Secondly, professional American diplomats have to constantly struggle with unexpected political changes in order to rapidly adapt to strategic requirements and new ways of dealing with foreign countries brought up by the members of the U.S. political elite and the representatives of top governmental institutions such as the acting President of the United States as well as the Secretary of State⁶. Thirdly, the right combination repetitively needs to be found between the necessities to ensure the maintenance of the American political leadership on the international arena and simultaneously retain the positive image of the USA in the eyes of the rest of the world. According to the British expert Peter Marshall, the success of diplomatic action under such complex circumstances can be attained merely through “the cultivation of

⁵ Grincheva, N. U.S. Arts and Cultural Diplomacy: Post-Cold War Decline and the Twenty-First Century Debate. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 2010, Vol. 40, Issue 3. P. 178.

⁶ French diplomats are often destined to face the same challenge but one should keep in mind that the leadership of France is less visible on the global scale and their concrete diplomatic actions usually provoke modest reactions around the world in comparison to these endured by the members of the American diplomatic service.

good political relations, including personal relations with foreign leaders; the strengthening of economic ties with other countries; the development of cultural links with them; and the promotion of the interests of the country's nationals abroad"⁷. Investigating the phenomenon of American cultural diplomacy, I endeavored to identify in what ways economic and political difficulties experienced by the Obama administration inside the U.S. have contributed to the fluctuations of power. I also sought to carry out an extensive analysis of the approach to cultural diplomacy developed by the former Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton and reveal in what ways the practical application of redefined principles of American cultural diplomacy as well as private initiatives add up to the improvement of relations with other countries.

Taking into account various diplomatic practices, France has often been regarded as one of the leading countries in the realm of cultural diplomacy for its well-entrenched tradition to encourage the active spread of the national culture abroad. Initial attempts to create a linkage between cultural initiatives and diplomatic action should be traced back to the royal rule of Louis XIV during the 17th century. Namely at that point in time "the idea of culture as an affirmation of nation really began" and the ambition of the absolute monarch widely known as the Sun King [*le Roi-Soleil*] to become the embodiment of the French state served as a rather strong impulse for "the dissemination of a single culture which, in glorifying his own person, also glorified the nation"⁸. Undoubtedly, in the subsequent course of history of France, the leaders of the country made repetitive endeavors to propose different and sometimes even conflicting ideas about interconnections among the cultural, the diplomatic and the political. In order to understand the delicate nature of changes and reforms that have been making an impact on the French political elite and the diplomatic service up to the present day, one should remember such pivotal moments as the French Revolution of 1787, the General Napoleon Bonaparte's military and scientific expedition to Egypt in 1798, and the creation of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication under the leadership of André Malraux in 1959. As David L. Loosely explains, the supporters of the French Revolution as well as the official representatives of the Napoleonic administrative system have always been especially willing to "codify, censure or officialise cultural activity"⁹. In the meantime, the period of several decades after World War II has clearly been dominated by the desire to transform culture into an effective diplomatic and political tool so that the shattered self-confidence of the French nation could be restored and the trauma of the Nazi occupation of 1940 would be pushed into oblivion

⁷ Marshall, P. *Positive Diplomacy*. Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997. P. 3.

⁸ Loosely, D. L. *The Politics of Fun: Cultural Policy and Debate in Contemporary France*. Oxford and Washington, DC: Berg Publishers, 1995. P. 11.

⁹ Ibid. P. 12.

as soon as possible¹⁰. As the Professor of Politics John Gaffney at Aston University in the United Kingdom has it, the willingness by the political elite of France to reinvent the strategies of cultural diplomacy once more and turn their country into an important actor on the international arena in the postwar period has been inseparable from “symbolic politics” based upon such important elements as “myths and traditions, national and subnational identities, memories, histories, shared secrets and allegiances”¹¹. In fact, an impressive vision of France as a cultural and moral beacon to other people meant to attract them and inspire affection despite geographical distances and linguistic barriers was brought up by the General Charles de Gaulle and enthusiastically shared by his followers eager to find a decent substitute for the considerable loss of military power and political influence worldwide. According to Anne Dulphy, a well-reputed French historian who is currently working at Sciences Po University in Paris, a rather strong interdependence among certain forms of artistic expression, official foreign policy objectives and the French state *per se* has been gradually formed due to the ability of the latter to “intervene in the cultural field in order to defend explicitly national objectives there [...] and modify the portrayal of its orientations available abroad”¹². Consequently, the French political elite still seems to be reluctant to give much freedom of action to private players that have enough potential to get involved in the field of cultural diplomacy.

To make the picture complete, one should also take into account a couple of basic concepts which frequently help to understand what particular elements make up the contemporary foundation for the effective political, cultural and diplomatic action of France on the international arena. Undoubtedly, culture should be regarded as the very first one of them. Probably the most informative and flexible definition of the concept, as it is regarded from the perspective of international relations and diplomacy, has been provided by the French academician Pierre Emmanuel. He has successfully managed to distinguish the following interpretations of culture, namely, the humanist one, the social one and the ideological one. The scholar openly claims that most supporters of humanist ideals often relate culture to “the

¹⁰ The Nazi occupation was tragic for the French as well as for the Jewish minority living in France for several reasons. Firstly, the country ended up being divided into two parts by a special demarcation line of 1200 kilometers which could be closed by the Germans at any moment. The French experienced complex challenges inseparable from the quotidian struggle for survival. Therefore, many people were forced to make a dramatic choice between collaboration and resistance. Secondly, the Jewish population of France had to endure massive arrests as well as experience tremendous sufferings at internment and concentration camps established in Drancy, Natzweiler-Struthof and Schirmeck among many other places. Tragic deaths of numerous French and Jewish intellectuals at these camps created a cultural vacuum that needed to be urgently filled in during the postwar period.

¹¹ Gaffney, J. Charles de Gaulle: The Real Gaullist Settlement. // Bell, David S. and Gaffney, John (ed.). *The Presidents of the French Fifth Republic*. New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2013. P. 90.

¹² Dulphy, A. Introduction. // Dulphy, Anne; Frank, Robert; Matard-Bonucci, Marie-Anne and Ory, Pascal (ed.). *Les relations culturelles internationales au XXe siècle: de la diplomatie culturelle à l'acculturation*. Bruxelles, Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford and Wien: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2010. P. 28.

harmonious development of faculties of the individual” and place a special emphasis on the need for a state to safeguard “the totality of intellectual works”; major proponents of socially-oriented principles, in turn, pay special attention to “civic responsibility” and simultaneously perceive culture as “an active mirror that allows the society and its component groups to come to a better understanding of themselves” while the adherents of the ideological approach traditionally focus on the smooth functioning of the system where “the political apparatus is an objective structure” and culture might be employed as a tool for mediation meant to suggest certain ideological insights “in accordance to strictly fixed rules”¹³. As soon as any practitioner of French cultural diplomacy needs to take concrete action willing to ensure a proper representation of French culture internationally, they simply have no other option but to look for a proper equilibrium and adequately combine all the three above-mentioned interpretations of culture while being aware of potential historical sensitivities existing in a foreign land. Besides, there is always a strong pressure for diplomats to place confidence in concrete strategic cultural guidelines drawn by the French government much in advance.

In this context, it might be useful to bring the concept of cultural policy to light due to its subtle connections with the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy. The particularities of French cultural policy clearly derive from the political tradition to institutionalize cultural activities to a great extent but there are serious endeavors to bring about administrative reforms in order to make different modes of cultural action noticeable to foreigners and sensitive to external reactions. According to David L. Looseley, cultural policy, in most general terms, should be understood as “government measures that are taken to protect and encourage the arts and heritage”¹⁴. In fact, all applicable means are employed by the French officials to produce more or less positive results in rather broad areas of concern related to cultural diplomacy such as 1.) providing the unrestricted access to different manifestations of contemporary art and traditional cultural artefacts locally and internationally; 2.) stimulating the creation of innovative forms of art which, in turn, might become attractive to local and foreign audiences as well as result in an increased cultural diversity; 3.) safeguarding the national heritage of France by various attainable instruments, including the establishment of digital libraries, archives and video databases that may be accessed free of charge via the Internet in every corner of the globe; 4) generating partnerships among various artists, academics, students or experts with the assistance of special traineeships, professional internships and academic exchange programs. Taking into consideration all these factors, the role of French diplomats becomes twofold: they

¹³ Pierre Emmanuel quoted in Dijan, J-M. *La politique culturelle*. Paris: Le Monde Editions, 1996. P. 17 – 18.

¹⁴ Looseley, D. L. Cultural Policy. // Hughes Alex and Reader, A. Keith (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Contemporary French Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002. P. 128.

not only need to properly select which elements of the national culture might catch the interest of the general public located in a concrete foreign country but have to decide how and when concrete pieces of cultural information should be distributed to all interested parties without provoking unnecessary tensions. At this point, one can quickly grasp the subtle interconnection between the practical conduct of cultural diplomacy and the implementation of public diplomacy often seen as “an instrument that governments use to mobilize [...] resources to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries, rather than merely their governments”¹⁵. It should be mentioned, however, that major French officials, historians and scholars are striving to draw a rather clear line of separation between cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. It is often believed that cultural diplomacy must be seen as a separate sphere of diplomatic action of France which requires “to take into account full importance of culture as an instrument of foreign policy of the state, as an issue of interstate relations”¹⁶. Significantly, French politicians and diplomats seem to be aware of their present inability to match the degree of cultural influence of the United States on the global level. Much effort, in turn, has been spent on protecting the position of France as a player which actively takes part in “co-operative and non-cooperative interactions at the regional level”¹⁷.

In comparison to the situation of the French, the American tradition of cultural diplomacy derived from political tensions during the Cold War era. According to the expert in cultural history Liping Bu, namely at that point of time the political leadership of the U.S. had no other choice but to deal with two important factors such as “the fear of the Soviet threat and the belief in its own system as the ultimate choice for the world”¹⁸. In order to develop effective mechanisms of influence and establish cultural, diplomatic and political contacts with officials representing the USSR, American diplomats had to invent effective informational and cultural strategies. As a consequence, the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy gradually became closely interrelated with that of public diplomacy. Both terms happened to be employed either as synonyms or as expressions very much similar in their original meaning. The Professor of International Communication at Bar-Ilan University in Israel Eytan Gilboa details the situation in the following manner:

¹⁵ Nye, J. S. Jr. Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, Vol. 616, No. 1. P. 95.

¹⁶ Dulphy, A. Op. Cit. P. 27.

¹⁷ Prys, M. Hegemony, Domination, Detachment: Differences in Regional Powerhood. *International Studies Review*, 2010, Vol. 12, Issue 4. P. 481.

¹⁸ Bu, L. Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War. *Journal of American Studies*, 1999, Vol. 33, Issue 3. P. 393.

Due to the enormous destructive power of nuclear weapons, it became clear that information and persuasion campaigns would be the principal weapons the two superpowers would utilize in their global ideological and strategic struggle. [...]. The assumption was that if public opinion in the target society is persuaded to accept a favorable image of the other side, it will exert pressure on its government to alter existing hostile attitudes and policies.¹⁹

Having the historical context in mind, some valuable lessons should be learnt from the presidency of Ronald Reagan as well, especially if one strives to clarify how the current leadership of the United States might endeavor to bring back some of the lost attraction to traditional American values in the contemporary world. For instance, it is sufficient to remember the enthusiasm of the occupied Baltic States and Central European countries caused by Ronald Reagan's famous reference to the Soviet Union as "an evil empire" and his unwavering commitment to provide assistance to "all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness"²⁰. The dedication of the Lithuanian service of the *Voice of America* to act as a reliable source of uncensored information since 1951 should never be forgotten in this context. Brave efforts to make important news more accessible to the inhabitants of Lithuania during long decades of the Soviet occupation proved to be of essential importance. Besides, people were given a chance to get better acquainted with some attractive elements of American culture such as jazz as well as various artistic achievements of the Lithuanian diaspora living in the United States.

In the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the status of the United States has been universally perceived as the only superpower entitled to defend democratic values worldwide and eager to promote the image of "the indispensable nation"²¹. After experiencing the tragic events of 9/11 and exploring other terrorist threats, American diplomats received much criticism for short-sightedly ignoring the urgent need to accept cultural initiatives as an important part of international relations instead of relying on the classical perception of public diplomacy alone. It has become clear that cultural peculiarities and sensitivities should be taken into account since every attempt to examine "international relations through the lens of culture adds an important dimension to understanding the actions of nations, especially when the 'logic' of the other factors fail"²². Repetitive calls for large-scale changes in the diplomatic realm have

¹⁹ Gilboa, E. Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, Vol. 616, No.1. P. 59.

²⁰ Reagan, R. Evil Empire Speech, 1983. P. 7. Found: http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/centers/boisi/pdf/Symposia/Regan_EvilEmpire.pdf. Checked: 2014 04 10.

²¹ Albright, M. K. Interview on NBC-TV "The Today Show" with Matt Lauer, 19 02 1998. Found: <http://secretary.state.gov/www/statements/1998/980219a.html>. Checked: 10 03 2014.

²² Zaharna, R. S. The Cultural Awakening in Public Diplomacy, 2012. Found http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/Paper_4_2012_Cultural_Awakening.pdf. Checked: 10 03 2014.

become a source of inspiration for the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton to develop innovative principles of cultural diplomacy and implement them in practice.

The American approach to cultural diplomacy differs from the French one because of the absence of clear boundaries between the public and the cultural, the lack of attention to the promotion of the English language, the preference to private initiatives and the distaste for an excessive interference of governmental institutions. Gaining insight into these aspects of cultural diplomacy provides much relevance as it gives a chance to evaluate the most recent diplomatic orientations of the United States and clarify what particular initiatives and political decisions have substantially enriched its cultural partnerships with other countries. One should also pay attention to the network of American embassies operating in all major capitals of the world.

This thesis aims to concentrate on political challenges related to contemporary cultural diplomacy as a relatively vibrant field of diplomatic activity and academic interest. In fact, much work truly needs to be done so that the very term “cultural diplomacy” would find its proper place in the Lithuanian academic environment and the prevailing political discourse. In addition to that, there is a strong necessity for Lithuania to develop its own strategy of cultural diplomacy, since the country simply has no other options but to take part in the global competition for additional sources of power and influence that might be acquired through the spread of its culture.

The main research problem of the thesis is focused on cultural initiatives and the disclosure of a positive implication of the cooperation among states with the aim to achieve concrete objectives in international relations.

Significantly, American and French models of cultural diplomacy possess a variety of important differences. Firstly, French diplomats demonstrate a greater dependence on the governmental apparatus and appointed officials while their American colleagues appear to be more willing to place trust in non-governmental organizations and private actors. Secondly, the implementation of American cultural diplomacy is closely related to business practices and active partnerships in the sphere of entrepreneurship since namely these two aspects have often been regarded by the political elite of the United States as necessary preconditions for maintaining harmonious political and diplomatic relations among different countries and their societies. Meanwhile, French diplomats and officials working for the government and respective ministries have recently started making modest attempts to establish necessary connections among business, culture and political processes in order to re-invigorate cultural diplomacy so that contemporary challenges encountered on the international arena could be met in an easy and rapid manner. Finally, the representatives of France traditionally pay attention to the spread of the French language and strive to provide efficient support for the movement of the

Francophonie while diplomats representing the United States, in turn, prefer to spend much effort on promoting democratic ideals and maintaining the popularity of American way of life and in all its forms on the global scale. One might also notice that political leaders of France tend to attribute a great deal of significance to the national culture perceived as the foundation for cultural diplomacy in contrast to the representatives of the U.S. who interpret the practical implementation of initiatives related to cultural diplomacy in a more multi-national context. To transform official strategies of cultural diplomacy into practice, the diplomats of France and the United States seek to employ a variety of powers which not only make a considerable impact on cultural and political transformations, shape the cyberspace and influence the military sphere but affect the social realm to a certain extent.

The object of the thesis is the employment of cultural diplomacy of the Republic of France and the United States of America as a means to open up new possibilities in maintaining good relations with other states, without the exception of Lithuania.

The Aim and Objectives of the Thesis

The aim of the thesis is to examine the emergence of the concept of cultural diplomacy in broader theoretical and political contexts as related to manifestations of five types of power, scrutinize the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy in connection with political preferences and cultural peculiarities of France and the United States that frequently determine positions of the representatives of these two countries on the international arena as well as analyse respective roles of governmental institutions, non-governmental organizations and private actors actively involved in the realm of cultural diplomacy.

There are five objectives to be achieved in this thesis:

- to analyse the development of the concept of cultural diplomacy as an important element that helps to unveil and perceive the complexity of contemporary diplomatic practice;
- to investigate different scholarly approaches to power on the basis of neoliberal and constructivist ideas on the subject as well as create the model of cultural diplomacy connected with various types of power that happen to be employed on the international arena;
- to examine the strategic aims of French cultural diplomacy and determine in what ways it is sought to implement major priorities in the field through the *Institut Français* as a

global network without forgetting significant initiatives developed by other governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations;

- to bring out the essential elements of American cultural diplomacy and evaluate the implementation of the new strategy created under the leadership of the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton as well devote adequate attention to special events, academic exchanges and other cultural initiatives either organized by the particular U.S. embassy or financially backed up by private sponsors;
- to reveal and discuss major peculiarities in order to highlight the uniqueness of French and American perceptions of cultural diplomacy by placing a special emphasis on various cultural elements and political distinctions that happen to be recognised and evaluated after taking into consideration various reactions to concrete initiatives introduced by the representatives of France and the United States operating in various countries.

The **newness of the thesis** stems from the attempt to create an innovative model of cultural diplomacy, demonstrate how this model gets influenced by five different types of power and draw necessary parallels by providing examples of the practical conduct of cultural diplomacy by French and American ambassadors and their cultural attachés who often choose to cooperate with the members of non-governmental organizations, local political leaders, scientists as well as professional artists to make the cultural exchange between different countries more intensive in all possible respects. The author of the thesis mainly concentrates on the versatile examination of cultural diplomacy as a relatively independent branch of diplomatic action closely connected to different forms of artistic, linguistic, and scholarly cooperation meant to intensify the spread of cultural values to all actors involved in the process. A special emphasis is placed on the potential of arts as an accessible means to open up possibilities for diplomatic contacts on different institutional levels and initiate dialogues on problematic political issues within various communities.

It should be reminded that Lithuanian scholars have made extensive researches on academic topics at least partially related to the sphere of diplomacy, including the controversial spread of deceptive information, challenges of information warfare and subtleties of public diplomacy. For instance, Nerijus Maliukevičius' doctoral thesis *Rusijos geopolitikos potencialas ir sklaida Lietuvoje* [The potential of Russia's geopolitics of information and its spread in Lithuania] was defended at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science at Vilnius University in 2008. Mantas Martišius also clearly stands out as a scholar who has always manifested a deep academic interest in the subject of information warfare and its manifold impact on the international arena. His doctoral thesis entitled *Informacinio karo*

poveikis Lietuvos masinės komunikacijos priemonėms (antrojo Persijos įlankos karo kontekste) [The impact of the information warfare on the mass media of Lithuania (in the context of second Persian Gulf War)] was defended at the Institute of Journalism of Vilnius University in 2007. He also went on to publish an extensive monograph *(Ne)akivaizdus karas: nagrinėjant informacinį karą* [(Not)obvious war. Information wars study] in 2010. Aurelijus Zykas, in turn, wrote the doctoral thesis *Šalies įvaizdžio politika: Japonijos XXI a. viešosios diplomatinės patirtys* [Policy of Country's Image: the Experience of Japan's 21st Century Public Diplomacy] at Vytautas Magnus University in 2011. This work is devoted to the examination of the public diplomacy of Japan as well as the formation of its image worldwide during the period of nine years (from 2001 to 2009) and the dominant objective has been not merely to "analyse peculiarities and changes of Japan's public diplomacy" but also to indicate "factors that make influence upon the success of the formation of Japan's image"²³. According to the scholar, cultural diplomacy is often interpreted in rather different ways and for this reason a special emphasis needs to be placed on "the presentation of a country through cultural, scientific, sporting events, concerts, film previews, theatre, expositions etc."²⁴.

It is important to note that the three above-mentioned scholars touched upon some aspects of power as a means to attract foreign populaces as well as peculiarities of diplomacy *per se*. However, their academic works are related either to the mass media and information wars or centred upon public diplomacy. All remarks on cultural diplomacy have been quite fragmentary and difficult to notice. In fact, cultural diplomacy has always served for them as a mere modest addition to other important scholarly subjects as far as academic circles of Lithuania are concerned. Taking into consideration these scholarly tendencies, the current thesis has been entirely devoted to cultural diplomacy for the first time. The deliberate choice of this particular academic subject has been made in order to indicate how significant cultural diplomatic action and the practical conduct of cultural diplomacy have become for such international players as France and the United States.

Methodological Approaches and Research Questions

In the theoretical part of the thesis, analytic, comparative and descriptive approaches are combined to provide a broader context necessary for the academic perception of the concept of cultural diplomacy and that of power as an extremely multifaceted phenomenon. For the sake of

²³ Zykas, A. *Šalies įvaizdžio politika: Japonijos XXI a. viešosios diplomatinės patirtys*. Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla, 2011. P. 11.

²⁴ Ibid. P. 31.

clarity, I also endeavored to compare different definitions of cultural diplomacy coined by numerous scholars and made an attempt to provide personal insights indicating what particular elements might be essential to its successful implementation and its perceptions in the context of International Relations and rapid political changes. Explications about power served as an interesting and challenging theoretical background taking into account a variety of interpretations provided by the representatives of neoliberalism and constructivism. It is argued that ideas about power and its types formulated by Joseph S. Nye Jr. along with the socially oriented theoretical suggestions proposed by Peter van Ham and Giulio M. Gallarotti might be merged into a harmonious whole and contribute to the development of the formation of the flexible model of cultural diplomacy.

Analysing major peculiarities of the contemporary cultural diplomacy of France, a special heed has been devoted to the period from 2009 to 2013. In the course of these five years, the French political elite managed to implement significant institutional reforms, revise their strategies for cultural and diplomatic action and establish the *Institut Français* as an important player involved in the spread of the national culture abroad. Namely, such daring political and administrative steps toward an increased openness and innovation have made it possible to discover new possibilities to stimulate cultural diplomacy of France as well as make it more visible on the global level. The examination of American cultural diplomacy has also been centered on the period from 2009 to 2013 which coincides with the service of Hillary Rodham Clinton as the U.S. Secretary of State under the presidential leadership of Barack H. Obama. The role of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the realm of cultural diplomacy has been very important due to resolute attempts to introduce effective diplomatic principles and make dominant values, business models and cultural achievements of the United States noticeable and appreciable by combining governmental programs and private initiatives. For instance, at that particular time the Ambassador of the United States to Lithuania Anne E. Derse, along with the Ambassador of France to Lithuania François Laumonier, have been actively operating in order to strengthen certain forms of cultural cooperation with Lithuania. To make the entire picture complete, the author of the current thesis has been striving not only to investigate concrete practical instances of cultural diplomacy in isolation but to unveil major trends of cultural diplomacy of France and the United States in broader historical as well as political contexts whenever possible.

This thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

- How do different theoretical perceptions of cultural diplomacy and power contribute to the development of International Relations, help to reveal unexpected political challenges and suggest necessary compromises on the international arena?

- How does the French model of cultural diplomacy should be safeguarded, its attractiveness retained and long-lasting relations with other states enriched together with the assistance of governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations forming a specialized high-quality network dedicated to the spread of French culture and language and actively operating beyond the borders of France?
- How does the American model of cultural diplomacy lead to the formation of a certain attitude towards the United States as a trustworthy international actor and help to construct fruitful partnerships among the representatives of other states and communities?
- How do practical instances of French and American cultural diplomacy enrich and stimulate political and cultural processes of intensive cooperation with Lithuanian diplomats and professional artists in order to develop strong bonds of a beneficial two-way partnership in the spheres of international relations and cultural interaction?

The thesis also intends to construct a theoretical model of cultural diplomacy in relation to manifestations of power and provide valid answers to the above-mentioned research questions with a special place reserved for the extensive study of available academic literature on the subject from neoliberal and constructivist perspectives. Besides, multiple-case study has been chosen as a basic research method since it not only “facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources” but at the same time “allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood”²⁵. The cases of the United States and France have deliberately been selected for the analysis of cultural diplomacy since both countries are widely known for their deep-rooted traditions in this particular sphere. In addition to that, there exist interesting peculiarities typical either of France or the U.S. as far as the practical conduct of cultural diplomacy, the application of basic principles supported by respective political elites and the development of adequate networks of institutional or non-governmental organizations are concerned. There are certain references to French and American cultural initiatives implemented in Lithuania since certain examples of the cultural cooperation have been particularly useful to the author of the thesis in disclosing certain practical aspects of cultural diplomacy of the United States and France. Some pieces of information have also been collected by conducting a series of semi-structured interviews with French, American and Lithuanian officials who are actively involved in the practical application of cultural diplomacy as well as historians and artists who seek to present their own positions about connections among politics, arts and culture *per se*. In the process of making all semi-structured interviews, a

²⁵ Baxter, P. and Jack, S. Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 2008, Vol. 13, No. 4. P. 544.

great deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to the methodological requirement to ensure “the close collaboration” which would simultaneously permit the informants “to tell their stories”²⁶. Therefore, some questions for the informants were taken from the questionnaire designed by the author of the thesis, while other inquiries sprung out quite naturally, dependent on the personal or professional experiences of a concrete informant. Certain informants have been questioned during a four-month research visit financially supported by the French government at the Sorbonne Nouvelle University in 2011. Other interviews with the informants who could provide more information related to the United States of America have been carried out in Vilnius (Lithuania) during the period from 2011 to 2013. (The list of the informants containing their personal and professional information and the questionnaire of essential questions are provided in Annex I and Annex II.)

The research has also been enriched by certain pieces of information acquired through the continuous examination of official documentation and other public informational resources. Likewise, there has been a necessity to examine some statistical data forming a foundation for illustrative tables and charts drawn for this thesis. However, it should be mentioned that any access to statistical materials has been limited in the case of France and hardly available in the case of the United States. Finally, a lot of scholarly effort has been devoted to the attempt to present all findings, analytical insights and conclusive remarks in a comprehensible and versatile manner, taking into account methodological demands “to convert a complex phenomenon into a format that is readily understood by the reader” and guarantee an adequate evaluation of “the context within which the phenomenon is occurring as well as the phenomenon itself”²⁷.

All seven stages of the research are indicated in a special table presented below in sequence:

No.	Table No. 1. Stages of the Research
1.	Identifying cultural diplomacy and its conduct as a research problem.
2.	Choosing cases of France and the U.S. as well as raising research questions.
3.	Constructing the model of cultural diplomacy on the theoretical basis.
4.	Studying each case in a broad context and analysing the sources of information.
5.	Collecting original information from interviews and checking it.
6.	Writing about selected cases from the perspective of cultural diplomacy.
7.	Making necessary conclusions.

This table was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė.

²⁶ Ibid. P. 545.

²⁷ Ibid. P. 555.

The Overview of Literature and Theoretical Background

Cultural diplomacy has frequently been perceived by political leaders and officials as a rather delicate and vague sphere of diplomatic action that permits to exploit different manifestations of culture and art as subtle tools of influence meant either to facilitate the realization of foreign policy objectives of a particular state or to make its linguistic and cultural heritage more accessible to outsiders. However the diplomatic practice in the realm of culture appears to be far from being simplistic and benign. The complexity of the interaction between culture and diplomacy as two equally important factors is aptly grasped by the Professor of Political Science Leonidas Donskis who claims that culture should be cherished “as a flower which gives us beauty but certainly does not exist for our sake” but the biggest challenge usually derives from the obvious fact that ambassadors often find it difficult and unrewarding to act as merely faithful gardeners inspired by “a spontaneous sense of meaningfulness”²⁸.

Basic theoretical insights useful for the analysis of American and French cultural diplomacy have been constructed by a variety of prominent scholars such as Joseph S. Nye Jr., Peter van Ham, Giulio Gallarotti, Bertrand Badie and Philippe Lane. It should be mentioned, however, that American scholars currently enjoy the top position of experts in the field as compared to their French colleagues who have just recently started to construct alternative visions which might one day develop into an independent theoretical framework. In the course of recent academic discussions about cultural diplomacy, a special focus is usually placed on two groups of scholars, namely, the supporters of the neoliberal approach and the advocates of the constructivist paradigm.

Joseph S. Nye Jr. stands out as the representative of the former and he concentrates on power as a political factor which not only “depends upon human relationships that vary in different contexts” but also requires dealing with the inevitability of “direct cultural contacts”²⁹. The scholar wrote an entire series of books devoted to the subject: *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990); *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (2002); *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004); *The Powers to Lead* (2008) and *The Future of Power* (2011). All of them make up an indispensable theoretical basis for this thesis along with the insights of the opponents. It should be noted that all definitions of power suggested by the scholar underwent a serious metamorphosis in the course of the last two decades. Initially, Joseph S. Nye Jr. made a

²⁸ Bauman, Z. and Donskis, L. *Moral Blindness: The Loss of Sensitivity in Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. P. 174.

²⁹ Nye, J. Jr. *The Future of Power*. New York: Public Affairs, 2011. P. 5 and 85.

reference to power in a very broad sense as “the ability to effect outcomes you want, and if necessary, to change the behavior of others to make this happen” but at the same time he made it absolutely clear that instead of relishing the military and economic might, political leaders have to turn to “the ability to entice and attract”³⁰. Looking from a purely theoretical perspective, this insight has served as the basis for a division of power into two types: the soft one and the hard one. However, several years later, a bridge between two opposites has been successfully built with the introduction of two complementary concepts, namely the so-called smart power that as well as cyberpower. According to Joseph S. Nye Jr., both of these additional elements have given much support to the basic tenets of his theory because they focus on the need to adapt to the changing arena of international relations by paying adequate attention to the rise of innovative technologies such as the Internet and various forms of social media as well as simultaneously remain extremely sensitive to “the objectives that are expressed in a culture”³¹. In this context cultural diplomacy has been perceived as a way to build constructive relationships with the representatives of other societies by providing some support for intellectual exchanges and making artistic resources more accessible to all interested individuals. As Bill Ivey and Heather F. Hurlburt note, in order to achieve a final breakthrough towards combining all important parts of the puzzle of cultural diplomacy into one whole, it is absolutely necessary to acknowledge the obligation to abandon “the standard short-term strategy of diplomatic exchange, which is usually transactional: I do *y* and you give me *x* in return”³². In other words, diplomatic influence and the political credence on the international arena might be acquired much quicker by such influential countries as the United States or France if they demonstrate more readiness to extend a helping hand to other states in the aftermath of natural disasters or serious economic shake-ups. Meanwhile, all attempts to achieve certain political aims by aggressively manipulating available military and economic resources and limiting any possibilities for a compromise could easily produce negative results.

Peter van Ham’s ideas presented in an academic book entitled *Social Power in International Politics* (2010) become an important effort to revise theoretical considerations of Joseph S. Nye Jr. The scholar draws inspiration for his academic insights about social power from the premises of constructivism: the phenomenon of social power is characterized as “the capacity to produce, shape, and influence the motives, attitudes, roles, and interests of actors in international politics (by non-coercive means)” simultaneously emphasizing the importance of

³⁰ Nye, J. Jr. *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World’s Only Superpower Can’t Go It Alone*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. P. 4 and 9.

³¹ Nye, J. S. Jr. *The Powers to Lead*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. P. 97.

³² Ivey, B. and Hurlburt, H. F. *Cultural Diplomacy and the National Interest: In Search of a 21st Century Perspective*. Washington, DC: The Curb Center for Arts, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt, 2008. P. 20.

culture as an exceptional element that often helps “to establish frames that shape the way we see the world, telling us what is important, and informing us about options and solutions”³³. Diverting the scholarly attention to a variety of ways how various societies, states and such supra-national entities as the European Union function, Peter van Ham gradually shifts the focus from the elitist diplomatic service to the role of active citizens and social movements. Moreover, he places an emphasis on the need to combine the traditional aims of professional diplomats with “the attempts to manage a country’s cultural resources and achievements”³⁴. All these ideas enrich the perception about the interaction between culture and diplomacy by adding an extra dimension: the social one. Actually, this idea does not cancel the approach of Joseph S. Nye Jr. altogether but rather helps to strengthen a theoretical basis and build up a complete cycle of versatile powers that often act upon one another and affect the implementation of cultural diplomacy of all countries, no matter their size or geographical location.

Giulio M. Gallarotti also adds an important touch to the entire picture in his two books: *The Power Curse: Influence and Illusion in World Politics* (2010) and *Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism* (2010). The originality of his approach to power and diplomacy stems from the endeavors to find important points of contact among dominant theoretical paradigms, especially neoliberalism and constructivism. The scholar makes an interesting insight that “the level of national power and the capacity to use it appear to be outpacing the ability of nations to control it” and for this reason political leaders as well as officials belonging to different state apparatuses must become “sensitive to group interests, because in an interdependent world individual safety is contingent upon collective safety”, especially taking into consideration the fact that a “collective vision of security is a manifestation of the importance of soft power”³⁵. It is widely acknowledged that the political influence of countries has always been dependent on a potential dialogue between all parties involved. It usually concentrates not only on economic and military problems but underlines the importance of the common cultural heritage as a means to increase the ability to understand partners as well as avert potential dangers of cross-cultural misunderstandings in the realm of international relations. Therefore, cultural diplomacy, according to Giulio M. Gallarotti, should be supported in order to help all states to follow two basic principles of international relations: the first of them is comprehended as the obligation to show “a fundamental respect for international law, norms, regimes and other institutions” and this should be done aiming to generate “the collective good”, while the second one is associated with the

³³ van Ham, P. *Social Power in International Politics*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010. P. 47-48.

³⁴ Ibid. P. 115.

³⁵ Gallarotti, M. G. *The Power Curse: Influence and Illusion in World Politics*. Boulder and London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010. P. 2 and 177.

requirement to “abstain from a unilateral posture in the promotion of [...] foreign policies”³⁶. It is relevant to note that all states endeavor to create their unique strategies of cultural diplomacy so that the members of other societies could become more aware of historical peculiarities, artistic or academic achievements and political processes. These steps are taken to make outsiders accept and appreciate the local political and cultural atmosphere without any preconceived opinions. Although, Giulio M. Gallarotti and Joseph S. Nye Jr. pay more heed to the American way of spreading its values, while Peter van Ham adopts the perspective of the European Union, their theoretical proposals are universal enough to be put together and applied for the analysis of French and American models of conducting cultural diplomacy as well as for the examination of other cases.

What concerns the French scholarly thought on diplomacy and culture, one can mention two important books. The first of them has been written by the Professor of International Relations at Sciences Po University in Paris Bertrand Badie under the title *Le Diplomate et l'Intrus: L'entrée des sociétés dans l'arène internationale* (2008) [*The Diplomat and the Intruder: The Arrival of Societies to the International Arena*]. The volume is dedicated to the analysis of basic changes in the sphere of diplomacy in the aftermath of a more active involvement of the members of various societies. The scholar distinguishes two important versions of diplomacy: the anti-establishment diplomacy (*la diplomatie contestataire*) and the deviant diplomacy (*la diplomatie déviante*). According to Bertrand Badie, the former might be metaphorically characterized as “the powerlessness of the powerful faced with new conflicts, faced with deviances of all kinds”, and this might be attractive to certain states that seem to be willing to distance themselves from “the hegemonic power” despite the risk of being punished either politically or economically and ready to exploit “the exaltation of cultural or religious references” for that particular purpose³⁷. One can easily discern some of these elements analysing the relations of the U.S with Middle Eastern countries or examining the postcolonial complex of France in its dealings with North African states. The other form of diplomacy could be explained as “the lack of respect for norms” or as a paradoxical behavior of the state when it seemingly “accepts the rule but refuses to apply it” unless some of the basic guiding principles are completely changed³⁸. Such diplomatic action is mostly typical of totalitarian and extremely isolated states like North Korea. In this dramatic situation cultural diplomacy usually

³⁶ Gallarotti, M. G. *Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010a. P. 29 -30.

³⁷ Badie, B. *Le Diplomate et l'Intrus: L'entrée des sociétés dans l'arène internationale*. Paris: Fayard, 2008. P. 247-248.

³⁸ Ibid. P. 251-252.

experiences a deep stagnation due to the absence of unrestricted communication with foreign artists as well.

Phillippe Lane's book *Présence française dans le monde: l'action culturelle et scientifique* (2011) [*The French Presence in the World: Cultural and Scientific Action*] analyses the development of French cultural diplomacy starting from the historical perspective as well as recent institutional reforms and finishing with the examination of concrete examples of educational cooperation with other countries. The President of the *Institut Français* Xavier Darcos singled out this study as an extremely timely one and even wrote a special preface to it claiming that France should expand "the capacity of seduction through its ideas, its knowledge, its culture" as well as take a good care of "other factors of power"³⁹. In addition to that, the current thesis has been developed on the basis of academic contributions made by other scholars of international acclaim such as John Krige, Till Geiger, Anne Gazeau-Secret and Cynthia Perrin Schneider whose articles appeared in various scientific publications. Although their academic insights about power and the spread of cultural values by diplomatic means sometimes diverge, but namely these differences of opinion lead to a reasonable questioning and revising of some important political ideas.

Official speeches made by the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy along with public addresses of the President of the United States Barack H. Obama and the former Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton in combination with governmental strategies or other documents available online via authorized sites became important sources of reliable information as well. Interesting judgements concerning the conduct of cultural diplomacy in the United States and France have also been found in academic journals such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Géoéconomie*, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* as well as influential American magazines or newspapers, including *Time* and *The Washington Post*.

Certain interesting insights on the subject were acquired by the author of the thesis during the Erasmus professional internship at the *Institute for Cultural Diplomacy* (Berlin, Germany) in 2010. Besides, another chance to gather adequate scientific materials occurred during a three-month research visit at the *Université Sorbonne Nouvelle* (Paris, France) in 2011. Much inspiration for the research was received from the Executive Director of the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy Mark C. Donfried and the Professor of International Relations at Sciences Po University in Paris Bertrand Badie.

³⁹ Xavier Darcos' Preface to Lane, P. *Présence française dans le monde : l'action culturelle et scientifique*. Paris: La Documentation française, 2011. P. 9.

The Structure of the Thesis

The current thesis consists of the introduction, three major chapters and the conclusions. The first chapter concentrates on the analysis of theoretical insights into cultural diplomacy as an indispensable element of international relations and its linkage to power. This chapter focuses not only on the comparison of ideas and academic suggestions offered by a number of well-reputed scholars specializing in the sphere of International Relations but extensively reveals the development of the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy from the Cold War era till the present day. The author of the thesis makes an examination of different perceptions of cultural diplomacy, introduces scholarly insights into the subject and places a special emphasis on the potential model of cultural diplomacy affected by five types of power which might be incorporated into one coherent system.

The second chapter is devoted to the analysis of French cultural diplomacy paying more regard to the attempts of the local political elite to construct their own model of diplomatic action in that particular realm. The French model is expected to possess certain contemporary features in combination with courageous institutional arrangements. Moreover, there are strong ambitions among the members of the French political elite to unveil the historical roots of France to the rest of the world as well. Analysing in what ways French politicians currently strive to make their cultural diplomacy more effective, an adequate attention has to be devoted to the activity of the *Institut Français* and other similar institutions. It is also necessary to examine the role of French ministries as well as the role of embassies, which encourage concrete artistic initiatives to be implemented locally and investigate the support for the movement of the *Francophonie*. Cultural and diplomatic contacts between Lithuania and France are particularly interesting since both countries happen to be quite different from each other in numerous respects, but at the same time they also cherish deep-rooted traditions of a fruitful cooperation on political and artistic levels.

The third chapter of the thesis shifts the centre of attention towards the United States of America in order to evaluate its attempts to implement considerable changes to the existing model of cultural diplomacy and use them as tools meant to accumulate political influence and power. All the five principles of American cultural diplomacy are thoroughly discussed with a special emphasis placed on their practical application together with the assistance of special programs developed by the U.S. Department of State as well as other initiatives started by the embassies, private foundations and active individuals. Economic and financial crises experienced by the majority of Americans and quite a negative influence of these challenges upon the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy have not been forgotten as well. In fact, the need

for additional financial resources in order to meet various challenges related to domestic policies and serious economic issues often tend to limit the possibilities for the American political elite to realize aspirations so as to achieve the additional empowerment for the USA and ensure its dominance on the international arena through culture as a diplomatic instrument. In addition to that, considerable attention is paid to the successful instances of American cultural diplomacy in Lithuania as an indicator which direction should be taken to ensure a strong friendship and intensive cultural exchanges between both countries in the nearest future.

1. THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

The main objective of the first chapter of this thesis is twofold: to provide a detailed analysis of the evolution of the concept of cultural diplomacy in order to reveal its complexity and demonstrate in what ways cultural diplomacy contributes to frequent power fluctuations as far as contemporary International Relations are concerned. The concept of cultural diplomacy enters the contemporary scholarly discourse at the beginning of the Cold War era. According to the political scientist Jorge Heine, there exist two basic models of diplomacy as such: the first model has been referred to as “club diplomacy”, but it also can be labelled a classical one since it requires ambassadors and their staff to act in a strictly hierarchical and isolated environment by getting together “only with government officials, among themselves, and with the occasional businessman or woman, and give an interview or speech here or there”; the second model has become known as “network diplomacy”, which not only places a special emphasis on innovation as well as a more flexible and democratic attitude towards the art of diplomacy *per se* but also frequently attracts “a vastly larger number of players in the host country”⁴⁰. It is rather obvious that network diplomacy currently dominates on the international arena due to its impressive adaptability and attractiveness. Therefore, local non-governmental organizations, commercial institutions and even active individuals have much more possibilities at their disposal to influence political and diplomatic processes which their predecessors have ever dared to dream of. Currently, the majority of diplomats not only need to permanently consult the government in order to avoid mistakes and strategic miscalculations but strive “to map out the strategy and identify the tactics to achieve national goals internationally” as well as simultaneously endeavour to develop “the profound understanding of the outside world that they can bring to bear on the consideration of issues of interest to their country”⁴¹. In fact, a deep knowledge of innovative ideas and dominant challenges in combination with a high level of mutual understanding between the representatives of different countries frequently turns into a prerequisite for a real success that might produce considerable benefits for all interested parties.

In order to explain the complex nature of diplomacy and reveal interconnections among certain types of diplomatic action, it is also absolutely necessary to mention the existing division between the old diplomacy and the new one. The former is traditionally referred to as “an instrument of states to deal with other states” and to be employed skilfully and carefully in order

⁴⁰ Heine, J. On the Manner of Practicing the New Diplomacy: Working Paper No. 11. Waterloo, ON: The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), 2006. P. 4. Found:

<http://www.cigionline.org/publications/2006/10/manner-practising-new-diplomacy>. Checked: 19 05 2013.

⁴¹ Fréchette, L. Foreword. Diplomacy: Old Trade, New Challenges. // Cooper, Andrew F. Heine, Jorge and Thakur, Ramesh (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. P. xxxiii.

to attain “the goals of foreign policy” with the assistance of professional diplomats, special envoys and other high-ranking officials who are expected to follow “the same norms, rules, and practices that are appropriate to reach the target”⁴². The supporters of this approach generally tend to place all their trust in the members of the diplomatic service and the representatives of certain state-funded institutions, while non-governmental organizations, business entities and private actors either remain of relatively little importance or happen to be simply ignored. Meanwhile, the new diplomacy usually accentuates the process of “gradual wresting of diplomacy out of the firm grip of diplomats” and points out to a more active involvement of independent actors which are sometimes “competing with government action as well as compensating for government inaction”⁴³. This implies that various forms of contemporary diplomatic action need to avoid the dangers of stagnation or isolation and encourage continuous transformations in order to stay relevant on the international arena. There is no doubt that cultural diplomacy often complements public diplomacy in many ways since both phenomena belong to the same realm of the new diplomacy. However, the American and the French perceive the connection between the two spheres quite differently. The political leadership of the United States holds the opinion that cultural diplomacy serves mainly as “the linchpin of public diplomacy” that might be useful in creating “a neutral platform for people-to-people contact” meant to project a positive image of the country, contribute to its economic prosperity through tourism as well as academic exchanges and reduce potential political tensions through artistic initiatives and dialogues⁴⁴. In turn, the French experts are inclined to give a far more independent role to cultural diplomacy as a means to accumulate more influence instead of describing it just as a humble tool in the arsenal of the practitioners of public diplomacy. According to Anne Gazeau-Secret, French cultural diplomacy is focussed on making impact on foreign societies through the promotion of France in a wider context of diversity, and for this reason it is very important to have “a vision for the future and a clear political guidance” which would provide a chance to examine and solve “linguistic, cultural, and political issues in an integrated manner”⁴⁵. Considering all these subtleties, it is possible to draw the following scheme to demonstrate existing linkages between certain types of diplomacy more clearly:

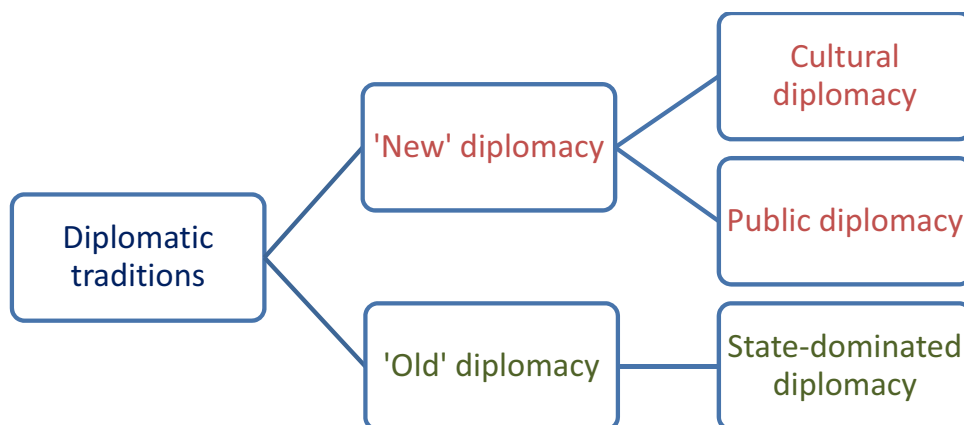
⁴² Kleiner, J. The Inertia of Diplomacy. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 2008, Vol. 19, Issue 2. P. 321.

⁴³ Kelley, J. R. The New Diplomacy: Evolution of a Revolution. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 2010, Vol. 21, Issue 2. P. 294 and 298.

⁴⁴ The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy: Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy to the U.S. Department of State, 2005. P. 1. Found: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/54374.pdf>. Checked: 14 03 2014.

⁴⁵ Gazeau-Secret, A. Francophonie et diplomatie d'influence. *Géoeconomie*, 2010, Issue 4. No. 55. P. 40.

Chart No. 1. Types of Diplomacy



This chart was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė.

Although there exists a strong desire among political leaders to downplay the importance of cultural diplomacy because of its incapability to produce immediate results, one cannot remain indifferent to its great potential as a unique field of action that might help to attain important long-term foreign policy goals in small stages over a long period of time, rather than suddenly and abruptly. At present, this factor becomes especially significant since impressive power fluctuations often occur not only on the international level but within certain countries and societies. According to Richard T. Arndt, one should also bear in mind that even the most lavish governmental expenditures on cultural diplomacy are nothing more but “a shadow of the cost of one wing of fighter aircraft”⁴⁶.

Theoretical examination of cultural diplomacy and its interconnections with soft power obtain much inspiration from liberal ideals that have retained a high degree of attractiveness up to the present day since they symbolically stand for “revulsion against illegitimate violence: that of tyrants at home and of aggressors abroad”⁴⁷. Looking from the contemporary perspective, liberalism is regarded as an influential theory of international relations due to a special emphasis on the role of individuals and that of separate groups of people who strive to promote an impressive variety of interests and influence politicians on the local and international levels. According to Andrew Moravcsik, a professor of Politics at Princeton University, the contemporary liberal approach to international relations, commonly referred to as neoliberalism, attributes the decisive political weight to “state preferences derived from the domestic and

⁴⁶ Arndt, R.T. *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005. P. xxi.

⁴⁷ Hoffmann, S. The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism. *Foreign Policy*, 1995, No. 98. P. 161.

transnational social pressures” which, in turn, generate the urgent necessity for political practitioners and diplomats to develop certain “patterns of interdependent preferences” in order to attain a much needed consensus with other key players and safeguard vital interests at the same time⁴⁸. In this context, it should be also noted that at present the majority of countries, excluding those controlled by totalitarian regimes, seem to be more inclined to apply subtle techniques of gaining influence instead of turning to hard power in the form of aggressive actions such as military operations or a long-term warfare. Following the proponents of neoliberalism, one can explain a prevailing interest in available peaceful solutions as deriving from the existence of an international society where “the pattern of interdependent state preferences imposes a binding constraint on state behaviour”⁴⁹. Cultural diplomacy, in the eyes of neoliberals, including Joseph S. Nye Jr., becomes important as a field of study since it possesses enough potential to provide innovative ideas and effective solutions sometimes borrowed from the sphere of culture, and assists in overcoming well-entrenched political problems inherited from the past. Here, a special significance is attributed not only to the highly politicized interconnection between the “dominant culture and ideas” but also to the official obligation to maintain international stability alongside with the assistance of “the growing importance of soft power in the mix of power resources”⁵⁰. It is important to stress that common state preferences are getting more and more difficult to work out since various countries are sometimes unwilling to reach a consensus for a variety of reasons. In such situation the practitioner of cultural diplomacy should take up the burden of leadership in order to “orient and mobilize others for a purpose”⁵¹. In fact, the decay of trust in leading international organizations such as the United Nations or the World Trade Organization is gradually turning into a big challenge for the neoliberal approach. In addition, considerable attention is being shifted towards “the social contract addressing the amount of power the individual consents to allow the state”⁵². Taking into account all these tendencies, the conduct of cultural diplomacy might turn out to be the only effective way to get out of the impasse despite the long duration of the practical implementation.

Likewise, it should be also mentioned that the neoliberal approach to cultural diplomacy is sometimes accused of employing manipulative techniques in order to focus only on positive cultural and social aspects of a certain country while diminishing negative ones. As the

⁴⁸ Moravcsik, A. The New Liberalism. // Reus-Smit, Christian and Snidal, Duncan (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. P. 234, 235 and 239.

⁴⁹ Moravcsik, A. Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics. *International Organization*, 1997, Vol. 51, No. 4. P. 520.

⁵⁰ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2002. Op. Cit. P. 69.

⁵¹ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2008. Op. Cit. P. 19.

⁵² Kalkman, M. *New Liberalism*. Vancouver: Granville Island Publishing Ltd., 2011. P. 114.

Associate Professor of International Relations Janice Bially Mattern explains, this controversial trend is hardly possible to eliminate since “soft power only works on those who are attracted to the aspiring power-holder”⁵³. Another important element of criticism of the neoliberal vision of cultural diplomacy is related to the attempts to impose certain lifestyle and cultural values on the representatives of other states acting on the global stage without any mutual compromises or agreements. According to the American expert of International Relations Richard Ned Lebow, any manifestations of excessive cultural unilateralism might result in a gradual alienation of a leading country from “the community of democratic nations that has previously allowed it to translate its material capabilities into influence in efficient ways”⁵⁴.

In the meantime, the constructivist approach is focussed on the importance of cultural and political norms which might be interpreted as necessary elements for the full-fledged investigation of the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy. As Mantas Martišius indicates, one should also note that supporters of constructivism not only concentrate on “the state and the inter-state system” but also place a special emphasis on “the role of non-governmental organizations or transnational companies” and simultaneously endeavour to rediscover the meaning of “identity and culture”⁵⁵. As a consequence, diplomatic action and political developments have become closely connected to societal processes on all institutional levels without forgetting active public figures. From a theoretical perspective, the practitioners of cultural diplomacy are expected “to touch the general public and elites of other countries in a way that generates more understanding and support for one’s own interests, ideas, and values”⁵⁶. It should also be indicated that a cultural diplomat needs to learn how to evaluate political and cultural peculiarities from a variety of perspectives, including the perspectives of potential political opponents in order to attain a certain degree of success on the international arena and make adequate decisions. These scholarly insights are useful for the current research since they dispel many stereotypes concerning the interaction between culture and diplomacy and provide a chance to examine delicate issues within the theoretical framework of neoliberal and constructivist paradigms. Although the proponents of neoliberalism and the supporters of constructivism make different theoretical assumptions about the nature of power and its linkage to various forms of culture and diplomacy, some interesting points of contact can be unexpectedly revealed. Here, it is essential to keep in mind the statement of Giulio M. Gallarotti

⁵³ Mattern, B. J. Why ‘Soft Power’ Isn’t So Soft: Representational Force and Attraction in World Politics. // Berenskoetter, Felix and Williams, M. J. (ed.). *Power in World Politics*. London and New York. Routledge, 2007. P. 102.

⁵⁴ Lebow, R. N. The Power of Persuasion. // Berenskoetter, Felix and Williams, M. J. (ed.). *Power in World Politics*. London and New York. Routledge, 2007. P. 138.

⁵⁵ Martišius, M. *(Ne)akivaizdus karas: nagrinėjant informacinį karą*. Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2010. P. 105 – 106.

⁵⁶ van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P. 115.

that the concept of soft power should serve as a bridge between both theoretical paradigms which subsumes “phenomena and processes that empower nations rather than restrain them”⁵⁷.

1.1. *The Emergence and Development of the Concept of Cultural Diplomacy*

The analysis of different definitions of cultural diplomacy has been necessary for the current thesis for several reasons. To begin with, it helps to unveil major conceptual changes and indicate the key points once more for the sake of academic clarity. Next, it demonstrates in what ways different societies and cultures should be brought closer together and reveals how contemporary diplomats could make significant contributions in ensuring an adequate cultural and political co-existence of states. It should be openly admitted that some scholars and experts still mistakenly consider the sphere of cultural diplomacy either as insignificant and shallow or inseparable from the old-fashioned techniques of aggressive propaganda. As Christina Luke and Morag M. Kersel point out, cultural diplomacy not only suffers from “the negative associations with manipulation, coercion, and subordination” but sometimes fails to get completely rid of its ambiguous status as a less significant “part of the diplomatic toolkit”⁵⁸. The investigation of cultural diplomacy and its practical instances would hardly be possible without detailed explanations about certain theoretical insights related to this challenging and thought-provoking phenomenon. In order to understand what the term “cultural diplomacy” actually means and for what particular reasons it has become so widespread in the contemporary political discourse, it is essential to look through various explanations of the above-mentioned concept.

To avoid theoretical ambiguities, the analytical comparison of five definitions of cultural diplomacy is being carried out in this thesis. Some of them happen to be clearly formulated and easily applicable in various contexts, while others remain thorough in the treatment of details. It should be noted, however, that despite an impressive variety of attitudes developed by different scholars, one key aspect has to be emphasised, namely, that cultural diplomacy is a much-needed measure when it comes to getting international support for the essential interests of states and changing people’s opinions about other countries as well as their own. After introducing relevant academic attitudes, the author of the thesis also presents her own definition of cultural diplomacy as well as suggests four basic functions that happen to be vital to the success of the diplomats involved in the concerning field.

Frederick Charles Barghoorn, a Professor of Political Science at Yale University,

⁵⁷ Gallarotti, G. M. Op. Cit. P. 175.

⁵⁸ Luke, C. and Kersel, M. M. *U.S. Cultural Diplomacy and Archaeology: Soft Power, Hard Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013. P. 3.

introduced **the first definition** of cultural diplomacy in 1960. He claimed that it should be perceived as “the manipulation of cultural materials and personnel for propaganda purposes”⁵⁹. Examining the formulation, one should keep in mind that it has always been tightly connected with a very specific historical context. In his well-known book *The Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Soviet Foreign Policy*, the scholar paid special attention to the Soviet cultural effort in the post-Stalin era. At that dramatic time, the major aim of the Soviet government was to aggressively expand the sphere of influence of their country in the world. It is also worth mentioning that Soviet cultural diplomacy has frequently been regarded as being absolutely inseparable from the faithful implementation of political objectives and the continuous dissemination of ideological messages. The mechanisms of total control and constant surveillance were extremely powerful inside the Soviet Union, too. Their existence and frequent application not only greatly influenced all spheres of both public and private life but left almost no room for an open international dialogue. Quite often the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy was made equal to quite vague “relations between elites – where static and traditional cultural settings provided the opportunity and backdrop for relaxed ambassadorial and political contact”⁶⁰. Various exhibitions, concerts or performances served as more or less neutral places of meeting, where skilled diplomats and attachés enjoyed a rare possibility to communicate with their counterparts and develop useful personal relationships if needed and possible. Occasional semi-official meetings happened to be attended mostly by those trustful officials who had managed to squeeze into a limited circle of the select few. As Frederick Charles Barghoorn has insightfully pointed out, it was almost impossible to initiate any fruitful exchange of ideas or opinions over any particular subject with the inhabitants of the Soviet Union who, in turn, had no other choice but “in all of their dealings with foreigners, perhaps particularly with noncommunist foreigners, to act as mouthpieces of official policy”⁶¹. Obviously, these people were strongly intimidated and they extremely rarely took the risk of disclosing their personal opinions to foreign visitors in order to avoid potential persecutions and even exile for being politically unreliable. In addition, the Soviet officials devoted much time and energy to completely erase the separation line between the cultural and the political. According to Frederick Charles Barghoorn, this troubling tendency derived from “the systematic utilization of information, artistic, scientific, and other cultural materials, symbols and personnel, and ideas,

⁵⁹ Barghoorn, F. C. *The Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Soviet Foreign Policy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960. P. 10.

⁶⁰ Bound, K., Briggs, R., Holden, J., Jones, S. *Cultural Diplomacy*. London: Demos, 2007. P.16 Found: <http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Cultural%20diplomacy%20-%20web.pdf?1240939425>. Checked: 05 04 2011.

⁶¹ Ibid. P. 12.

as instruments of foreign policy”⁶². Famous literary figures, for instance, had to pass through the sieve of severe censorship in order to get published and translated into other languages. Those authors who wanted to reach wider audiences had to make serious compromises with their own conscience and accept the doctrine of Soviet socialist realism. Evgeny Dobrenko has noted that the controversial construction of Soviet culture should not be perceived as a mere mediocre attempt to transform traditional patterns of literary and artistic expression beyond recognition. The scholar adds:

The shaping of the Soviet reader can be regarded as one of the aspects of a larger process – the shaping of the Soviet man. [...] The Soviet reader, spectator, or listener is not simply a recipient (or in the Western sense a ‘consumer of books’): in accordance with the doctrine of ‘reshaping society’ that lies at the heart of Socialist Realism, he is the object of reshaping, ‘molding’.⁶³

At that dramatic time, the societal role of all artists, especially writers, became really complex because they did not have a chance to act as creative personalities. Instead, most of them were forced to behave merely as cogs in the machine of totalitarian state control over the human mind, body and senses. Bureaucrats who worked for the Ministry of Culture of the Soviet Union often demonstrated that their main aspiration was to make communist ideas unquestionable and highly attractive to all members of their society as well as foreign communities. In turn, Soviet diplomats exploited the lack of knowledge about the true state of affairs inside their country among Europeans and Americans to weaken the anti-Soviet sentiment and encourage the dissemination of socialist ideas in the western world. In one of her articles, Rósa Magnúsdóttir, an expert of Soviet and Russian history, has indicated that “the Soviet Union tried to disguise its information and propaganda campaigns as spontaneous movements organized by the public itself”⁶⁴.

Milton C. Cummings Jr., a prominent American political scientist, who always manifested his interest in comparative cultural policy, claimed that cultural diplomacy should be defined as “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding”⁶⁵. Analysing this **second definition**, it becomes obvious that cultural diplomacy can produce tangible benefits to all interested parties when certain patterns of collaboration not only attract the members of the intellectual elite and

⁶² Ibid. P. 11.

⁶³ Dobrenko, E. *The Making of the State Reader: Social and Aesthetic Contexts of the Reception of Soviet Literature*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997. P. 2.

⁶⁴ Magnúsdóttir, R. Mission Impossible? Selling Soviet Socialism to Americans 1955-1958. // Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. E. and Donfried, Mark C. (ed.). *Searching For A Cultural Diplomacy*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010. P. 51.

⁶⁵ Cummings, M. C. Jr. *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Washington and New York: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003. P.1.

especially gifted artists but also tend to gradually affect lower layers of society. Similarly, active promotion of a certain culture and language among ordinary inhabitants of a particular country might successfully decrease a sense of alienation or even hostility between states. British scholars Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, John Holden and Samuel Jones indicate that even in some extreme cases “when diplomats are not even able to sit around the negotiating table together, culture can keep doors open until relations improve”⁶⁶. An important and delicate task to create fresh possibilities of communication is usually expected to be accomplished by the diplomatic staff. However, Milton C. Cummings Jr. insightfully notes that there is always a real danger to make cultural diplomacy ineffective by transforming it into “a one-way street”⁶⁷. To put it simply, most diplomats and cultural attachés strongly endeavour to present the cultural heritage of their native country, but it is quite difficult for them to react adequately and timely to some live feedback or unexpected responses from target audiences abroad. Thus, a fruitful cultural and political dialogue might sometimes be hampered due to misunderstandings that should be avoided as much as possible.

However, after the downfall of the Soviet Empire it took quite a lot of time for American and European political leaders to perceive anew that cultural heritage and traditions of their countries might ensure a great variety of effective instruments for diplomats. These instruments can readily be applied in order to attain some concrete objectives in the realm of foreign policy. As Simon Mark observes, the branch of cultural diplomacy has often been either completely ignored or interpreted just “as a lesser tool of diplomacy”, which can hardly be exploited very intensively due to its “long term impact on the behaviour of audiences”⁶⁸. This strikingly limited viewpoint has long been prevailing even in some well-developed democratic countries. According to the international scholar John Brown, the lack of attention to this important sphere of American foreign policy derives from the erroneous belief that cultural diplomacy “is a superfluous enterprise”⁶⁹. Such an unexpected passivity may have been conditioned by the reality of the unipolar world and the absence of any imminent threat before the attacks of 9/11. Speaking about the role of cultural diplomacy in the contemporary world, it should be emphasised that many political leaders often deliberately refuse to give some space to cultural cooperation in their political strategies due to the fact that much time and active personal involvement are necessary to achieve certain results in this realm. Since most politicians are

⁶⁶ Bound, K., Briggs, R., Holden, J., Jones, S. Op. Cit. P. 55.

⁶⁷ Cummings, M. C. Jr. Op. Cit. P. 1.

⁶⁸ Mark, S. A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy. *Discussion Papers In Diplomacy*, 2009. P. 5-6. Found: http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20090616_cdsp_discussion_paper_114_mark.pdf. Checked: 27 04 2011.

⁶⁹ Brown, J. Arts Diplomacy: The Neglected Aspect of Cultural Diplomacy. // Kiehl, William P. (ed.). *America's Dialogue with the World*. Washington: Public Diplomacy Council, 2006. P. 84.

elected to serve in a particular office for a limited period of time, they tend to be highly unwilling to dedicate their efforts and resources to activities that do not produce rapid results which might get positive evaluations from their constituency. According to the director and founder of the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy Mark C. Donfried, considerable time and effort is required to persuade the members of the international political elite to pay more attention to the significant connection between culture and politics, but gradual attitude changes have already become noticeable:

The interest in cultural diplomacy, however, has begun to increase due to events such as 9/11. The world realised that there is a risk if entire regions of the world do not talk to, understand, and trust each other. It is not enough to have just a few business deals or a few political treaties, you need more of a fundamental dialogue and understanding. [...] We have to talk to our friends, we have to talk to our enemies.⁷⁰

Although many proponents of *realpolitik* are more than inclined to evaluate such ideas as too optimistic, it has already become quite obvious that a fruitful dialogue can sometimes produce wonderful breakthroughs on the international stage. Cultural and educational cooperation remains significant to all countries, while the United States of America seems to be especially willing to develop a growing interest in cultural diplomacy as an additional means to assist in reaching four urgent political objectives: 1) help to maintain the political leadership on the global scale and protect its vital interests worldwide; 2) strengthen traditional alliances with member states of the European Union and NATO; 3) discover new forms of collaboration with Russia, China, India, Brazil and other newly rising powers; 4.) redefine the relations with the Arab world in a more positive light so as to bring some additional stability and democratization to the Middle East as well as decrease the potential danger of terrorism inside the U.S. and beyond its borders.

To attract special attention to the newly rediscovered importance of cultural contacts, Richard T. Arndt, a reputed expert of diplomacy, provides the **third definition**:

To define cultural diplomacy, begin with cultural relations—which happen by themselves, a mosaic of human encounters fostered by films and media, trade, tourism, intermarriage, the arts of imagination, foreign study, books, neighborly gossip and chance encounters. Cultural diplomacy on the other hand only begins when a nation-state steps in and tries to manage, to whatever extent it can, this natural two-way cultural flow so as better to advance national interests, preferably on both sides of borders. [...] It then follows that a cultural diplomat's first duty in a new country, while deepening his or her understanding of that nation, is to review and

⁷⁰ Egger, L. N. P. We Have to Talk to Our Enemies: An Interview with Mark C. Donfried. Global View Magazine, 22 10 2009. Found: <http://globalviewmagazine.wordpress.com/2009/11/11/interview-donfried/>. Checked: 05 05 2011.

assess what is already happening between his home-country and the hosts.⁷¹

The scholar made a clear distinction between two levels of cultural diplomacy. The first one is perceived as unofficial cultural ties which develop spontaneously and make people closer to one another without any direct interference from national governments or state representatives. In this case, every individual is free to choose the ways to explore various manifestations of a different culture. The second level is tightly related to well-planned attempts of a concrete state to construct its international reputation on the basis of national values, take over some interesting elements from foreign cultures and benefit from cultural exchanges with other countries by employing a variety of political instruments. Besides, much less space is left to ordinary people's personal initiatives and private contacts. According to Richard T. Arndt, it is necessary to bear in mind that "virtually every act of the cultural diplomat's daily life—is dedicated to narrowing the gaps in bilateral perceptions and to deepening knowledge on both sides"⁷². In this context, a special emphasis is laid not on manipulations and propaganda but on a positive and politically conscious dialogue meant to increase potential collaboration among states by means of cautious contributions of concrete diplomats who, in turn, are expected to serve as discreet mediators.

Contrary to the above-mentioned American academicians who tend to place a special emphasis on the connection between cultural diplomacy and governmental initiatives, a Canadian researcher Yuzo Ota has taken up a different position and provides **the fourth definition** of cultural diplomacy. He holds the opinion that the role of the state is frequently overestimated and defines cultural diplomacy as "any official and unofficial undertaking to promote a national culture among foreigners, when performed by those who identify themselves as part of the national culture at hand"⁷³. Hence, major painters, writers, musicians, actors, dancers, human rights activists may suggest important proposals in the realm of cultural diplomacy on the condition that their initiatives are sufficiently popular and inspiring to be widely recognised as valuable. Unexpected ideas and solutions should, in turn, reflect important elements of national identity in order to become interesting enough to foreign audiences. In addition, such measures as student and teacher exchange programmes, international book fairs and agro shows also contribute to finding unexpected solutions to well-entrenched political problems and encourage the establishment of flexible non-governmental organizations or state-

⁷¹ Arndt, R. The Hush-Hush Debate: The Cultural Foundations of U.S. Public Diplomacy. *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, 15 01 2010. P. 26. Found: http://publicdiplomacymagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/All_Pages.pdf. Checked: 13 09 2013.

⁷² Ibid. P. 27.

⁷³ Ota, Y. Difficulties Faced By Native Japan Interpreters: Nitobe Inazô (1862-1933) and His Generation. // Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. E. and Donfried, Mark C. (ed.). *Searching For A Cultural Diplomacy*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010. P.189.

supported institutions which can also achieve great results. These insights receive academic support from Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, John Holden and Samuel Jones, who point out that “cultural chasms are best dealt with by building cultural bridges”⁷⁴.

The extensive examination of moral values and their place in contemporary politics also provides an additional possibility to look at cultural diplomacy from an unexpected perspective and coin the **fifth definition**. According to Nicolas K. Laos, a political consultant and a researcher at the Centre for Contemporary Aristotelian Studies in Ethics and Politics at the Metropolitan University of London, a successful manifestation of cultural diplomacy should be perceived as “an attempt of the practitioner of cultural diplomacy to influence the manner in which other members of the international system make moral and normative judgements and, therefore, the manner in which they behave as social-political beings”⁷⁵. Moral issues tend to become more and more important considering the obvious fact that the contemporary world has long been striving to establish universal norms in the realm of politics and diplomacy by manoeuvring between the standards of political correctness and ethical principles which quite often derive from a traditional Christian worldview or borrow some elements of morality from other major religions such as Judaism, Buddhism or Shinto. There is no doubt that experienced diplomats are destined to face a serious dilemma: they could sometimes be forced to abandon moral principles in order to better defend the interests of their homeland, but the untamed aspiration to increase influence at the expense of others and acquire more political power at any cost may also lead to catastrophic political consequences. To obtain lasting results from everyday diplomatic activity, introduce cultural peculiarities properly and avoid damaging compromises of consciousness, it is essential to acknowledge that there is “a spiritual presence, bigger, more important, more meaningful than just us alone, that has its own power separate from our power, and that even as the world’s marvels multiply, makes us kneel in humility, not swagger in pride”⁷⁶.

In addition, the concept of cultural diplomacy gets an adequate attention from such political figures as the experienced Dutch politician and the former EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator Gijs de Vries who emphasises the necessity to develop a comprehensive strategy which would “include at least four dimensions: (1) strengthening the rule of law; (2) developing cultural diplomacy as an instrument of conflict prevention and management; (3) protecting and enhancing cultural heritage; (4) creating mechanisms for civil society cooperation and exchange

⁷⁴ Bound, K., Briggs, R., Holden, J., Jones, S. Op. Cit. P. 19.

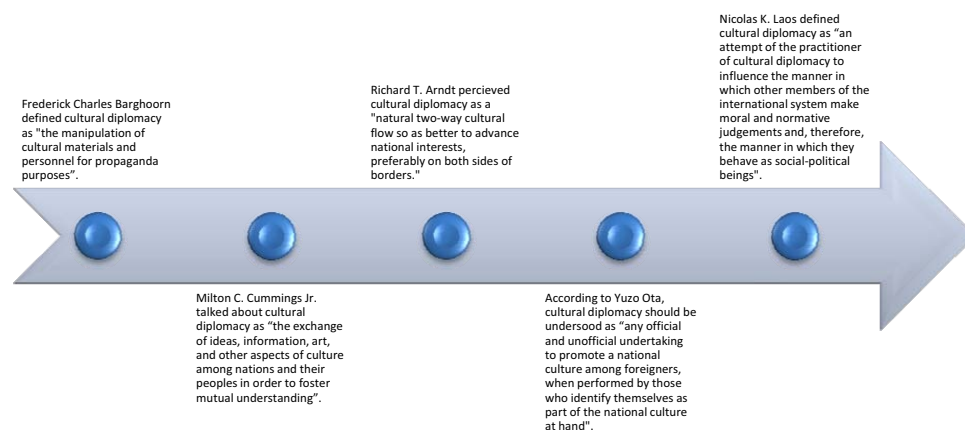
⁷⁵ Laos, N. K. *Foundations of Cultural Diplomacy: Politics Among Cultures and the Moral Anatomy of Man*. Algora Publications, 2011. P. 8.

⁷⁶ Blair, T. A Speech on Religion: Tony Blair and Christopher Hitchens Debate Religion, 26 11 2010. Found: <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/297090-1>. Checked: 28 11 2011.

through people-to-people contacts”⁷⁷. The first dimension of this model is clearly related to the liberal tradition, while other three dimensions aptly uncover the particular ways through which cultural activities might contribute to reducing political tensions, providing more political influence to states and increasing the international stability in a globalized world.

All the previously discussed definitions of cultural diplomacy are correspondingly important in order to understand the development of the concept in more detail since each of them indicates which elements had been perceived as absolutely necessary for its successful implementation. The following chart clearly demonstrates that the scholarly thought has already underwent a major transformation from placing an important emphasis on propaganda and cultural manipulations to focussing on different patterns of reciprocally beneficial cultural exchange and moral values.

Chart No. 2. Development of the Concept of Cultural Diplomacy



This chart was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė on the basis of available theoretical materials.

Notably, the conduct of contemporary cultural diplomacy is much more open to external influences than before. Professional diplomats are currently no longer able to preserve a certain distance from a variety of people, including political theoreticians and well-reputed experts who have considerable experience in societal, financial, political and cultural spheres. Considering these developments, cultural diplomacy should be conceived as a means of empowerment that might greatly help more distant countries and societies to attain a certain degree of

⁷⁷ De Vries, G. The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in European Foreign Policy. // Davidson, Martin and Roman, Stephen (ed.). *Celebrating 75 Years of Cultural Relations: The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in European Foreign Policy*. London: British Council, 2009. P 9. [Electronic version produced by Ubiquis]. Found:<http://www.britishcouncil.org/new/Global/images/AboutUs/75%20anniversary/2009%2010%2022%20Gijs%20de%20Vries%20transcript.pdf>. Checked: 10 02 2012.

understanding so that a fragile dialogue about solutions to common problems and fruitful proposals could be initiated on the international level. *In the current thesis, cultural diplomacy is defined by the author as an effort of the official representatives of countries to achieve certain foreign policy objectives and acquire more power on the international level by exploiting basic elements of respective national cultures and all forms of arts as effective tools to attract foreign populaces together with the assistance of state-supported or non-governmental initiatives and private undertakings aimed to provide possibilities for an increased cooperation among all countries involved or reduce tensions when interstate relations become unstable at least.* In the opinion of the author of the thesis, major practitioners of cultural diplomacy are expected to perform a series of functions that include:

- 1.) The obligation to develop a favourable attitude towards a concrete country in order to enhance the mutual understanding with other foreign states on all levels and gradually open up additional possibilities to accumulate more power and influence;
- 2.) The commitment to ensure a proper representation of the state beyond its borders by means of different cultural initiatives and specialized programs designed and implemented with the assistance of top governmental institutions and the diplomatic service as well as non-governmental entities and private sponsors;
- 3.) The responsibility to facilitate and encourage all forms of cooperation among countries so that people could freely share their best experience, knowledge and traditions in a variety of professional, cultural and academic spheres as well as business;
- 4.) The necessity to ensure the adequate degree of reciprocity among states and their societies through active networks of cultural centres and digital databases so that people could easily get acquainted with attractive elements of a particular foreign culture, learn new languages, become sensitive to different worldviews as well as ready to accept the variety of political positions on urgent international questions.

1.2. Four Types of Power in Relation to Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy needs to be investigated in the context of different manifestations of power given the fact that the majority of political leaders have been continuously exploiting cultural initiatives as important measures to get more political potency and influence on the diplomatic front. According to Paul Sharp, the Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota Duluth, the academic interest in the conduct of diplomacy and the realm of culture currently derives from “the growing sense that the distribution of power and wealth in the world is

shifting”, and at the same time much heed is paid to the perception that “the ways in which we represent ourselves to one another are also undergoing change”⁷⁸. One should always consider the fact that the leading countries are currently engaged in a fierce competition, and each state strives to do everything possible to make its own cultural models universally acknowledged and even dominant over the cultural models of other states. However, the success in this delicate sphere would be hardly imaginable without considerable reliance on diverse powers which affect each society from within and simultaneously change its capabilities to project an attractive image abroad by means of cultural diplomacy.

Concurrently with this, the role of military empowerment remains especially complex to grasp in this particular context. Moreover, cultural contacts among the diplomats representing different countries are hardly possible “unless power can be tamed, and brought into the service, not of this or that group of fanatical tyrants, but of the whole human race [...] for science has made it inevitable that all must live or all must die”⁷⁹. From the pluralistic perspective, the adherence to strict limits to the usage of nuclear weaponry and its proliferation worldwide has become a prerequisite for the survival of humanity. In effect, such an approach has turned into an acceptable international norm. However, the military potential sometimes turns out to be necessary in order to protect the cultural artefacts from destruction, illegitimate trafficking and looting either in conflict zones or after experiencing weather disasters. As the American scholar Robert Albro argues, it is important to remember that “collaborations between cultural professionals and the [...] military, in the context of this increasing attention to heritage, constitute non-traditional opportunities for cultural diplomacy”⁸⁰. In fact, some cultural sites and artifacts are so important and valuable that they symbolically belong not to a concrete state but to the entire world. Therefore, their irrecoverable loss might end up in producing dangerous forms of the cultural amnesia and create a firm foundation for a contemporary version of barbarity deriving from ignorance.

The empowerment via cultural initiatives remains a central element of cultural diplomacy since it gives new chances to create more mutual understanding and build trust among the inhabitants of various countries. On the one hand, the practitioners of cultural diplomacy need to concentrate on the most important aspects of their national culture and scrutinize by what means additional political influence can be gained. On the other hand, it should be taken into consideration that the role of the governmental network of embassies has diminished

⁷⁸ Sharp, P. Diplomats, Diplomacy, Diplomatic Studies, and the Future of International Relations and International Studies. *International Studies Review*, 2011, Vol. 13, Issue 4. P. 717.

⁷⁹ Russell, B. *Power: A New Social Analysis*. London and New York. Routledge, 2008. P. 22.

⁸⁰ Albro, R. Cultural Diplomacy and Heritage Wars. *Artsblog*, 15 05 2013. Found: <http://blog.artsusa.org/2013/05/15/cultural-diplomacy-and-heritage-wars/>. Checked: 22 03 2014.

significantly during several decades. At present, the representatives of non-governmental organizations, activist groups and even artists themselves endeavor to develop innovative mechanisms to share the treasures of their respective cultures as well as reveal artistic discoveries to one another more independently. The Professor of Theater Management at Yale University Joan Channick has insightfully managed to provide a thorough explanation about this fundamental change as far as the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy is concerned:

There is a fundamental difference between the official approach to cultural diplomacy—where the emphasis is on the diplomacy, and culture is merely a tool or, worse, a weapon—and the approach taken by artists. Artists engage in cross-cultural exchange not to proselytize about their own values but rather to understand different cultural traditions, to find new sources of imaginative inspiration, to discover other methods and ways of working and to exchange ideas with people whose worldviews differ from their own. They want to be influenced rather than to influence.⁸¹

Intensive relationships among talented individuals and institutions currently seem to be much more flexible than official relations between states. However, the members of the diplomatic service dealing with cultural issues still have to fulfill the mission of a watchdog: they have to secure that the home country is properly represented abroad, make sure that diplomatic, political or cultural challenges are not turned into excuses for the abuse of power mechanisms and keep the influx of foreign cultural elements under control to prevent potential apprehensions of external domination. In turn, the absolute majority of contemporary political leaders representing different states are striving to attain the three ends: 1) to create a positive image of a particular country as seen and perceived by foreigners, 2) to bring certain political preferences to the international arena in order to legitimize and gradually incorporate them into the mosaic of universally acceptable values, 3) to exploit cultural, economic and public measures as well as the mass media in order to impose political attitudes or opinions to other countries and get additional support for potentially beneficial solutions by using available levers of power.

Quite an innovative interpretation on manifestations of power and its types has been successfully introduced by Joseph S. Nye Jr., an American theoretician, political scientist and representative of neoliberalism. His academic interests range from analysing global power transformations to examining recent changes in American foreign policy under the presidency of the Barack H. Obama⁸². At the very beginning of the development of his theoretical model of power, the scholar has indicated that there are two ways for every state to get positive political results. The first one remains inseparable from “the active command power behaviour” which

⁸¹ Channick, J. The Artist as Cultural Diplomat. *American Theatre*, 2005, Vol. 22, Issue 5. P 4.

⁸² His major scholarly works include: *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990); *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (2002); *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004); *The Powers to Lead* (2008) and *The Future of Power* (2011).

stems from the periodic usage of military and coercive measures, while the second one appears to be understood as the “indirect or co-optive power behavior” tightly related to “the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences that others express”⁸³. To clarify the issue of contemporary forms of power in the realm of international relations, Joseph S. Nye Jr. has been especially keen to demonstrate that some countries are more willing to achieve their political aims by means of naked military force or brutal economic pressure, while other states devote considerable attention to their international legitimacy, influence and attractiveness. At present, the scholar’s ideas are being slightly modified in order to expand the notion of power by dividing it into four interrelated elements.

1.2.1. Limitations of Hard Power and the Necessity for Cultural Diplomacy

One of Joseph S. Nye’s essential concepts is that of hard power. He defines it as the capacity to “induce others to change their position” by means of coercive measures such as “the threat or use of military and economic weapons”⁸⁴. The United States of America, for instance, has many economic and military instruments at its disposal that might be employed anytime either to invade and control a potentially hostile country or create such an unfavorable situation which might eventually lead to the complete destruction of the economy of a particular state. It should be emphasised that in the wake of the Cold War era the United States has often been perceived as “the only superpower” whose interests and objectives must be taken into account⁸⁵. After the tragedy of 9/11, however, it became obvious that excessively optimistic expectations of the American political leadership to create “a new kind of international order, with nations growing together or disappearing altogether, ideological conflicts melting away, cultures intermingling through increasingly free commerce and communications” happened to be highly premature and really distant from the real state of international affairs⁸⁶. The domination of the United States during the post-Cold War era turned out to be rather controversial and far less beneficial than expected. Besides, the danger of global terrorism after 9/11 attacks in New York changed the realm of politics and diplomacy beyond recognition. To start with, the United States has currently been experiencing fundamental problems due to the deficit of legitimacy as a result of its military campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan and repetitive failures to counter the militant insurgency in the region. Furthermore, the global image of the U.S. has been deteriorating

⁸³ Nye, J. S. Jr. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books, 1990. P 31.

⁸⁴ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2002. Op. Cit. P. 8-9.

⁸⁵ Nye, J. S. Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004. P 4.

⁸⁶ Kagan R. End of Dreams, Return of History. *Policy Review*, 17 07 2007, No. 144. Found: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/6136>. Checked: 10 03 2012.

steadily due to the constant rise of anti-American sentiments in the Middle East and the European scepticism about the eventual success of international military interventions. According to Joseph S. Nye Jr., there is no other way but to make absolutely clear that “the current struggle against Islamist terrorism is not a clash of civilizations but a contest whose outcome is closely tied to a civil war between moderates and extremists within Islamic civilization”⁸⁷. In this context, the military power and economic measures should no longer be seen as the dominant and only type of power. American, French and British political leaders as well as European allies have no other effective option but to forget their disagreements, endeavor to change their negative image of contemporary crusaders in the Middle East and open new political avenues for an intensive political dialogue with more open Muslim leaders. It would gradually decrease well-entrenched hostilities and dispel the myth that a fruitful cooperation between Western powers and Middle Eastern countries is practically impossible and even undesirable.

The relationship between cultural diplomacy and hard power remains sufficiently ambivalent since cultural sensitivities and differences may generate serious discord among nations sometimes leading to severe armed clashes. However, it should not be forgotten that the military can provide vital assistance in order to preserve the cultural heritage from destruction either under extreme weather conditions (e.g. floods or earthquakes) or in the wake of serious civil disorders (e.g. massive rioting or looting).

1.2.2. Manifestations of Soft and Smart Powers in the Context of Cultural Diplomacy

The analysis of cultural diplomacy in relation to power takes its inspiration from the basic scholarly insights developed by Joseph S. Nye Jr. One of the concepts central to his theory is widely known as soft power. It usually refers to “the ability to get what you want by the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction”⁸⁸. Politicians and diplomats tend to express confident opinions about this type of power as it helps to increase the influence of particular countries on the international arena and positively affects their capabilities to obtain necessary political results by peaceful means. Soft power traditionally derives from various cultural or economic achievements that catch the attention of artistic and business elites in foreign countries and inspire a huge international audience via contemporary media and communication technologies. An attractive system of core democratic ideals which might encourage people to act more decisively and dismantle authoritarian and corrupt

⁸⁷ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2004. Op. Cit. P. 131.

⁸⁸ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2011. Op. Cit. P. 13.

governmental regimes sometimes serves as an effective means to produce and accumulate soft power, too. In addition to that, one should never forget the decisive role of international legal norms in acquiring soft power, since they frequently determine whether the international interference may be necessary in order to find solutions to international conflicts or humanitarian crises. According to Joseph S. Nye Jr., it is of vital importance to understand that “soft power does not belong to the government in the same degree that hard power does”, and for this reason it becomes more complex to obtain immediate outcomes in a concrete political situation⁸⁹.

For instance, French political leaders and diplomats have much experience in acquiring soft power via the promotion of the French language and culture abroad. However, some local academics such as Bertrand Badie, Professor of International Relations, remain quite pessimistic about the overall effectiveness of current measures. The latter openly claims that the “weakening of the French language is the main source of concern for French cultural diplomacy”⁹⁰. It should be taken into account that the overall success of cultural diplomacy in the majority of cases remains quite dependent on the promotion of cultural achievements as a means to attain a deeper mutual understanding with the representatives of other countries and find potential partners for business and professional collaboration in a variety of spheres. From a theoretical perspective, it would be useful to think of soft power in terms of a phenomenon inseparable from different cultural elements, starting from international sporting events which “can play a role in communicating values” and finishing with inspiring educational initiatives since their implementation “may have a major political effect” and determine the trajectory of political and diplomatic relations between states for decades if not longer⁹¹. For example, linguistic barriers may often turn into a serious obstacle for students and young foreign specialists to come and discover France as an attractive destination for their international academic studies and professional internships. The factor of global prestige also comes into play in this situation since people typically express a strong desire “to study at a university recognised as being at the cutting edge of research, or that has high name recognition”⁹².

Despite impressive traditions of French academic institutions, the leading American universities currently enjoy a far greater popularity on the global arena and attract impressive numbers of students to the U.S. As a result, the French government might face a real threat to experience a severe loss of soft power because of the gradual decrease of vibrant cultural and

⁸⁹ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2004.Op. Cit. P. 16.

⁹⁰ A quotation from the interview of Professor Bertrand Badie done by Giedrė Pranaitytė at Sciences Po University 20 09 2011, Paris. P. 2.

⁹¹ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2004.Op. Cit. P. 46-47.

⁹² Hall, T. An Unclear Attraction: A Critical Examination of Soft Power as an Analytical Category. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2010, Vol. 3. No. 2. P. 211.

academic contacts despite all attempts to change the general state of affairs for the better. Importantly, the dominance of American culture on the global scale has already created an atmosphere of tension in France whose leaders seem to be worried not only about the political status of their state but troubled by the sentiment of anti-Americanism among the Frenchmen. The former Secretary of State for Cooperation and Francophonie Alain Joyandet explains that the French leadership simply has no other option but to direct sufficient financial and human resources in order to clear the way for the French language on the global level and re-affirm the significance of the movement of the *Francophonie* which has always been inseparable from traditional French values such as “democracy, respect for human rights, tolerance, cultural and linguistic diversity, the protection of our planet, brotherhood and solidarity”⁹³.

Speaking about chances to get additional soft power through adequate transformations of foreign policy and the spread of officially supported values, one should note that the representatives of different societies might have completely opposite views on political and cultural events as well as diplomatic decisions. As Joseph S. Nye Jr. remarks, “foreign policies that appear to be hypocritical, arrogant, indifferent to the opinion of others, or based on a narrow approach to national interests can undermine soft power”⁹⁴. However, on the practical level, it might be very complex for political leaders to control the acquisition of soft power and reap only positive results. Some actions or cultural peculiarities related to a concrete state have enough potential to seem attractive to the populace of another country, but some of them might end up being considered offensive and illegitimate. For instance, the President of Rwanda Paul Kagame made a deliberate choice to adopt a new Constitution and proclaim English to be an additional official language of the country in 2003. Six years later, the entire population of Rwanda had to accept the complete disappearance of the French language from the official realm as an inevitable fact. In addition to that, Paul Kagame demonstrated an absolute preference to speak English during his official visit to France in 2011. These signs of severe tension appeared to be humiliating to major French politicians who have always had an ambition to take the cultural lead in Africa. Given the fact that French enjoyed the status of the official language of Rwanda along with the local dialect known as Kinyarwanda since the Belgian colonial rule and up to 2008, such controversial decisions of the current Rwandan head of state might be evaluated as a serious diminishment of soft power of France. Hence, the above-mentioned changes in the realm of linguistic policies may seem understandable taken into account the French involvement in the genocide of 1994 in order to provide all kinds of assistance to the Hutu majority. According to the scholar Xavier Renou, it has been impossible

⁹³ Joyandet, A. Pour une Francophonie ambitieuse. *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2008, Issue 3. No. 89. P. 30.

⁹⁴ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2004.Op. Cit. P. 14.

to downplay the fact that “France sent troops, weapons and money, put pressure on the media not to tell the truth about the genocide, and opposed the will of neighbouring Anglophone countries to intervene in the conflict to stop the genocide”⁹⁵. Consequently, the irreversible erosion of France’s legitimacy and cultural influence occurred due to a troubling mismatch between the official rhetoric and practical actions implemented by the representatives of France during an unprecedented ethnic cleansing in Rwanda. According to the researchers Beth Lewis Samuelson and Sarah Warshauer Freedman, an entire series of paradoxical miscalculations “has resulted in French being regarded as the language of the 1994 killers”⁹⁶. Therefore, the members of the current Rwandan establishment have been doing everything possible to make the official status of the English language unquestionable. All things put together, an observation should be made that there is always a real danger for soft power to get seriously damaged or even pushed away from the political arena because of excessive hard power, especially if mighty military instruments happen to be employed mistakenly and irresponsibly.

The third theoretical concept coined by the former Deputy to the Ambassador for U.N. Management and Reform at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations Suzanne Nossel and further developed by Joseph S. Nye Jr. is that of smart power. This term entered the political discourse after the publication of Suzanne Nossel’s article *Smart Power* which appeared in the well-reputed journal *Foreign Affairs* in the spring of 2004. At that time, she fervently criticized disputable attempts of the Bush administration to guarantee an unprecedented freedom of military action for the United States and protect the model of the so-called unipolar world. According to Suzanne Nossel, the approval of “a defiant unilateralism” by the American political elite proved to be rather myopic and this position should have been abandoned in favor of “the smart use of power to promote U.S. interests through a stable grid of allies, institutions, and norms” that would undoubtedly result in an increasing dependence on “careful diplomacy and the power of ideas”⁹⁷. Taking into account the notoriously problematic relationship between the United States and the United Nations concerning a series of controversial issues, including troubles of legitimizing military interventions in sovereign states, any transformation of the American political course or the adoption of a more positive attitude towards the many-voiced international community have been unlikely for a long time.

However, both actors happen to share similar political values and it cannot be denied that a more active cooperation with the United States might become an essential factor meant to

⁹⁵ Renou, X. A New French Policy for Africa? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 2002, Vol. 20, No. 1. P. 12.

⁹⁶ Lewis Samuelson, B. and Warshauer Freedman, S. Language Policy, Multilingual Education, and Power in Rwanda. *Language Policy*, 2010, Vol. 9, Issue 3. P. 194.

⁹⁷ Nossel, S. Smart Power. *Foreign Affairs*, 2004, Vol. 83, No. 2. P. 132 and 134.

ensure the effective functioning of the United Nations in the future. At the beginning of the presidency of Barack H. Obama some hopeful signs of improvement in this particular sphere started to appear since the members of his administration have obviously been willing to dismantle the negative image of the U.S. merely as “an oppressor, hungry for oil and power”⁹⁸. Meanwhile, a theoretical dialogue about the need to introduce additional forms of power has intensified due to the endeavors of Joseph S. Nye Jr.

In his seminal book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* the scholar explained that smart power should be conceived as the achievement of “a better balance of hard and soft power”⁹⁹. This concept provoked a heated discussion among scholars and politicians who often found it challenging to come to an agreement on the steps that should be taken to acquire smart power and the ways it would contribute to the development of international relations more fruitfully. A major breakthrough in this field occurred in 2006, when a special commission on smart power was finally established in the United States. It consisted of the representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties, renowned experts of international relations, scholars and advisors of high repute. More than forty people, including Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Richard L. Armitage as two co-chairs, operated under the patronage of the *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (CSIS) for about two years. Their work resulted in a special strategy *A Smarter, More Secure America* (2007) and a special blog devoted to the analysis of smart power. The objective of this initiative has been threefold: (1) to initiate an extensive dialogue about smart power and the prospects of the American leadership in the world; (2) to make American politicians well aware of beneficial possibilities and options that may be opened due to the systematic usage of smart power on the political arena; (3) to make the American civil society more open in voicing a variety of positions concerning the priorities of foreign policy as well as diplomatic failures and achievements. In the text of the strategy *A Smarter, More Secure America*, Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Richard L. Armitage point out that smart power derives from the “approach that underscores the necessity of a strong military, but also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions at all levels”; however, both scholars simultaneously warn against the possible difficulties for American leaders to expand “the ability to draw in allies” without decisively resisting the temptation “to over-rely on hard power because it is the most direct and visible source of American strength”¹⁰⁰. In the end, it is essential to remember that soft and smart powers should be seen as factors that bear significance to the successful implementation of cultural diplomacy of each country. Both of these powers are very useful for

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2004. Op. Cit. P. 147.

¹⁰⁰ Armitage, R. L. and Nye J. S. Jr. *A Smarter, More Secure America: Report of the CSIS Commission on Smart Power*. 2007. Washington: The CSIS Press Center for Strategic and International Studies. P. 7-8 and 10.

contemporary states eager to discover necessary political and diplomatic solutions without pure coercion and brutal force or simply find reliable political friends. A greater significance than usual is being attributed to subtle forms of mediation and cooperation through well-reputed non-governmental actors, influential individuals and artists who happen to be authoritative enough to avert potential dangers or build long-lasting partnerships in times of severe political, diplomatic or economic crises. Sometimes one phrase uttered by a global leader such as Barack H. Obama, the 14th Dalai Lama or Pope Francis can make a greater impact on the improvement of cultural or political relations among states than countless debates of numerous delegations seated around the same table.

1.2.3. The Growth of Cyberpower as a Means to Affect Cultural Diplomacy

Developing the fourth concept to complete his theory Joseph S. Nye Jr. places a special focus on the notion of cyberpower. It is referred to as being dependent on “a set of resources that relate to the creation, control and communication of electronic and computer-based information – infrastructure, networks, software, human skills”¹⁰¹. Currently, people are getting even more eager to use the newest technologies and communicate via social networks and for this reason they become quite powerful without receiving any assistance from the state. Political protests are being organized online and manifestations on the streets of Moscow and Cairo have already initiated some changes on political and diplomatic arenas. As Joseph S. Nye Jr. explains, cyberpower has its own dark side, since it may also generate some “hard power inside cyber space”¹⁰² as an instrument meant to provoke and suppress peaceful and militant forms of civil unrest or even launch a cyber-war against another country, but at the same time it should be mentioned that cyberpower has enough potential “to create soft power by attracting citizens in another country” due to people’s active involvement in cultural exchanges while being online¹⁰³.

Global leaders such as the President of the United States, Barack H. Obama as well as political newcomers such as François Hollande, the current president of France, have been aware that social networking, SMS messaging as well as mobile news should be exploited by the members of their administrations effectively if they truly want to achieve concrete political aims on the domestic level and get some additional support from their constituencies. Furthermore, deliberate exploitation of cyberpower during electoral campaigns might provide positive results and in most cases their presence remains subtle enough not to irritate the wider

¹⁰¹ Nye, J. S. Jr. *Cyberpower*. Cambridge: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2010. P. 3.

¹⁰² Ibid. P. 6.

¹⁰³ Nye, J. S. Jr. 2010. P. 13.

public that appears to be rather sensitive to manipulations related to the aggressive formation of public opinion or the establishment of a unilateral cultural monopoly. Interestingly, the final speech of François Hollande “Moi président de la République” made an interesting contribution to his victory in the presidential elections of 2012. Debating with the acting president of the French state Nicolas Sarkozy on French television, he repeated the phrase “Me, President of the Republic” sixteen times in order to present his views about the presidency in a more persuasive manner. Afterwards, some rap musicians quickly transformed it into several popular songs and placed various music videos on *Youtube*. This private and uncontrolled initiative not only generated a genuine interest in the personality of François Hollande *per se* but also initiated a deliberate global discussion about the need to better adhere to basic principles of the political culture and transform French values by adjusting them to the contemporary requirements of the political arena.

Analysing this situation, it should be admitted that intellectual elites of European countries as well as think tanks working in the United States have publicly acknowledged that cyberpower could either serve as an instrument meant to preserve “a world in which a few people control communications technology that can be used to manipulate the beliefs of billions” or function as a delicate measure to protect democratic ideals by building up “a world in which every citizen can broadcast to every other citizen”¹⁰⁴. The access of social networks to ordinary people and the endeavours of authoritarian regimes to control the spread of information as well as limit cultural exchanges have become an indicator revealing the actual level of personal freedom within a concrete society.

The digitization of cultural patrimony could be seen as another example showing in the ways cyberpower produces soft power and contributes to the realm of cultural diplomacy. Some important steps to make the riches of French literary heritage available online to international audiences have been made in 1997, when the National Library of France initiated the process of digitization of its funds under the umbrella of an extensive experimental project called “Gallica”. The development of the initiative has been getting much attention from the French Ministry of Culture and Communication. As Marc Tessier emphasises, at the earliest stage of its development, this digital library could “offer several hundred thousand of documents”, but the collection has been continuously expanding up to the present day¹⁰⁵. An extensive document entitled “Rapport sur la numérisation du patrimoine écrit” and submitted to the French Minister of Culture Frédéric Mitterrand in the year of 2010 centred on two major goals in this particular

¹⁰⁴ Rheingold, H. *The Virtual Community: Surfing the Internet*. London: Minerva, 1994. P. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Tessier M. Rapport sur la numérisation du patrimoine écrit, 2010. P. 6. Found: <http://www.lefigaro.fr/assets/pdf/rapport-numerisation.pdf>. Checked: 23 05 2012.

sphere of activity. The first of them emphasises the non-negotiable obligation to “foresee and administer questions of conservation and perpetuation of digital content”, and the second one concentrates on “the accessibility to digitized patrimony”¹⁰⁶. It should be emphasised that the French officials had to encounter a number of serious obstacles in order to achieve those objectives starting from complex negotiations with publishing companies over sensitive copyright issues and finishing with discovering new options for a potential cooperation with *Google Books*.

However, a huge part of French written and visual patrimony has already become accessible on a global scale with just one click of a mouse. In 2012 visitors of “Gallica” could download approximately 1.760.508 documents, 348.928 books and 847.344 periodicals or take a look at 485.887 images on their personal computers’ screens completely free of charge. This digital library also provides a unique possibility to get unlimited access to several bilingual sites such as *La France en Amérique / France in America*. The latter has been launched in joint effort with the Library of Congress located in Washington D.C. After spending some time on this thematic website, one can quickly find and examine necessary documents and other pieces of historical information dedicated to “the French presence in North America from the first decades of the 16th century to the end of the 19th century”¹⁰⁷. It not only helps both nations to get better acquainted with their common history but also greatly encourages a virtual dialogue between two cultures. Hence, decisive steps towards the extensive digitization of the British literary heritage gained much political support in the United Kingdom as well.

In 2011 the British Library and *Google* finally came to an agreement to “digitise a huge range of printed books, pamphlets and periodicals dated 1700 to 1870, the period that saw the French and Industrial Revolutions, the Battle of Trafalgar and the Crimean War, the invention of rail travel and of the telegraph, the beginning of UK income tax, and the end of slavery”¹⁰⁸. The website of the British library gives access to various materials written in major European languages and some unique publications that are extremely difficult to find and consult as hard copies. It should be admitted that digital libraries have been among those few public institutions that accumulate much soft power. There is no doubt that the spread of British or French cultural resources among scholars, students, professionals and political figures contributes to the successful implementation of cultural diplomacy.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 15 – 16.

¹⁰⁷ France in America: About the Project. Found: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/dossiers/html/dossiers/FranceAmerique/changelang.jsp?lang=en&qui=T1-1-Intro.htm>.
Checked: 23 05 2012.

¹⁰⁸ The British Library and Google to make 250,000 books available to all, 20 06 2011. Found: <http://pressandpolicy.bl.uk/Press-Releases/The-British-Library-and-Google-to-make-250-000-books-available-to-all-4fc.aspx>. Checked: 23 05 2012.

Some controversial aspects of cultural cooperation in relation to diplomatic action and the empowerment of states on the international level have been provoked by the entry of multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations on the international stage. As Joseph S. Nye Jr. observes, “the openness and accessibility of cyberspace as a medium of communication provide valuable benefits to all”, and because of its vibrant and overreaching existence “the diffusion of power to nonstate actors” has become inevitable and almost unstoppable¹⁰⁹. During the last two decades, the role of cultural attachés has been transformed into that of politically-oriented mediators who are entitled to maintain cultural ties on the basis of historical traditions and bring governmental officials, businessmen, artists and the representatives of non-governmental entities together so that fresh opportunities for a cultural and economic cooperation could be opened. According to the Director of *International Intelligence on Culture* Rod Fisher, it should be also considered that “many other actors [...] involved in international engagement can represent a challenge for any government foreign ministry that wishes to maintain a reasonably coherent national story or global image”¹¹⁰. Therefore, it is often problematic to avoid violent clashes of opinions about the ways the state should be presented to the members of foreign societies or their political leaders without at least some fragmentation of cultural and diplomatic efforts. In addition to that, cultural differences may sometimes become an insurmountable obstacle to diplomats and other major players acting in this delicate sphere because of insufficient information about positive or negative stereotypes thriving in the host country. Consequently, the failure to timely recognise and eliminate certain political barriers might bring the formation of mutual understanding to a sudden halt or prevent interested parties from building friendly relations altogether. As a matter of fact, countries usually become more powerful and obtain a relatively elevated status in the realm of cultural diplomacy on the condition that the overwhelming majority of its representatives operating at different levels are capable and eager to agree on major objectives, develop a flexible long-term strategy to meet basic cultural challenges and faithfully adhere to basic principles of its implementation. At the very first sight, these logical steps may seem obvious and even unavoidable but they still need to be conducted in some countries, especially those lacking a well-established reputation or highly resistant to external influences. It would be short-sighted not to acknowledge the fact that “an increasing preference to the abstract and the virtual” does not always induce people to suppress their personal fears of foreigners, immigrants or strangers, become less xenophobic and stop harbouring “an excessively restrictive sense of

¹⁰⁹ Nye, J. S. Jr. 2010. P. 143 and 151.

¹¹⁰ Fisher, R. Recognising the Significance of Culture in Government and EU External Relations, 27 06 2008. P. 2. Found: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/documents/recognising_culture_gov_eu_ext_relations.pdf. Checked: 23 05 2012.

community”¹¹¹. In this context, frequent people-to-people contacts, opportunities for tourism and independent cultural initiatives as well as academic dialogues concerning identity transformation issues and academic exchanges as instruments for the successful maintenance of diplomatic relations in the globalized world should render at least some assistance to Europeans as well as Americans in finding adequate political measures or reaching urgent compromises in order to ensure a harmonious usage of all types of power as a result of an increased cultural awareness and sensitive diplomatic activities.

1.3. Alternative Visions of Power

One more interesting theory related to power and its types has been presented by the American scholar Walter Russel Mead, who is recognised as one of the most insightful experts of the American foreign policy¹¹². Despite the attempts to introduce an alternative model of power, his theoretical insights take their beginnings from Joseph S. Nye’s ideas on hard and soft power. In my opinion, Walter Russel Mead’s interpretation of power is valuable and interesting, but an exclusive focus on the political strategy of the United States makes his insights rather limited and less applicable to the analysis of other cases. Therefore, in this subchapter the scholar’s ideas will be discussed in a close relation with successes and failures of recent American foreign policy in order to reveal them in a more natural context.

Walter Russel Mead argues that broad concepts of hard and soft power should be split into four separate notions. Hard power is subsequently divided into sharp power and sticky one. This division provokes some interest due to a clear line of separation drawn between military and economic spheres. Meanwhile, the notion of soft power ends up being transformed into sweet and hegemonic powers. The scholar explains that “military power can usefully be called sharp power; those resisting it will feel bayonets pushing and prodding them in the direction they must go” and makes a daring suggestion that this type of power should be seen as “the foundation of the U.S. system”¹¹³. The killing of Osama bin Laden, the former leader of the Al-Qaeda terrorist network, during a special operation carried out in the territory of Pakistan in the spring of 2011,

¹¹¹ Philippe de Suremain quoted in Pranaitytė, G. Filipas de Siurmenas: Ateitis ne visada priklauso gudriems ir atsargiems žmonėms. *Bernardinai.lt*, 17 01 2011. [An interview with the first French Ambassador to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain done by Giedrė Pranaitytė.] Found: <http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2011-01-17-filipas-de-siurmenas-ateitis-ne-visada-priklauso-gudriems-ir-atsargiems-zmonems/56272>. Checked: 25 05 2012.

¹¹² Walter Russel Mead has been working for a number of years as a productive contributor and essayist to leading American journals and newspapers, including *Foreign Affairs*, *The Atlantic*, *Wall Street Journal* and *International Herald Tribune*. One of his books called *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk* (2004) has provoked an argument among politicians, philosophers and specialists of international relations about forms of power and strategic preferences of the United States.

¹¹³ Mead, W. R. America's Sticky Power. *Foreign Affairs*, 01 03 2004. Found: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2004/03/01/americas_sticky_power?page=full. Checked: 30 05 2012.

may serve as an illuminating example to see in what ways sharp power might operate on the practical level.

1.3.1. Sweet Power as a Tool to Spread Cultural Values of Contemporary States

The concept of sweet power bears a special significance to cultural diplomacy since it incorporates “the power of attraction to American ideals, culture, and values that draws others around the world more or less spontaneously to support or, at least, accept American power and American policy”¹¹⁴. This type of power is introduced by the scholar as the one focused on the formation of the favorable image of the United States on the basis of versatile cultural initiatives and educational exchanges as well as constant support for human rights, freedom of speech and other uncontested values. Speaking about such a sensitive topic as the obligation to protect women’s rights, it should be emphasised that leading American politicians devote much energy and stamina to the promotion of gender equality in terms of fair payment, social security and health issues as well as adequate representation of women on the political arena. For instance, in 2011 the Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton took part at a high-level conference “Women Enhancing Democracy: Best Practices” which had been organized in Vilnius under the initiative of the Office of the President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaitė. The presence of the United States Secretary of State at this international event alongside with 130 female political figures and representatives of international organizations might be regarded as an inspiring example of American sweet power. On this occasion, Hillary Rodham Clinton made a compelling speech in order to encourage all participants of the conference to rapidly implement a great variety of available measures so that women would be able to freely enjoy their rights in every corner of the globe:

Our struggle is not just about the choices people make in the voting booth, it’s about all the choices that should be available to women today – to study, to take out a loan, to inherit money, to win custody of children, to start a business, to drive. [...] When you look back at the last 300 years of history, you can see a pattern. You can see that the 19th century, the great human rights struggle was against organized slavery; the 20th century, the great struggle was against totalitarianism; the great struggle of the 21st century is to ensure that women are fully given the rights they have as human beings – in their families, in their societies, and in the world.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Mead, W. R. *Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 2004. P. 36.

¹¹⁵ Clinton, H. R. Remarks at Women Enhancing Democracy Event, 30 06 2011. Found: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/06/167432.htm>. Checked: 30 05 2012.

Historical parallels mentioned in the address clearly manifest that the political leadership of the United States is ready and willing to transform negative mindsets about the active participation of females in social, political and economic spheres of life. Hence, a major breakthrough can be achieved merely by changing people's way of thinking about traditional gender roles and stereotypes, domestic violence and the position of women in the contemporary society. During the conference the President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaitė made an interesting contribution to these insights by emphasizing that a full-fledged democracy could hardly exist and function properly whether "some members of society are not equally respected and ensured the right to be protected from violence, from human trafficking, or from abuse"¹¹⁶. To eradicate these hurtful and vicious tendencies which happen to be deep-rooted in a number of countries, it is essential to guarantee the unrestricted access to education as well as legal protection for women, encourage the development of their business skills and support the innovative approach to a more gender-balanced political representation. The afore-mentioned measures and their timely application should be perceived as significant steps in the right direction which are expected to positively influence the everyday existence of women worldwide. However, a process of gradual transformation of attitudes towards female population not only requires much patience, concerted effort and goodwill but sometimes provokes a fierce resistance due to the deliberate refusal to accept reformed societal rules as equitable and valid. Analysing the importance of sweet power of the United States and its fluctuations abroad, one should bear in mind that "the forces of both attraction and repulsion are simultaneously present"¹¹⁷. For example, the Baltic countries demonstrate their willingness to cooperate with the United States as their strategic partner on a number of issues ranging from combatting organized crime and terrorism to meeting high standards related to equality of sexes and business partnerships. In comparison, some official representatives of the Middle East continue to harbor a grudge against the U.S. despite all diplomatic attempts to improve the general state of affairs. The lack of trust often derives from the widespread belief that Americans are eager to dismantle their traditional life patterns based on Islamic values by introducing alien cultural elements into Muslim societies and reaping huge benefits from certain oil-producing countries in the wake of unilateral military invasions. To make things even more complex, one should conceive that "it becomes increasingly advantageous for [the local] elites to foment anti-American sentiment for their own political gain", and for this particular reason American diplomats have to discover new ways of

¹¹⁶ Grybauskaitė, D. Opening Remarks by President Dalia Grybauskaitė at the High Level Conference Women Enhancing Democracy: Best Practices, 30 06 2011. Found: http://www.lrp.lt/en/activities/speeches/opening_remarks_by_president_dalia_grybauskaite_at_the_high_level_conference_women_enhancing_democracy_best_practices.html. Checked: 30 05 2012.

¹¹⁷ Lieber, R. J. *The American Era: Power and Strategy for the 21st Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. P. 116.

affecting Muslim populations and “go toward eradicating anti-Americanism in the Islamic world”¹¹⁸. All these factors considered, it becomes clear why the official support for the empowerment of women greatly assists the American political leadership in gaining more sweet power in Europe but provokes an impressive wave of discontent and negative reactions among the representatives of the conservative elite and influential mullahs inside the Middle East.

1.3.2. Hegemonic Power as a Factor to Intensify the Inter-State Dialogue

Another concept introduced by Walter Russel Mead is commonly referred to as hegemonic power that not only demands “a much richer understanding of the ways in which social and political orders rest on consent, and on how that consent can be built” but also subsumes important constituents, including “military power, technological prowess, broad historical development or economic power that cannot be challenged”¹¹⁹. The application of this type of power might be interpreted as active endeavors to maintain the dominant status of the United States. Yet, the presidency of George W. Bush has been strongly criticized for controversial aspirations to strengthen the primacy of the U.S. under the pretext of securing national interests of his country and fighting international terrorism after 9/11. Leading members of the Bush administration such as the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and the Vice President Dick Cheney demonstrated a strong preference for polemic political decisions, aggressive protective measures against potential adversaries and military invasions (carried out without waiting for the U.N. Security Council approval in the case of the Iraq War). Besides, the positive image of the U.S. as a faithful defender of democratic ideals deeply involved in human rights promotion and protection was shattered by the torture scandal at the prison of Abu Ghraib which occurred in 2006. These developments provoked a serious crisis of legitimacy and raised apprehensions related to imperial ambitions of the United States as well as the formation of “the rules of the new global order, rules that would be ratified not by the support of others but by the lurking presence of American power”¹²⁰. In spite of the unmatched military might, a dramatic loss of the appeal of the United States on the international scale, the overwhelming cost of military campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as the absence of a sincere dialogue on important fiscal issues were interpreted as signs of alarm. Therefore, experts and academicians initiated long-lasting discussions on these subjects and made tentative attempts to discover and examine

¹¹⁸ Blaydes, L. and Linzer D. A. Elite Competition, Religiosity, and Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World. *American Political Science Review*, 2012, Vol. 106, Issue 2. P. 240 and 241.

¹¹⁹ Mead, W. R., 2004. Op. Cit. P. 41-42.

¹²⁰ Ikenberry, J. G. Liberal Order Building. // Leffler, M. P. and Legro, J. W. (ed.). *To Lead the World: American Strategy after the Bush Doctrine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. P. 98.

major reasons for “the relative decline of the United States’ position in the world – and with this relative decline in power an absolute decline in influence”¹²¹. Meanwhile, the political elite of the U.S. have made a rather strange choice, namely, to ignore various manifestations of anti-Americanism altogether or diminish their significance at least. This had to be done in order to avoid political upheavals and manifestations of social disquiet on the domestic front.

There is no doubt that the presidential race of 2008 gave a fresh impetus to the restoration of American hegemonic power due to the overwhelming popularity of Barack H. Obama in Europe. At that time, one part of the American population ardently supported the democratic candidate Barack H. Obama, while other citizens actively campaigned for the republican nominee John McCain. Both of them had to explain electoral ideas in an attractive way to get some attention from the audience of potential voters. In this context, the mass media played a vital role as a catalyst for the upcoming election by inciting fiery discussions on various controversial topics such as race, the female presence in politics or the war in Iraq. As a consequence, presidential candidates became dependent on the media because it served as a tool in creating and presenting their political agendas. American citizens had to make up their minds by watching candidates’ speeches on TV or reading their statements in the newspapers. Televised discussions, interviews, websites on the Internet, talks with prominent political observers and public opinion polls not only influenced people’s final decision but also shaped the mindsets of international spectators as well as foreign political leaders’ attitudes. Having all these factors in mind, Barack H. Obama’s decision to make a European tour and deliver a speech at the Victory Column in Berlin in the course of the first presidential race not only revealed his outstanding abilities to exploit the international media to obtain a global success but contributed greatly to the improvement of the image of the United States. Making this address in Berlin, he placed a special emphasis on the necessity for lively transatlantic relations and a continuing partnership between Europe and the U.S. against all odds. According to the scholar Inderjeet Parmar, the majority of Europeans were enthusiastic to accept him as a charismatic leader who “would steer America away from imperialistic hubris and war towards reconciliation, consultation and understanding”¹²². Unluckily, these expectations appeared to be excessively optimistic. The 44th President of the United States as well as the members of his administration demonstrated a strikingly limited willingness to improve a complex relationship with European countries and devoted much more strategic attention to Asia and the Pacific

¹²¹ Haass, R. N. The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance? *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008. Found: <http://acme.highpoint.edu/~msetzler/IR/IRreadingsbank/EmpireOverNonpolarHauss.FA08.x.pdf>. Checked: 30 05 2012.

¹²² Parmar, I. American Power and Identities in the Age of Obama. *International Politics*, 2011, Vol. 48, No. 2/3. P. 154.

Region. From a theoretical perspective, such a change of the political course could be interpreted as being conditioned by the belief in the hegemonic power that should preserve “the American world system” so that it would always “look natural, desirable, inevitable and permanent”¹²³. In other words, European partners have been expected to make adjustments to altered political circumstances without making any objections to the U.S. Interestingly, Barack H. Obama remains quite popular among the representatives of the European political elite in spite of his inability to close the detention camp at Guantanamo Bay, the failure to neutralise painful outcomes of global economic and financial crises and the deliberate refusal to provide any reliable information concerning the existence of CIA secret prisons in Central and Eastern Europe. The *Transatlantic Trends* poll conducted by the German Marshall Fund in 2011 indicates that the approval for Barack H. Obama’s foreign policy among Europeans has decreased to be “not nearly as high as it was just after his election” and the majority of respondents living in different parts of the European Union have been “evenly divided about whether relations were mixed (46%) or good (45%)”¹²⁴. Western and Southern Europeans traditionally happen to be more enthusiastic about Barack H. Obama’s legacy and his re-election for the second presidential term in comparison to the inhabitants of Eastern Europe who tend to hold a more cautious opinion on the issue. Making comments on the above-mentioned figures, the Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs Philip H. Gordon pointed out that it would be extremely shortsighted to downplay or ignore “some enduring philosophical differences between Europeans and Americans”, but at the same time he placed a special emphasis on the vexation of the American populace after “the past decade of expending so many resources on promoting and supporting democracy around the world”¹²⁵. Although the contemporary status of the U.S. has become tightly related to its image in different continents, the American constituents seem to be keen to concentrate on the internal financial and economic problems of their country instead of wasting their tax dollars on the promotion of democracy and the implementation of government-sponsored programs of cultural exchange. Walter Russel Mead considers such tendencies dangerous since the current American leadership should do its best to avoid costly political impasses and misunderstandings on the international arena. He makes an interesting suggestion that the best means to maintain the political equilibrium and attain diplomatic objectives without losing too much financial resources is the readiness “to enter deep strategic conversations with [...] new partners—without forgetting or neglecting the old” together with the long-term assistance of gifted individuals, including “scholars, students,

¹²³ Mead, W. R., 2004. Op. Cit. P. 25.

¹²⁴ Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings, 2011. P. 6 and 10. Found: <http://www.flad.pt/documentos/1316513948W0oQZ9bw2Xn79JY6.pdf>. Checked: 2012 06 21.

¹²⁵ Gordon, P. H. The Transatlantic Trends, 2011. Found: <http://m.state.gov/md173842.htm>. Checked: 21 06 2012.

artists, bankers, diplomats and military officers” who want to exploit their professional skills in order to improve the level understanding between their homeland and other countries as well as demonstrate their dedication to “work out a vision for shared prosperity in the new century”¹²⁶. Yet, there are serious doubts about whether active attempts of the United States to reshape traditional schemes of political action via cultural and scholarly initiatives will be interpreted by the rest of the world as an effective endeavor to introduce innovative ways of conducting International Relations in an attractive, less aggressive manner. In this context, potential temptations to revive the apprehensions of American cultural imperialism might be too alluring to resist, especially to some controversial politicians such as the leader of the French National Front Marine Le Pen. British scholars Deborah Stevenson, Kiernyn McKay and David Rowe note that “the tensions between adopting and adapting value positions in the international cultural sphere [...] are also likely to be magnified when considered across practice sectors and governance levels within countries and, especially, when cross-national comparisons are made”¹²⁷. Obviously, the greatest challenge for the practitioners of cultural diplomacy has always been to find an acceptable balance between showcasing cultural peculiarities of the home country in accordance to basic priorities of existing foreign policy and borrowing some good cultural practices from the host country at the same time. However, any deliberate refusal of national political elites to initiate versatile cultural dialogues might easily generate the excessively confrontational approach to inevitable external influences as well as intensify the unhealthy competition among separate cultures on the global scale.

1.4. Social Power as an Additional Element of the Model of Cultural Diplomacy

One of the most interesting and challenging observations about social power as a phenomenon that deeply affects the development of cultural diplomacy has been provided by the Dutch scholar Peter van Ham who supports basic tenets of social constructivism. Similarly to Walter Russel Mead, the scholar also draws some inspiration from Joseph S. Nye’s theoretical insights about soft power and attempts to modify and ameliorate them. In his opinion, social power must be perceived as a much broader concept than soft power since it subsumes “the ability to set standards, and create norms and values that are deemed legitimate and desirable, without resorting to coercion or payment”¹²⁸. Historically, there was a widespread agreement that any

¹²⁶ Mead, W. R. The Myth of America's Decline. *The Wall Street Journal*, 09 04 2012. Found: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303816504577305531821651026.html>. Checked: 21 06 2012.

¹²⁷ Stevenson, D., McKay, K., Rowe, D. Tracing British Cultural Policy Domains: Contexts, Collaborations and Constituencies. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 2010, Vol. 16, No 2. P. 167.

¹²⁸ van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P. 8.

important political issue had to experience a passive period of gestation to attract the attention of governments and the international community. This attitude turned international problem recognition, agenda-setting and diplomatic action into isolated processes, which are mostly dependent on governmental initiatives and high-level agreements. It was believed that if a significant issue had already existed for a long time, politicians, ministers and diplomats would sooner or later recognise and analyse it in more depth in order to find an acceptable solution. Subsequently, some acceptable solutions could be offered to the particular society as well as the international community and gradually turn into universally acknowledged practice. Presently, things have changed considerably because the initiative of rule-making is expected to belong not exclusively to governments, heads of state, international entities or representatives of non-governmental organizations but to active individuals as well. In addition, social power is introduced as a category, which is not only closely related to complex political processes (parliamentary or presidential elections for instance) but is also affected by the overwhelming power of social media and cultural peculiarities. As Peter van Ham explains, social power may become highly ambivalent in various political contexts since it “derives from the fragile and often unverifiable psychological belief that certain actions and policies are necessary and legitimate”¹²⁹. Due to an overwhelming variety of interpretations of political decisions made and solutions found, many skilled politicians and diplomats often find themselves in an intricate situation. It might be quite challenging for them to preserve a certain degree of liberty in a democratic state, make effective and legally acceptable steps on the political front as well as secure the national interest of a country by providing a strictly limited access to secret pieces of information. Taking into account all these subtleties, it is extremely complex to refer to innovative forms of empowerment through social networking as exclusively beneficial or completely harmful. According to Professor of Political Science Bertrand Badie, the biggest challenges to be met by the modern diplomacy stem from “the internationalization of social questions” since people are eager to spend their days living in “the world where [...] each person can compare himself to others [...], where] each problem, including the most localized one, gets an international dimension and brings responsibilities of all into play”¹³⁰. Consequently, no governmental representatives, popular leaders and official negotiators are capable to determine initiatives and changes by themselves without experiencing some societal pressure. There are many other factors to pay attention to, such things as controversial social processes, different ideological and religious backgrounds or conflicting public discourses that cannot be ignored anymore.

¹²⁹ Ibid. P. 14.

¹³⁰ Badie, B. Op. Cit. P. 79.

International protests against the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) and the Protect IP Act (PIPA) proposed by the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate might be interpreted as impressive manifestations of social power. Both of these legal documents were designed with the following objectives in mind: to diminish copyright infringements, increase internet security as well as bring illegal downloads of American popular music, films, original software, and other items of valuable intellectual production to a halt. From the legal point of view, the effective implementation of these two acts could have not only led to “*in rem* lawsuits in U.S. courts against a domain name associated with a site dedicated to infringing activity” but might have equally required to “impose U.S. IP standards on non-U.S. websites”¹³¹. As a consequence, much support for these initiatives was received from such leading companies and corporations as *Microsoft*, *Apple* or *Creative America* that had always been extremely eager to protect their income from expanding piracy and massive theft of intellectual property. In contrast, active individuals expressed their indignation about such legal measures and perceived them as a part of a larger system of omnipresent surveillance meant to limit their freedom of action and create insurmountable obstacles to personal and artistic expression. As Daniel Castro argues, the absolute majority of people, who stood in opposition to those controversial bills, preferred to ignore “the current severity of the problem of online piracy and counterfeiting” since they supported the opinion that any forms of strict legal control applied online would inevitably lead to “totalitarian repression” similar to rigorous practices of the Internet censorship existing in China¹³². Numerous protests of Internet users in New York and the well-planned blackout of several thousand of popular websites and search engines, including *Google*, *Mozilla*, *Greenpeace International* and *Wikipedia*, demonstrated that the flow of unrestricted information would be extremely difficult to diminish or bring to a standstill due to a growing awareness of the global populace about its social power.

Another scandal concerning the protection of the copyright has been related to the failed adoption of a multinational treaty widely known as the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA). The basic aim of the creators of this document has been the following: to set universal rules that would define the ways in which large-scale intellectual property theft should be handled properly and effectively. As explained in a partially declassified recommendation of the European Commission to the European Council, frequent violations of intellectual property rights could no longer be tolerated since they have been generating highly negative results that

¹³¹ Band, J. SOPA and Its Implications for TPP. *Computer & Communications Industry Association (CCIA)*, 30 01 2012. P. 1 and 3. Found: <http://infojustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/ccia01302012.pdf>. Checked: 09 09 2012.

¹³² Castro, D. PIPA/SOPA: Responding to Critics and Finding a Path Forward. *The Information Technology and Innovation Foundation (ITIF)*, 2011. P. 2. Found: <http://www.itif.org/files/2011-pipa-sopa-respond-critics.pdf>. Checked: 09 09 2012.

might be classified into five categories, namely “(1) depriving legitimate businesses and their workers of income; (2) discouraging innovation and creativity; (3) threatening consumer health and safety; (4) providing an easy source of revenue for organized crime; and (5) loss of tax revenue”¹³³. Given the fact that the economy of the European Union has always been highly dependent on leading scholarly expertise and knowledge-based manufacturing, it is obvious that the rapid spread of stolen items of intellectual property seriously harms its chances to preserve the attractiveness of legitimately acquired European products, successfully compete on the global level and sell various technological innovations to the so-called third countries. In addition to that, there is a serious danger to lose motivation to attribute considerable financial resources to long-lasting researches and experiments should their final results fail to guarantee sufficient income due to aggressive online piracy and counterfeiting. Although the representatives of the European Commission were given an official mandate to negotiate ACTA in 2008, it took almost two years for them as well as other negotiators from various countries, expert groups and the representatives of non-governmental organizations to reach a compromise. The final text of the treaty was prepared in 2010.

Despite positive expectations of politicians and diplomats, much controversy was related to the problematic ratification of the document as well as the hostile reaction of people around the world. Organized marches of protesting internet users occurred in different parts of Europe, including France, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Lithuania, Poland and the United Kingdom. The Slovenian ambassador to Japan Helena Drnovšek Zorko made an especially courageous step by publicly admitting that her signature appeared on the agreement “out of civic carelessness”¹³⁴. In other words, this experienced diplomat made a serious mistake and threatened her entire career by mechanically complying with the accepted rules of international relations and legal procedures within the framework of the EU instead of practicing critical reflection in accordance to the national interest of Slovenia. In this context, the overall pressure on the national governments became so intense that political leaders and diplomats had no other choice but to criticize the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement or quickly alter their original opinions to save face. In the meantime, the European Commission requested the European Court of Justice “to assess whether ACTA is incompatible - in any way - with the EU’s fundamental rights and freedoms, such as freedom of expression and information or data protection and the

¹³³ Recommendation from the Commission to the Council to Authorise the Commission to Open Negotiations of a Plurilateral Anti-counterfeiting Trade Agreement, 2008 07 24. P. 2 Found:

<http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/07/st15/st15486-ex01.en07.pdf>; Checked: 09 09 2012.

¹³⁴ Drnovšek Zorko, H. Why I signed ACTA, 23 01 2012. Found: <http://metinalista.si/why-i-signed-acta/>. Checked: 09 09 2012.

right to property in case of intellectual property”¹³⁵. However, the European Parliament responded to the situation with a sudden and unexpected decision to halt the debate without waiting for any legal clarification. In the end, the majority of MEPs rejected the ACTA agreement as a potential threat to global Internet freedom and traditional civil liberties.

From a theoretical perspective, both of the above-mentioned examples manifest the ordinary people’s awareness about their social power that might be accumulated with the assistance of social media and encourage active participation of conscious citizens in everyday politics. The incapability of the members of the political elite to acknowledge that the power no longer exclusively belongs to the select few creates the biggest problem that still needs to be solved in the nearest future. To shed more light on major aspects of social power, Peter van Ham has distinguished several major features of this phenomenon. Firstly, he indicates that social power is tightly related to “the element of legitimacy, the factor that changes paying tribute into paying taxes, and that alters hegemony into leadership”¹³⁶. In order to accept certain patterns of political behavior, citizens have to discover and internalize a strong connection between their own attitudes and laws proposed by politicians. Otherwise, there is a potential danger of getting trapped into the never-ending net of misinterpretations that might seriously disrupt political processes. According to Barney Warf, it would be too optimistic and even naive to believe that merely “the Internet is an inherently emancipatory tool, a device that necessarily and inevitably promotes democracy by giving voice to those who lack political power, and in so doing undermines authoritarian and repressive governments”, but at the same time one could not deny the fact that obstinate attempts to develop a certain mechanism meant to harness the virtual world inevitably manifest “the degree of centralization of political control, cultural attitudes toward dissent, and geopolitical concerns”¹³⁷. Failures of American and European leaders to initiate a timely dialogue with their constituencies on the Internet freedom and its reasonable limits on both sides of the Atlantic demonstrate how rapidly serious apprehensions about on-line censorship and the lack of democracy might be raised to alarming levels in mature democratic societies. Although hasty efforts have been made by trusted officials to pacify angered crowds and emphasise some beneficial aspects of the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) and the Protect IP Act (PIPA) as well as these of the ACTA agreement by making public speeches or establishing special websites devoted to the subject, the global community deliberately chose to consider all propositions too risky and rejected them as illegitimate. Metaphorically speaking, one should

¹³⁵ Statement by Commissioner Karel De Gucht on ACTA (Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement), 22 02 2012. Found: <http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=778>; Checked: 12 09 2012.

¹³⁶ van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P. 13.

¹³⁷ Warf, B. Geographies of Global Internet Censorship. *GeoJournal*, 2011, Vol. 76, No 1. P.2 and 8.

conclude that in these two cases social power clearly prevailed over that of the bureaucracy, isolated political elites and influential lobbyist groups.

Another important feature of social power derives from the conviction that traditional political instruments have already become quite ineffective since “the use of power is open to most actors and not restricted to the classical players in international politics”¹³⁸. The United States Department of State, for instance, has been rather quick to notice that different forms of power as well as their practical usage are currently undergoing a series of unexpected large-scale transformations. There is no doubt that the biggest challenge to governmental agencies and institutions of the U.S. comes from the vexing inability to regulate and manage political processes in accordance to traditional procedures due to a constantly growing number of independent participants that happen to be actively involved in politics, communication and diplomacy as well as willing to promote their own ideas instead of supporting the old patterns of International Relations. In 2010, the publication of the *First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review* initiated fresh scholarly debates in the realm of diplomacy in order to comprehend what needs to be done to maintain the influence of the American government and simultaneously “offer a place at the table to groups and citizens willing to shoulder a fair share of the burden”¹³⁹. This attempt to establish an innovative cooperation between the state apparatus and other actors has been referred to as the 21st century statecraft that demands additional expertise and intellectual endeavors which would help to get to know different world-views and encourage adapting to the age of instantaneous virtual communication where interlocutors would have to contact each other with the assistance of innovative digital technologies. Making an inspiring speech at the New York University Commencement Ceremony, the Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton pointed out that American culture and political heritage as well as experimental initiatives might end up being ineffective and unattractive without using up “the energy of a rising generation of citizen diplomats” or in the absence of a wide network of “new partnerships from the bottom up”¹⁴⁰. Referring to the direct people-to-people ties in the context of Lithuanian and American relations, it is important to emphasise contributions of professionals working in various spheres of activity. The Ambassador of the United States to Lithuania Anne Elizabeth Derse indicates that it is essential to “put contrast on what was perceived as traditional diplomatic channels” and attain much success in reaching out to the people of the country, especially “artists, actors or writers or the

¹³⁸ van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P. 9.

¹³⁹ First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review: Leading Through Civilian Power, 2010. P. 21. Found: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/153108.pdf>. Checked: 20 09 2012.

¹⁴⁰ Clinton, H. R. Remarks at the New York University Commencement Ceremony, 13 05 2009. Found: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/05/123431.htm>. Checked: 20 09 2012.

representatives of civil society and non-governmental organizations”¹⁴¹. For example, interesting paintings created by a Lithuanian artist Rimvydas Ray Bartkus, who has been living in New York for nearly two decades, greatly assist in constructing an additional cultural bridge between both nations. At present, his illustrations and drawings can be seen on the covers of influential magazines and journals such as *Harper’s*, *Time* or *Newsweek*. However, the artist not only strives to merge certain elements of American and Lithuanian cultures into one whole but also emphasises the link between political processes and cultural phenomena. During the World Lithuanian Youth Forum, he fiercely criticized the government of his homeland Lithuania for not paying sufficient attention to young émigrés:

I think that Lithuania could make great use of the experience of young people who were born and grew up as Americans. Their worldviews are distinct from Lithuanian mentality and could potentially open up new choices. [...] Reasons driving young people from Lithuania are very similar to those preventing emigrant youth from returning. Lithuania will manage to attract youth only if it opens itself up to the world [...]. That requires a tolerant cultural and business environment, flexible policies, and transparent implementation mechanisms.¹⁴²

In the course of the event, his bold political statements were symbolically transformed into an installation (*:EthUWA!*, which suggested that even the name of the country *Lietuva* could be altered to better adapt to new challenges. In fact, Rimvydas Ray Bartkus has successfully combined his endeavors to build up an impressive personal career, serve as an unofficial ambassador of Lithuanian culture inside the U.S. and call for urgent political reforms in the native country.

1.5. Possibilities to Develop an Innovative Model of Cultural Diplomacy

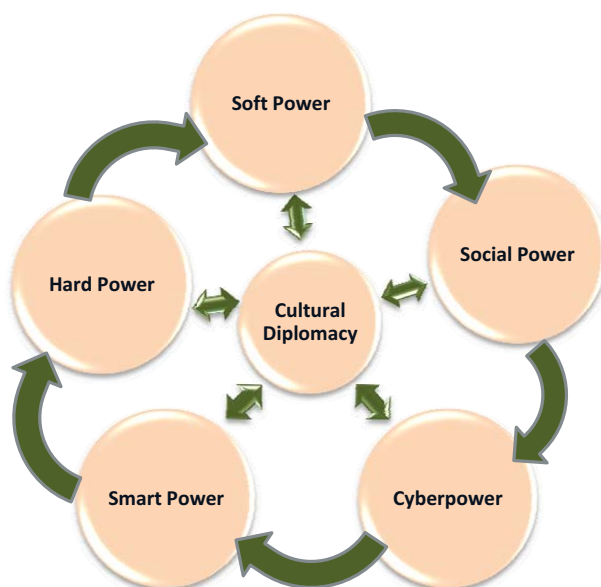
All the above-mentioned insights and theoretical explanations are important in order to understand the connection between power, culture and diplomacy in more detail since each of them indicates which elements had been perceived as absolutely necessary for the successful implementation of cultural diplomacy. The chart provided below clearly demonstrates that the scholarly thought has already underwent a major change from placing a major emphasis on

¹⁴¹ A quotation from the interview of the U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania Anne E. Derse done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 19 07 2012, Vilnius. P. 2.

¹⁴² Rimvydas Ray Bartkus quoted in Bagdanavičiūtė, V. World Lithuanian Youth Congress: Attempt to bring scattered nation together. *15min.lt*, 30 03 2012. Found: <http://www.15min.lt/en/article/culture-society/world-lithuanian-youth-congress-attempt-to-bring-scattered-nation-together-528-207579#ixzz28490iRGb>. Checked: 25 09 2012.

propaganda and cultural manipulations to focusing on different forms of power, mutually beneficial cultural exchange and moral values. All forms of power seem to be important because they complement and reinforce one another in different realms. Meanwhile, insightful practice of cultural diplomacy often reveals the interdependence of powers that serve as major catalysts meant to enliven and redefine the political arena in case of an unexpected impasse.

Chart No. 3. Model of Cultural Diplomacy



This chart was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė.

As the chart manifests, each of these five types of power exert some influence upon cultural diplomacy but the intensity of the impact might be different under contrasting political circumstances. Soft power, for instance, serves as an essential factor in this context since it provides much support to “the cultivation of compliance through the creation of goodwill in the international community” and simultaneously seeks to accrue the maximum benefit from “a positive image”¹⁴³. The interconnection between cultural diplomacy and soft power is demonstrated in the current thesis by analysing educational exchanges, linguistic and translation programs as well as artistic events that actively contribute to the spread of essential values of

¹⁴³ Gallarotti, G. M., Elfalily, E. and Tayye, O. Saudi Arabia and the Use of Soft Power. *Wesleyan University Division II Faculty Publications*, 2012, No.127. P. 2. Found: <http://wescholar.wesleyan.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1140&context=div2facpubs>. Checked: 20 03 2014.

France and the United States and make both of these countries interesting to people living in foreign countries. Hard power, in turn, might often produce ambivalent results in the realm of cultural diplomacy since it remains dependent on “on some tangible pool of resources that can be activated in order to extract compliance”¹⁴⁴. On the one hand, any form of the military presence might destroy all possibilities for a cultural cooperation in the wake of a conflict between states; on the other hand, the usage of military capabilities as well as skills of art experts in order to prevent the destruction of the cultural heritage might bring about a positive effect on the relationships between states. To reveal some of the aspects relating to the connection between hard power and cultural diplomacy, the attempts of the military structures of the United States to rescue the most important pieces of Haitian art after the massive earthquake of 2010 will be mentioned as an important example in the empirical part of the thesis.

Smart power remains significant for the conduct of cultural diplomacy since it allows to meet important political and diplomatic challenges by combining military, economic and cultural measures in a more balanced way leading to the formation of intensive and beneficial partnerships. According to the former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton, namely this type of power happens to be the most effective one providing the heads of states and diplomats as well as public activists have sufficient ambition and wisdom “to mobilise disparate people and nations to work together to solve common problems and advance shared values and aspirations”¹⁴⁵. The subsequent sections of the thesis make clear that the persistent defence of female rights around the globe and the promotion of universal social patterns as well as business models together with the help of international conferences and vocational training programs should be seen as good examples of smart power in action.

Cyberpower stands out as an important element in the sphere of cultural diplomacy due to an increased emphasis on “culture of cyberspace, which is composed of ideas, language and social relationships”¹⁴⁶. Analysing such intriguing phenomena as the digitization of the cultural heritage, the eagerness of the representatives of *Microsoft Corporation* to guarantee unlimited access to the Internet for the libraries on the global scale, the influence of social media worldwide and official attempts to create mechanisms of legal control over the World Wide Web on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, the author of the current thesis aims to show that the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. P. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Clinton, H. The Art of Smart Power. *The New Statesman*. 18 07 2012. Found: <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/politics/2012/07/hillary-clinton-art-smart-power>. Checked: 06 04 2013.

¹⁴⁶ Lehtdonvirta, V. Online Spaces Have Material Culture: Goodbye to Digital Post-materialism and Hello to Virtual Consumption. *Media, Culture & Society*, 2010, Vol. 32, No. 5. P. 885.

practitioners of cultural diplomacy might be assisted and troubled by the spread of recent technological innovations at the same time.

Referring to the link between social power and cultural diplomacy, it should be admitted that there are much more external influences to be observed than ever before. On the one hand, it is clear that diplomats are no longer able to alienate themselves from different people, including political theoreticians and well-reputed experts having considerable experience in societal, financial, political and cultural spheres. On the other hand, some tensions can hardly be avoided because “states have always been particularly keen both to export their culture and protect their cultural space against unwanted intruders and incursions”¹⁴⁷. Therefore, to make the entire picture complete, activities of non-governmental organizations and associations such as *Culturespaces* and the Centre Robert Schuman are scrutinized in the empirical part of the research. Having these developments in mind, cultural diplomacy should be conceived as a means of subtle empowerment that might greatly help hostile countries and societies to attain a certain degree of understanding so that fragile talks about solutions to painful problems and potential proposals could be kept alive and brought to the international level. However, one should admit that much diplomatic experience has always been necessary in order to find a subtle balance among different manifestations of power, foreign policy objectives, strategic decisions and cultural peculiarities.

¹⁴⁷ van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P. 49.

2. FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: BASIC TENDENCIES AND PRIORITIES

France has traditionally been regarded as a country that possesses enough potential to propose effective strategies for the successful implementation of cultural diplomacy. Such a positive reputation stems from active endeavors of French diplomats and officials to showcase the best examples of their national culture abroad, encourage the promotion and development of French art, cinema as well as music, finance timely translations of important pieces of French literature into foreign languages, support the widespread teaching and usage of the French language, increase its popularity among foreigners via the global movement known as *la Francophonie* and develop a network of institutions which would encourage strong partnerships among French intellectuals as well as artists and their colleagues working in other states. Each of the above-mentioned spheres of activity often augments the political weight of France on the international stage. In addition, a deep awareness of its subtle cultural particularities sometimes serves as an impulse for a fruitful exchange of ideas which might be of vital importance when one aspires to reach important compromises and work out acceptable political solutions. As the researcher Elodie Gérôme points out, the French political elite has been insightful enough to acknowledge the significance of cultural diplomacy as a means of the gentle empowerment that should be expected not only to open up “enormous influence possibilities” but also explore every possible avenue in order to “to improve the world harmony by helping mutual understanding and by denouncing stereotypes, categorizations and prejudices”¹⁴⁸.

2.1. The Model of French Cultural Diplomacy

The model of French cultural diplomacy and its attractiveness in the 21st century can be explained as resulting from the willingness of governmental officials to set long-term cultural goals that sometimes seem to have a limited connection with rather temporary political tasks. One should also take into account their readiness to skillfully incorporate particular aims into political strategies, rapidly react to the changing international situation and draw great diplomatic benefits from a more efficient intercultural communication. Basic objectives of the French cultural diplomacy have been discussed in a series of important political documents, including “Rapport pour le président de la République sur la France et la mondialisation” (2007)

¹⁴⁸ Gérôme, E. Evolution of Cultural Diplomacy. *Diversités mondiales - Diversité culturelle et linguistique*, 2010. Found: <http://diversitesmondiales.over-blog.com/article-evolution-de-la-diplomatie-culturelle-evolution-of-cultural-diplomacy-62235870.html>. Checked: 22 10 2012.

by Hubert Védrine, “La France et l'Europe dans le monde: livre blanc sur la politique étrangère et européenne de la France, 2008-2020” (2008) by Alain Juppé and Louis Schweitzer, and the acting law “LOI n°. 2010-873 du 27 juillet 2010 relative à l'action extérieure de l'Etat”. On the basis of available governmental documents, it is possible to distinguish four important principles that are typical of the practical implementation of French cultural diplomacy and greatly contribute to the positive perception of the country beyond its borders.

Table No. 2.

Four Essential Principles of French Cultural Diplomacy in the Context of Contemporary International Relations
Increasing the efficiency of French cultural and diplomatic activities together with the assistance of governmental institutions, NGOs and private actors.
Arousing a strong interest in French political and cultural values in order to maintain their appeal to foreign audiences on the global scale.
Transforming the movement of the <i>Francophonie</i> into a more effective instrument to acquire influence on the international arena due to the promotion of the French language and educational initiatives.
Facilitating the access to information about France and its stance on important political and cultural issues on the Internet and via other possible channels.

This table was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė.

The best way to disclose and explain in what ways the model of French cultural diplomacy has been functioning regarding the adoption of the new law is to pay attention to the most important realms of activity and place a special emphasis on the outcomes of an important institutional reform. According to the British scholar Philippe Lane, the current law not merely supports the establishment of new institutions such as the *Institut Français* meant to “contribute to the cultural and linguistic diversity abroad” but also encourages the ambition to strengthen “the foundations for a strategy of influence of France”¹⁴⁹. French diplomats currently strive to combine traditional instruments of diplomatic action (the extensive support for the French language, the active spread of the scholarly thought and French cultural heritage abroad, the effective usage of available institutional networks to attract target audiences) and highly innovative measures (the application of digital tools to increase the global access to French informational resources, the organization of attractive cultural exchanges with other countries).

¹⁴⁹ Lane, P. *Présence française dans le monde: L'action culturelle et scientifique*. Paris: La Documentation Française, 2011. P. 34-35.

There is no doubt that politicians and diplomats of the 21st century simply have no other option but to take an attentive look at the national culture as their “new political front of claim and struggles”, but all on-going battles for a long-term influence should not overshadow “the principle of pluralism and that of negotiation which eventually permits to avoid confrontation”¹⁵⁰.

Analysing the application of the first principle of French cultural diplomacy, it should be mentioned that the existing model sometimes attracts a certain amount of criticism and at the same time remains rather controversial due to its overt and unchallenged dependence on the smooth functioning of the state apparatus and the diplomatic service. According to the Director Emeritus of Research at the National Center for Scientific Research (*Le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*) Marie-Christine Kessler, major practitioners of French cultural diplomacy have always been encouraged to rely on strictly controlled procedures and aptly employ “a series of administrative instruments” instead of giving some space for unrestricted action to non-governmental organizations and independent funders¹⁵¹. However, the situation has been gradually improving, and the realm of cultural diplomacy has become more open to non-governmental organizations as well as private initiatives, as the French government seems to be no longer capable to act completely on its own due to the lack of financial and human resources. As the philosopher Julia Kristeva-Joyaux insightfully puts it, there is an absolute obligation for the French political elite to pay heed to a “delicate mix between these two sides, public and private, which makes part of the cultural message of France that needs to be brought up to date in the context of globalization and the ongoing economic crisis”¹⁵².

The activity of a private association *Culturespaces*, established in 1990 by its founder and president Bruno Monnier together with the assistance of French businessmen as well as politicians, including the former Member of the Senate Louis de Broissia or the Former Minister of State for Defence and Veterans Jean-Marie Bockel, serves as one of the best examples of the cooperation between the French public sector and the private one in the realms of cultural heritage and cultural diplomacy. It is possible to distinguish three important spheres that make up the basis for the quotidian occupation of highly-skilled professionals working for the association *Culturespaces*: 1.) the collaboration with foreign artists in order to implement common large-scale exhibitions and other artistic projects which would create important ties between the French and the representatives of other states; 2.) the development of a flexible

¹⁵⁰ Wolton, D. Mondialisation, diversité culturelle, démocratie. *Synergies Brésil*, 2010, No. spécial 1. P. 15 -16.

¹⁵¹ Kessler, M. C. L'apport de la culture à la diplomatie économique. *Géoeconomie*, 2010-2011, No. 52. P. 5. Found: <http://www.choiseul-editions.com/documents/Kessler.pdf>. Checked: 22 10 2012.

¹⁵² Kristeva-Joyaux, J. Le message culturel de la France et la vocation interculturelle de la francophonie, 01 07 2009. P. 11. Found: <http://www.enssib.fr/bibliotheque-numerique/document-40675>. Checked: 09 08 2013.

institutional network which would offer wider possibilities to public and private entities willing to make people better acquainted with different forms of art and take part in special programs meant to save the cultural heritage from destruction; 3.) the expansion of the limits of cultural life by making a variety of artistic initiatives more accessible to all people, including not so well-to-do families, the elderly and the disabled. In addition, *Culturespaces* takes a proper care of important historical sites such as the Memorial of the Battle of Waterloo in Belgium or the medieval castle located in Les Baux-de-Provence to mention just a couple instances. According to the founder of *Culturespaces* Bruno Monnier, when a decision is made to support a concrete site such as the Musée Jacquemart-André located in Paris, the association usually assumes the responsibility for “absolutely all services [... such as] the ticket office, guided visits, security guards, the maintenance of the buildings, the library, the restaurant and cultural activities as well”¹⁵³. In turn, the representatives of the French government, need to play their active part while dealing with challenges related to professional restoration of particular pieces of art, cultural promotion abroad and extensive scientific analysis that might be carried out only by high-skilled experts who traditionally receive financial assistance for their work from the state.

It should be also noted that the role of diplomats and governmental officials becomes especially important when it comes to organizing international exhibitions such as “Fra Angelico and the Masters of Light” which took place at the Musée Jacquemart-André at the beginning of September, 2011. As stated by the General Commissioner of Parma, Pacenza and Venice Museums Giovanna Damiani chosen to represent the Italian government at the event, “the exposition [...] should be regarded as] the fruit of positive exchanges between France and Italy” taking into account many important aspects starting from “a very long and difficult work of adjustment between commissionaires of the exposition and borrowing institutions” and finishing with transportation and security issues that had to be solved without making any mistakes¹⁵⁴.

This event also required an intensive collaboration among different governmental institutions, including the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities of Italy and the Institut de France, an academic institution operating in Paris. Much additional assistance was received from the association *Culturespaces* and private sponsors who made the exhibition of fifty paintings by Fra Angelico and his predecessors possible by working “in partnership with major

¹⁵³ Monnier quoted in Pacaud, F. L'art au privé: Série sur le financement de l'art. *FranceCulture: Temps* no. 3, 18 04 2011. Found : <http://www.franceculture.fr/2011-04-18-l-art-au-prive.html>. Checked: 09 08 2013.

¹⁵⁴ Lacas, M. Florence à Paris. // Pascale, B. (ed.). *Fra Angelico et les maîtres de la lumière*. Connaissances des Arts: Hors-série. Paris: Société française de promotion artistique, 2011. P. 2.

Italian museums – including the Uffizi Gallery – and internationally famous collections”¹⁵⁵. Looking at these developments from the point of view of cultural diplomacy, one cannot deny the fact that artistic exchanges implemented without the excessive governmental interference often provide an important stimulus for the revival of relations between distinct countries and their citizens at different levels. However, it would also be rather shortsighted to ignore the existence of quite a strong “tension between formal diplomatic practices and non-state actors” which often ends up in creating rivalry among all entities involved¹⁵⁶. On the one hand, French diplomats and politicians do not seem to be accustomed to putting the private and the public spheres together in comparison to their American counterparts. On the other hand, one can feel a growing awareness that the French system of cultural diplomacy asks for changes in order to function effectively with the least waste of time, money and effort. According to the Member of the French Senate Jean-Pierre Placade, time has already come “to opt for a new philosophy of support to creation which, without sweeping all that has been done, allows new players to emerge and the ecosystem of contemporary art to work better”, while leading roles in accelerating the process should be entrusted not only to the state which “operates through several levels of structures and policies” but also to the private art patrons who are expected to attain “two types of objectives: respond to the strong decay of the cultural patronage and democratize the art of today”¹⁵⁷.

The second principle of French cultural diplomacy is tightly connected with the responsibility of diplomats and politicians to spread cultural values which would be attractive to the inhabitants of other countries and make an important contribution to the positive image of France as an influential country. Interestingly, the members of the current political elite of France tend to draw much inspiration from the famous motto of the French Revolution *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* [Liberty, equality, fraternity]. Despite all historical controversies, the motto is accepted as an essential element of the national identity in combination with the unquestionable duty “to display the French *tricolore* on Bastille Day and to learn the lyrics to the Marseillaise”¹⁵⁸. Due to the challenges of the 21st century, the practical implementation of the above-mentioned principle on the international level frequently demands for a strong commitment of French political leaders to secure the right to freedom of thought, speech and

¹⁵⁵ Fra Angelico and the Masters of Light: Musée Jacquemart-André, 23 09 2011-16 01 2012. Found: <http://musee-jacquemart-andre.com/en/events/fra-angelico-and-masters-light>. Checked: 09 08 2013.

¹⁵⁶ McConnell, F. Moreau, T. Dittmer, J. Mimicking State Diplomacy: The Legitimizing Strategies of Unofficial Diplomacies. *Geoforum*, 2012, Vol. 43, Issue 4. P. 806.

¹⁵⁷ Placade, J.-P. Agissons pour l’art d’aujourd’hui, expression vivante de notre société: Rapport d’information n°34 (2011-2012) fait au nom de la commission de la culture, de l’éducation et de la communication, 18 10 2011. P. 45, 63 and 72. Found: <http://www.senat.fr/rap/r11-034/r11-034.html>. Checked 04 10 2013.

¹⁵⁸ Emery, M. Europe, Immigration and the Sarkozy Concept of Fraternité. *French Cultural Studies*, 2010, Vol. 21, No. 2. P. 116.

religion, guarantee the access to education along with the equality of opportunity without making exclusions of any kind and promote active political participation as well as professional engagement. In turn, the French diplomatic service is expected to do its best in order to employ a variety of cultural means allowing foreign populaces to see French values in a positive light, imitate and adopt them as their own. The former president of France Nicolas Sarkozy has made some remarks on this delicate subject: “France must carry universal values, and the only way to bear these values is to live in accordance to them. [...] If France wants to continue being a beacon for humanity, it must continue talking. If it gets silent, the lighthouse will go out”¹⁵⁹. Taking into account the fame of Paris as the center of culture in Europe, artistic initiatives often serve as the best way to increase the attractiveness of French ideals, bring up innovative political ideas and intensify the conduct of cultural diplomacy. It needs to be emphasised that all-embracing conceptions, no matter how significant, get a real chance to become an inseparable part of political processes and the social scenery only if they are transmitted in an emotional way which makes human hearts tremble and wonder. From the perspective of cultural diplomacy, it might be useful to remember the inspiring personality of Marcel Marceau, a French mime of Jewish descent, who became an international star for his unique short and speechless performances seen worldwide in 1960s. Recognised globally as a sympathetic clown Bip, who eagerly “tamed lions, chased butterflies, looked for a job, went to war and played a street musician”, Marcel Marceau undoubtedly became an iconic figure symbolically representing France to enchanted European and American audiences¹⁶⁰. In 2001, he was awarded the Raoul Wallenberg Medal for taking part in the French Resistance Movement and helping Jewish children as well as the French youth to escape to Switzerland by illegally crossing the border during World War II. In a special address made on this solemn occasion, Marcel Marceau unveiled the significance of the cultural heritage as a prerequisite for future achievements of all countries and placed a special emphasis on the inculcation of values into every human being:

We live today with great democracies and this is why there is hope for the future. But the main thing is education. Education for the young people. Love for their families. Respect for old age. We shall never destroy evil, unfortunately. But good exists also among the majority. [...] We have to keep the traditions. We have to know that all nations have the right to live and carry on their legacy. This is why we have to pray for peace, so that our millennium now will be less cruel

¹⁵⁹ Nicolas Sarkozy quoted in Excerpts from the Interview of Nicolas Sarkozy done by Pascal Bruckner, André Glucksmann, Michaël Prazan and Yasmina Reza: «La France doit porter des valeurs universelles, et les faire vivre». *Le Meilleur des Mondes*, 2006, No. 2. Found: <http://jcdurbant.wordpress.com/2006/10/10/presidentielle-la-france-doit-porter-des-valeurs-universelles-et-les-faire-vivre-nicolas-sarkozy/>. Checked: 05 10 2013.

¹⁶⁰ Sullivan, P. Marcel Marceau: Resurrected, Personified the Art of Mime. *The Washington Post*. 20 09 2007. Found: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/09/23/AR2007092300172.html>. Checked: 05 10 2013.

than the twentieth century. This is why with mime I create metaphors with the hands, a struggle between good and evil.¹⁶¹

The symbolic interconnection between personal experiences of Marcel Marceau and the sacrifice of a Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg who worked in Hungary during the nightmare of the Holocaust should be regarded as a powerful warning that brutal attempts to separate politics and diplomacy from values and the cultural sphere provoke catastrophes of terrifying proportion.

Also, it should be added that Marcel Marceau lost his father and endured many sufferings because of the Nazi presence in France, but he managed to put all these horrors behind and became a leading celebrity of his day. Meanwhile, Raoul Wallenberg not only “achieved the unachievable and personally saved more than 100 000 Jews” but quite quickly experienced a tragic destiny of a Soviet “prisoner without his own name, without papers, forever lost in the Gulag Archipelago”¹⁶². Both of these men have made a significant impact on the development of diplomacy on the basis of the humanist approach in the wake of World War II, and what is more, their examples continue to affect the contemporary political arena today. The Festival of Mime in Périgueux (France) began in 1983, and since then has been receiving much support from the French Ministry of Culture and Communication for thirty-one year as an acceptable form to commemorate the personality of Marcel Marceau and his political stance as well as invite gifted mimes from all over Europe to introduce their artistic achievements. (Each year one group of European mimes usually gets a special award and brings it back to their home country). In the summer of 2013, the political and diplomatic significance of this annual festival has been reminded by the current French President François Hollande who made a special visit to the city of Périgueux. From a theoretical perspective, it should be noted that these actions of the French head of state are related to the perception of the significance of soft power which often derives from “absolute moral imperatives” that cannot be sacrificed under any circumstances since their loss would eventually lead to the complete degradation of political and diplomatic realms¹⁶³.

Similarly, the dramatic fate of Raoul Wallenberg and his heroic behavior as a diplomat have not been forgotten so far. The President of the United States Barack H. Obama assisted at a special Raoul Wallenberg Celebration at the Great Synagogue of Stockholm in the autumn of 2013. Speaking during a public ceremony, the latter made an important observation that

¹⁶¹ Marceau, M. How I worked in the French Resistance and Created Bip as a Figure of Hope, 30 04 2001. Found: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?cc=mqr;c=mqr;c=mqrarchive;idno=act2080.0041.111;rgn=main;view=text;xc=1;g=mqrq>.
Checked: 05 10 2013.

¹⁶² Gersten, A. *A Conspiracy of Indifference: The Raoul Wallenberg Story*. Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2001. P. 12 and 145.

¹⁶³ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2008. Op. Cit. P.116.

“Wallenberg’s life is a challenge to us all — to live those virtues of empathy and compassion, even when it’s hard, even when it involves great risk”¹⁶⁴. In addition, an official assurance has been given to the Wallenberg family that the members of the Obama administration will endeavor to apply diplomatic pressure to the representatives of the Russian Federation to finally dispel the mystery of Raoul Wallenberg’s disappearance in 1945. Willing to draw the lessons for the future of diplomacy from this particular case, it might be useful to remember that “in a world of upheaval, we stand face to face with all the grandeur, the unprecedented grandeur, of the phenomenon of man”¹⁶⁵.

The eagerness of the French political leadership to generate more soft power by giving much vigor to the movement of the *Francophonie* and advancing educational initiatives makes the third principle of French cultural diplomacy. Analysing new challenges in this particular realm, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of France developed a new strategy entitled *Promouvoir la Langue Française dans le Monde* in 2009. This document emphasises the need for a continuous increase of people who would choose to learn French as their first foreign language. At the same time adequate attention is devoted to the creation of special plans of global action which would subsume the systematic training of French language teachers throughout all continents, positive common initiatives among different states that still consider themselves as an important part of the movement of the *Francophonie*, unique programs destined to make certain elements of French culture accessible in a digital format and financial assistance for large-scale cultural projects, including cinema and dance festivals or high quality translations of French books into numerous foreign languages. Commenting on the endeavors to improve French cultural diplomacy so that it could affect wider audiences and better compete with the domination of Anglo-Saxon and American cultural models as well as their lifestyles, the former ambassador of France to the Netherlands Anne Gazeau-Secret has insightfully remarked that the success of soft power becomes “more and more related to civil society actors” and for this reason the renewal of external cultural affairs should begin with providing financial resources to “expertise markets, think tanks, educational and university exchanges, the formation of elites, innovation, communication via the Internet and our presence in international networks of all kinds”¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁴ Obama, B. H. Remarks by President Obama in Statement to the Press – Stockholm, Sweden, 04 09 2013. Found: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/09/04/remarks-president-obama-statement-press-stockholm-sweden>. Checked: 06 10 2013.

¹⁶⁵ de Chardin, P. T. *The Phenomenon of Man*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, New Delhi and Auckland: Harper Perennial Publishers, 2008. P. 215.

¹⁶⁶ Gazeau-Secret, A. Pour un « soft power » à la française : du rayonnement culturel à la diplomatie d’influence. *L’ENA hors les murs*, 2010, No. 399. P. 12. Found: http://www.administrationmoderne.com/pdf/actualites/diplo_ena_%20G-Secret_0510.pdf. Checked: 21 04 2012.

The establishment of a global network of French schools under the umbrella of the educational agency AEFÉ (*l'Agence pour l'enseignement français à l'étranger*) might serve as an interesting example of the successful application of French soft power. It was created in 1990 as an international institution operating under the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of France. The main objectives of the AEFÉ have successfully been enshrined in the Article L452-2 of the French Code of Education. These include: (1) the official entitlement to initiate “public service missions related to education” which would meet the scholarly needs of “French children settled outside of France”; (2) the obligation to “strengthen the relations and cooperation among the French educational system and foreign ones for the benefit of French and foreign schoolchildren”; (3) the commitment to “contribute to the influence of the French language and culture, in particular by means of accepting foreign schoolchildren”; (4) the responsibility not only to “help the families of French and foreign schoolchildren to bear the fees related to their elementary, secondary or higher education” but also pay special attention to “the stabilization of tuition fees”; (5) the readiness to cover a certain part of the expenses by attributing “grants to children of French nationality taught at French schools and other teaching institutions operating abroad” which are acknowledged by the French officials on the ministerial level¹⁶⁷. At the very first sight, this kind of educational activity might seem to be disconnected from the realm of international relations, but it is rightly said that the devil lurks in the details. In the delicate area of cultural diplomacy, this old adage is especially true. Interestingly, the network of schools controlled by the AEFÉ has already expanded into five continents and it is believed to unite “485 establishments operating in 130 countries”¹⁶⁸. When a child starts attending such a school in his native country, they not only become immersed in the French language within the classroom but also develop a deep sense of respect for French culture and its dominant values. At various later stages of personal and professional life, such an individual is likely to get completely rid of the language barrier and develop a much more positive attitude towards France as a political and international actor than his compatriots who finished local secondary schools or gymnasiums. In fact, the francophone population of Lithuania does not exceed four hundred individuals, but there is a well-reputed French school in Vilnius as well. This institution known as *L'école française Montesquieu de Vilnius* has been functioning as a private school open to children of all nationalities for almost two decades, with its educational program almost identical to those existing in France except for

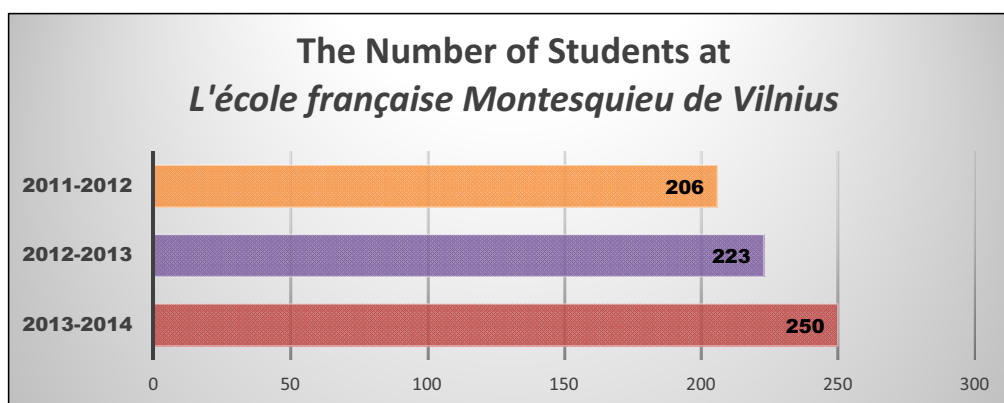
¹⁶⁷ Code de l'éducation: Article L452-2, 2005. Found:

http://www.legifrance.com/affichCodeArticle.do;jsessionid=4C26F37175D3C71FCC28DDA1DBF1AB4.tpdjo10_v_1?idArticle=LEGIARTI0000006525062&cidTexte=LEGITEXT0000006071191&dateTexte=20100607. Checked: 21 04 2012.

¹⁶⁸ AEFÉ: Excellence, partage, rayonnement, 2012. Found: <http://www.aefe.fr/tous-publics/le-reseau-scolaire-mondial/excellence-partage-rayonnement>. Checked: 21 04 2012.

the additional emphasis on the Lithuanian language and history as well as the English language to meet the obligatory requirements of the Ministry of Education of Lithuania. Analysing the situation, the first ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain indicates that the establishment of this school, “might be called an extraordinary success and an example not only to neighbouring Baltic States but to all Central European countries”¹⁶⁹. In accordance to the statistical data provided by the administrator Julija Lavrukaitis, currently working at the above-mentioned school, the number of students has been steadily growing over the last three academic years:

Chart No. 4.



This chart was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė on the basis of the official data provided by *L'école française Montesquieu de Vilnius*.

The French school in Vilnius serves as an effective and subtle mediator between France and our country. It also provides an opportunity to the French to get much soft power by shaping the minds of the young, who quite often belong to rich and influential families of the local elite. Special grants meant to decrease the financial burden of considerable tuition fees have sometimes been provided to a limited number of pupils by the Franco-Lithuanian energy services company “Dalkia Lietuva” as a sign of benevolence and goodwill. This particular instance of joint action of Lithuanian and French officials demonstrates that economic and political interests, cultural diplomacy and educational objectives of states are frequently intertwined and extremely hard to distinguish from one another.

In addition, the scholarly project *Emile* serves as one of the best examples of generating soft power via educational initiatives that bring teachers, students and the practitioners of

¹⁶⁹ A quotation from the interview of the first Ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 10 05 2011, Paris. P. 7.

cultural diplomacy closer together and eliminate linguistic barriers quite efficiently. The former director of the *Institut Français* operating in Vilnius Pascale Hanse gave an informative explanation to the author of the thesis about one of the most essential achievements related to the spread of the French language:

We have already started implementing quite an ambitious cooperation program called *Emile*. Working in accordance to the above-mentioned program, one not only experiences the reinforcement on teaching of the French language but other subjects, including history, geography and mathematics, are also being taught either in French or in both languages i.e. integrating the Lithuanian language as well. This program is currently being expanded a great deal, and for this reason exigent training sessions for teachers are being organized in order to enable them to work in both languages. [...] In this particular case, our objective is to form a network of efficient institutions which would be actively involved in the process of teaching French and would simultaneously guarantee an adequate offer of high-level services in this particular sphere.¹⁷⁰

The process of the practical realization of the project *Emile* in Lithuania started in 2002. At that time, the Ministry of Education and Science of Lithuania gave an official permission to “Dzūkija” secondary school of Alytus to take part in an experimental project in partnership with the Embassy of France to Lithuania and the French Cultural Centre of Vilnius (later transformed into the branch of the *Institut Français*). In 2006, an official agreement of cooperation was finally made among these three major actors¹⁷¹. Besides, other important partners such as the Academy of Aix and Marseille accepted the challenge to help interested Lithuanian teachers to learn new pedagogical methodologies vital to foreign language teaching and adapt them to the local educational environment. What concerns the students, the latter could acquire internationally acknowledged certificates upon the completion of studies, get very well acquainted with different aspects of French culture and eliminate the language barrier by mastering French. After experiencing the initial success, this project started to grow in two directions: firstly, the number of schools and colleges participating in the *Emile* program in Lithuania reached 23 institutions; secondly, the initiative also received massive financial support not only from the local authorities and the French diplomatic service but from the Structural Funds of the European Union as well. This might be interpreted as a strong impulse to accelerate the development of the bilingual semi-francophone classrooms in Lithuania. According to the attaché of French embassy for linguistics Luc Aubry, the period from 2011 to 2013 has been of crucial importance in the financial respect since the impressive sum of “approximately 1 million

¹⁷⁰ A quotation from the interview of the former Director of the *Institut Français* in Lithuania Pascal Hanse done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 17 07 2012, Vilnius. P. 3 - 4.

¹⁷¹ The text of the cooperation agreement was published in a special digital brochure *Content and Language Integrated Learning, 2006*. Found: http://factworld.info/lithuania/conference/Integruotas-mokymas_internetui.pdf. Checked: 30 01 2014.

Litas was allocated to implement [educational] activities associated with the project and the *Institut Français* of Lithuania became the major provider of services¹⁷². This particular instance of joint action of Lithuanian and French officials in the realm of education demonstrates that cultural diplomacy, political and educational objectives of states and governmental institutions are frequently intertwined and extremely hard to distinguish from one another. It is important to note that the global network of schools involved in the project *Emile* goes far beyond the borders of Lithuania and reaches even the farthest corners of the Europe such as Finland, Italy, Portugal, Bulgaria, Hungary and the Netherlands among many others.

The fourth principle of French cultural diplomacy is related to the aspirations of politicians and diplomats to provide the ability to use the best examples of French culture online and get people living in the furthest corners of the globe better informed about the role of France on the international arena through the World Wide Web and by other digital means. It should be noted that the entire diplomatic arena has experienced a major transformation since the newest “technology [...] increases the size of the playing field by an almost exponential amount” and the practitioners of cultural diplomacy have to “ensure that information is readily available and distributed speedily and widely, in an attempt to inform the foreign policy debate”¹⁷³. To strengthen the relations between artistic expression and diplomacy, a special attention has been devoted to the preservation of cultural artifacts and political documents in the digital format. As indicated in the preface of the National Program of Digitization of 2013 written by experts working for the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, digitization has become a valuable tool since it not only “multiplies access to heritage and contemporary creation” but simultaneously helps to “foster partnerships between government services, local authority services and private partners and incites the development of new cross-collaborations among institutions (archives, libraries, museums, heritage services ...)”¹⁷⁴. Ideas about the undeniable benefits of digitization for culture have already been tested in practice.

In fact, a special site *France.fr* was launched by the French Ministry of Culture and Communication in 2010. It has rapidly become the leading official portal to provide information about the culture of France to foreigners allowing to explore its economic prospects and discover business or tourism opportunities as well. Important pieces of information provided by

¹⁷² Aubry, L. Įtraukiantis nuotykis, lemiamas etapas, atsivėrusios perspektyvos: Prancūzakalbių integruoto mokymo *EMILE* klasių projektas. *Dialogas*, 2013, No. 31 (1050). P. 15.

¹⁷³ Grant, R. The Democratization of Diplomacy: Negotiating with the Internet. *Discussion Papers In Diplomacy*, 2005. P. 5 and 34. Found: www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20050900_cli_paper_dip_issue100.pdf. Checked: 08 10 2013.

¹⁷⁴ Programme national de numérisation Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication: Appel à projets de numérisation, 2013. P. 3. Found: http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/mrt/numerisation/fr/actualit/documents/appel_numerisation2013.pdf. Checked 07 10 2013.

the webpage have been divided into sixteen thematic sections that cover a variety of subjects, starting from famous museums and finishing with literature and the spread of the French language. There is a special database of videos and photos available so that visitors could freely download the material and discover the country by means of virtual visits and 360 degree panoramas of major places of interest. The administration of the webpage points out that “to satisfy its audiences, France.fr is now presented in six languages: French, English, German, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese”¹⁷⁵.

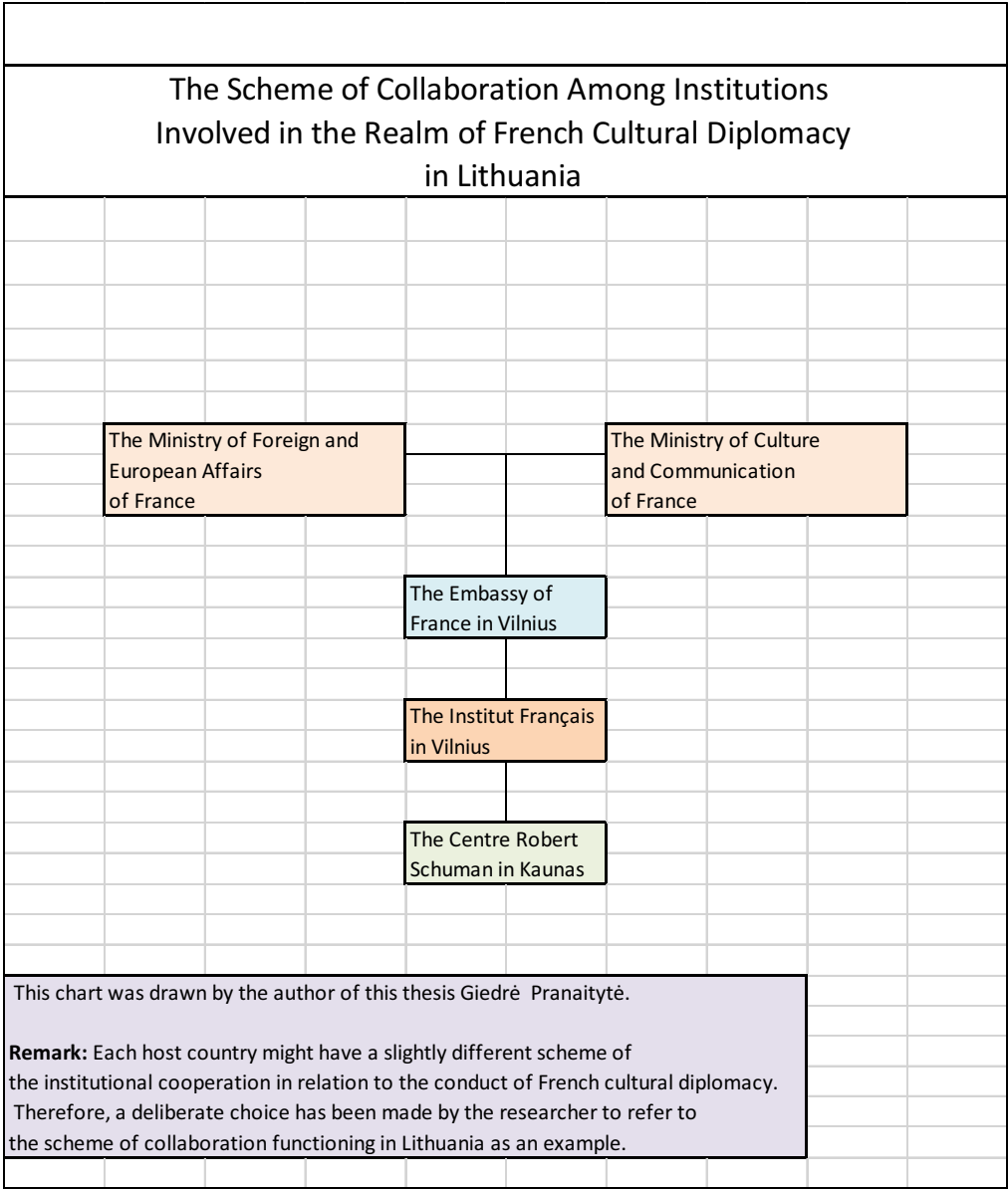
French diplomats and functionaries working for the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of France endeavor to introduce the official position of their country in the realm of international politics to the traditional mass media, social media and a special website known as *France Diplomatie*. Different profiles of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs have recently been created on *Twitter*, *Facebook*, *Google+* and they need to be constantly updated in order to spread the news about the political position of France on urgent issues quickly and efficiently. According to David J. Betz and Tim Stevens, it should be kept in mind that cyberpower has become an important instrument in conducting international relations and showcasing the national culture, but the representatives of any state need to be extremely cautious while using it because “the effects of power in cyberspace may be as unintended as they are intended”¹⁷⁶.

Considering all these subtleties, it might be interesting to take an attentive look at the conduct of French cultural diplomacy in Lithuania in order to distinguish which institutions are actively involved in the realm:

¹⁷⁵ About France.fr, 2013. Found: <http://www.france.fr/en/about-francefr>. Checked: 09 10 2013.

¹⁷⁶ Betz, D. J. and Stevens, T. *Cyberspace and the State: Toward a Strategy for Cyber-Power*. Washington and London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011. P. 40.

Chart No. 5.



As the chart manifests quite clearly, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of France undoubtedly stands at the forefront of industrious efforts to make the spread of French culture more efficient and noticeable on the international scale as well as attain important foreign policy objectives more easily due to the ability to exploit various mechanisms of the empowerment. Besides, there is a strong desire to extract maximum political benefits by means of a cultural and administrative cooperation with foreign countries.

Namely, this ministry is traditionally held responsible for a series of basic diplomatic tasks. One of them has always been associated with analysing, interpreting, collecting and spreading valuable pieces of information about urgent political issues and diplomatic challenges that either must be rapidly addressed on the governmental level or have to be thoroughly explained to the general public at home as well as abroad. The implementation of this task has been entrusted to the Directorate of Communication and Press that must ensure “external communication of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning its missions or action [... as well as take a constant care of] internal communication”¹⁷⁷. Traditional means of making international audiences better informed have never been forgotten as well. For instance, there is an admirable initiative supported by the Ministry of the Foreign and European Affairs of France to publish a quarterly journal entitled “Mondes, les Cahiers du Quai d’Orsay” in collaboration with the leading French publishing house known as “The Grasset Editions”. As the editor of the above-mentioned journal Jacques Baudouin explains, the necessity for such a journal has been emphasised by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Bernard Kouchner in order “to open up the Ministry to the outside world and make its intellectual wealth better known”¹⁷⁸. One part of this publication usually consists of original articles and analytical reviews written by French diplomats, scholars and experts. Another part of the same journal provides professional translations of these articles into the English language in order to eliminate potential language barriers. There have been nine issues published since the autumn of 2009. Each of them is usually dedicated to the analysis of a particular topic which requires the attention of the international community such as the Franco-German relationship within the European Union, the dramatic outcomes of the Arab Spring or the perspectives of collaboration with China. In addition, this journal has never been created for a narrow audience of professional diplomats, only. Instead, “Mondes, les Cahiers du Quai d’Orsay” is often perceived as a means to excite curiosity and interest among those individuals who are eager to follow intellectual debates of the French elite. Besides, there are continuous attempts to ensure its widespread distribution to leading libraries all around the world so that students and researchers could get better acquainted with the development of the French foreign policy. However, the copies of this journal are still not available for unrestricted access in major Lithuanian libraries.

From the administrative perspective, it should also be acknowledged that despite a growing availability of new forms of media, some important pieces of information about a

¹⁷⁷ Les métiers du ministère des Affaires étrangères, 2013. Found: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/photos-videos-et-publications/publications/brochures-institutionnelles/article/les-metiers-du-ministere-des>. Checked: 05 05 2013.

¹⁷⁸ Testard, P. Le Quai d’Orsay lance sa revue! Entretien avec Jacques Baudouin. *Nonfiction.fr*, 11 01 2010. Found: http://www.nonfiction.fr/article-3052-p1-le_quai_dorsay_lance_sa_revue_entretien_avec_jacques_baudouin.htm. Checked: 05 05 2013.

particular foreign country are usually provided by professional diplomats and ambassadors who regularly draw up special reports on recent political developments while working at a concrete French embassy. The ministerial apparatus located in Paris strives to acquire additional data on specific subjects through “a network of internal and external contacts that may be quickly questioned [...]: colleagues, experts, academics, business contacts, pressure or reflection groups”¹⁷⁹. After the verification of all available documents and data obtained from other sources of information, the bureaucrats of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs usually compose a special dossier dedicated to a situation within a particular country and make proposals concerning the prospects of cooperation in the nearest future. These insights might be particularly valuable to other governmental institutions such as the Office of the President of France, the National Assembly and the Senate. According to François Chaubet, the Professor of History at Paris West University Nanterre, the realm of cultural diplomacy requires much vigilance because in times of economic and political hardship French officials seem to be inclined to yield to “the temptation to reduce the cultural and internal academic actors (whose vitality determines their ability to export) and external ones (the embassies) to anemia” without considering the fact that their shortsightedness might eventually result in great losses of influence and power on the international arena¹⁸⁰.

2.1.1. French Cultural Diplomacy as an Expression of the Empowerment through Non-Governmental Entities and Private Initiatives

In many cases a deeper awareness of political, economic and cultural processes taking place in foreign countries might be developed merely on the basis of long-lasting historical and political relationships as well as continuous diplomatic and scholarly effort. Any rupture of traditional ties tends to generate the lack of mutual interest and frequent miscommunication between former partner-states and their populaces. For instance, when Lithuania regained its independence from the Soviet Union in 1990, it was very difficult for Lithuanian diplomats to find common grounds for an international dialogue with their French colleagues due to the widespread enchantment with the so-called *Perestroika* and the absence of adequate knowledge about the Lithuanian independence movement called “Sąjūdis”. The former Ambassador of Lithuania to France and the former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania Asta Skaisgirytė-Liauškienė aptly explained the awkwardness of the historical situation:

¹⁷⁹ Ministry's missions: Processing information, 2013. Found: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/the-ministry-158/ministry-s-missions>. Checked: 02 04 2013.

¹⁸⁰ Chaubet, F. Rôle et enjeux de l'influence culturelle dans les relations internationales. *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2013, Issue 1. No. 89. P.101.

At that time, political leaders François Mitterrand, Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl demonstrated their admiration for Mikhail Gorbachev. They were suspicious of everything that could do harm to Mikhail Gorbachev. François Mitterrand openly explained to Vytautas Landsbergis that it would be sufficient for Lithuania to demand for an autonomy instead of a complete independence. There were suggestions to start negotiating about some form of common existence in the nearest future. Vytautas Landsbergis, in turn, always emphasised that Lithuania was an independent and sovereign state.¹⁸¹

Clearly, the European political elite and skilled diplomats proved to be unable either to timely anticipate the rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union or to properly evaluate the determination of the Baltic States to throw off the yoke of the occupation. Although the Republic of France never formally recognised the annexation of Lithuania carried out by the Soviet Union, all diplomatic efforts of Lithuania to regain its status as an independent state following the five decades of the foreign rule demanded much stamina and patience. The Ambassador of Lithuania to France Jolanta Balčiūnienė also pointed out that “François Mitterrand together with Helmut Kohl wrote a letter to the acting head of the Lithuanian state Vytautas Landsbergis asking for a moratorium on the declaration of independence” and this paradoxical action might be interpreted as an eloquent instance of German and French leaders being extremely shortsighted and unable to adequately react to the changing state of international affairs¹⁸². This example demonstrates that the French officials working at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of France did not manage to properly inform their president about the predominant political trends inside Lithuania and this failure resulted in diplomatic misunderstandings concerning the significance of The Act of the Re-Establishment of the State of Lithuania.

As a result, the French President François Mitterrand, endeavored to correct his diplomatic errors and “recover the lost position of France” as a promoter of democracy by making state visits to Lithuania as well as other newly independent countries in the aftermath of the August putsch in Moscow¹⁸³. It is also worthwhile mentioning that not only politicians but active members of French society as well as businessmen had surprisingly little information about Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and for this reason almost nothing was known about ethnic and linguistic differences existing in the region as well as geographic and cultural peculiarities. *Les États Baltes* (1992) by the French historian Yves Plasseraud happened to be the only book about the Baltic region available in the French language at the time. In an interview given to the author

¹⁸¹ A quotation from the interview of the Ambassador Asta Skaisgirytė-Liauškienė done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 15 05 2012, Vilnius. P. 1.

¹⁸² A quotation from the interview of the Ambassador Jolanta Balčiūnienė done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 11 10 2011, Paris. P.1 - 2.

¹⁸³ Ibid. P. 1.

of the thesis, Yves Plasseraud briefly mentioned major reasons for his personal fascination with the cultural as well as historical heritage of Lithuania:

The disappearance of the Baltic States (and especially that of Lithuania) from the world map made a big impression on me since childhood. I started raising different questions. I wanted to understand how such a thing could have ever happened and for this reason I regularly met with the Baltic people. I felt a great sympathy for them [...]. Besides, I developed a strong interest in one more theme – the Jewish Litvak culture. Thus, both of these spheres of interest came together and complemented each other.¹⁸⁴

After the restoration of Lithuania's independence, the scholar managed to start working together with Lithuanian colleagues and attracted other French scientists to the field. Yves Plasseraud gradually filled in a huge informational void about Lithuania by publishing important volumes dedicated to the analysis of Lithuanian history and the Litvak cultural heritage, namely, *Les États Baltiques: Les Sociétés Gigognes, la dialectique minorités-majorités* (2006), *Lituanie juive 1918-1940: Message d'un monde englouti* (2006), *Les Litvaks: L'héritage universel d'un monde juif disparu* (2008). His other book entitled *Histoire de la Lituanie: Un millénaire* (2009) received much public attention during the official commemoration of the millennium of Lithuania. From a theoretical perspective, bold efforts to initiate the academic cooperation between French and Lithuanian historians and irritating difficulties in the sphere of bi-lateral diplomacy between Lithuania and France in 1990s might serve as an illustration to Peter van Ham's statement that "social power is contingent upon interaction, communication, relationships and institutions", but sometimes leading political figures and bureaucrats to their own avail become unable to draw potential benefits from "opportunities to create new norms" because of the fear to initiate alterations that might eventually produce dangerous political confrontations¹⁸⁵.

Meanwhile, scientists, businessmen and artists usually feel more at liberty to break outdated codes of conduct. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned example, it is impossible to ignore the role of individuals who accidentally enter the realm of cultural diplomacy from other spheres of activity and manage to initiate massive changes. Professor Bertrand Badie rightly evaluates the situation by pointing out that contemporary diplomats simply have no choice but to accept "the rise of private diplomacy" which accelerates the formation of the basis for new "coalitions, alliances, and forms of integration"¹⁸⁶. Positive results are frequently obtained by those newcomers and outsiders (like the French historian Yves

¹⁸⁴ A quotation from the interview of the French historian and expert on the Baltic States Yves Plasseraud done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 11 11 2011, Paris. P. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P.3.

¹⁸⁶ Badie, B. Op. Cit. P.157.

Plasseraud) who often fail to properly fit into the existing system and rather intuitively strive to get rid of stagnant habits in order to deal with unexpected political and cultural challenges better.

Another task entrusted to the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs is related to the necessity to implement foreign policy aims of France, including those related to cultural diplomacy, and create trustworthy partnerships with other countries. The European Union Directorate is seen as a major actor operating within the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, responsible for the successful realization of various tasks. The European Union Directorate consists of numerous smaller departments that develop a strong interest and specialise in various European regions, including the Mediterranean, Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Baltics among many others. Currently, this institution also plays a major role in expanding the influence of France on the supra-national level as well. The biggest diplomatic challenge for the employees of the above-mentioned directorate has clearly been to combine French national interests with political ambitions of the European Union; however, the harmony between the two seems to be challenging to achieve.

It should be noted that the enlargement of the European Union of 2004 marked a beginning of certain period of intensive friction between the Francophones and the Anglophones since the majority of people living in Central and Eastern Europe usually made a choice to learn and use English as their first foreign language. Concurrently with this, “the French nation historically [...] regards French as a universal language, the conveyor belt of a set of specific, universal, political ideas”¹⁸⁷. Meanwhile, the penetration of the French language and ideas remained less noticeable despite a clearly expressed desire of the French political elite to improve the situation in that particular region by providing training resources and exchange options to teachers of the French language and gifted scientists.

Making a special speech to celebrate the International Francophonie Day in 2010, the former President of France Nicolas Sarkozy openly voiced the fears about the unsurpassed dominance of English as a contemporary lingua franca and placed a special emphasis on the commitment of the French diplomatic staff living abroad “to struggle for the cultural diversity in our world”¹⁸⁸. To improve the situation, the absolute majority of officials working for various institutions of the European Union such as the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Committee of the Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee have been

¹⁸⁷ Pedersen, T. *When Culture Becomes Politics: European Identity in Perspective*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2008. P. 74-75.

¹⁸⁸ Sarkozy, N. Allocation de M. le Président de la République: La journée internationale de la Francophonie, 20 03 2010. P. 3. Found: <http://www.francophonie.org/IMG/pdf/10-03-20JourneeinternationaledeLaFrancophonie.pdf>. Checked: 24 10 2012.

strongly encouraged to develop skills of the French language by attending special courses as a part of their professional responsibilities. As Thomas Pedersen explains, the desire to transform French into an international language traditionally derives from “the French link between language and Frenchness”¹⁸⁹.

As a consequence, all initiatives meant to guarantee French a position of the predominant language inside the EU institutions have always been saluted by the government of France in response to the ever-growing popularity of American culture as well. According to the former French Minister of Foreign Affairs Hubert Védrine, it would be rather shortsighted to neglect “the politics of power that remains largely practiced in the world”, but at the same time it might be equally dangerous to exclusively “bet on influence” without participating in the fierce competition among leading countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States and China that are eager to defend and expand respective spheres of their linguistic and cultural dominance¹⁹⁰.

2.1.2. French Cultural Diplomacy and its Implementation by the Ministry of Culture and Communication of France

Notably, the Ministry of the Culture and Communication of France also plays an important role in the realm of cultural diplomacy, although a less direct and visible one. This governmental institution is entitled to promote cultural achievements via large-scale programs, the collaboration with commercially-oriented actors, non-governmental organizations, the media, local authorities and even private citizens. The most important missions for this particular ministry have currently been related to: 1.) the protection of the cultural heritage in France by paying special attention to the enrichment of the funds of local museums and libraries; the restoration of castles and churches as well as the preservation of ancient buildings, monuments and objects of great historical value to make the international tourism more active; 2). the development of the open approach towards culture as a subtle phenomenon which requires a great degree of liberty for artists and remains highly dependent on the accessibility of French art to the global audience.

According to the researcher Maryvonne de Saint Pulgent, “the usage of the word heritage in the sense of ‘cultural heritage’ belongs to the historian of art André Chastel” while the general interest among the Frenchmen in this particular field can be explained by the success of

¹⁸⁹ Pedersen, T. Op. Cit. P. 74.

¹⁹⁰ Védrine, H. Rapport pour le Président de la République sur la France et la mondialisation, 04 09 2007. P. 48. Found: <http://www.hubertvedrine.net/publication/rapport.pdf>. Checked: 24 10 2012.

the first Heritage Days organized by the former Minister of Culture and Communication Jack Lang in 1984¹⁹¹. From the perspective of cultural diplomacy, an idea to organize the Heritage Days in France may be interpreted as one of the most compelling examples demonstrating in what ways the objectives of the Ministry of Culture and Communication and these of the Ministry of Foreign and European Ministry of France happen to intersect and complement one another. Both of these ministries have always cooperated quite closely in order to decide what exactly must be brought to the attention of national and international audiences to reveal the richness of French culture inside the country and beyond its borders. In 2011, many French ministries and governmental institutions opened their doors to local inhabitants and tourists without any restrictions and completely free of charge. People who decided to come to the Ministry of Culture and Communication could talk to professionals working there and freely make various questions, take a look at the cabinet of the Minister, watch films about the activities of the Ministry and attend special lectures about the architecture of the former Royal Palace and its gardens (where the ministry is located) given by professional art historians. According to the official statistics, all around France “[the] event attracted more than 12 000 000 visitors to 16 136 sites and monuments open to the public”¹⁹².

In 2012, the focus of attention on the political level has shifted to the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, which organized a series of special events for the public starting with an exposition of photographs “Off the Coast of France” dedicated to the French living abroad and finishing with various music performances and the sale of postcards depicting the historical development of French diplomatic services. As indicated in a special press release, “the Ministry of Foreign Affairs opened three sites to the public: the residence of the Minister at the Quai d'Orsay, the castle and the park of La Celle-Saint-Cloud, and for the first time, the Centre of the Diplomatic Archives at La Courneuve”¹⁹³. It should be noted that such campaigns related to cultural diplomacy greatly assist in creating the image of France as an enlightened country where culture occupies a central place and succeeds in attracting the interest of the international community. In fact, there is a strong international dimension added to the initiative after its transformation into the European Heritage Days in 1991 under the patronage of the European Commission and the Council of Europe. According to the expert Michael Kneubühler, France as well as other European states eager to take part in the initiative not only seek to “alert the

¹⁹¹ de Saint Pulgent, M. *Culture et Communication: les missions d'un grand ministère*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2009. P. 52.

¹⁹² Journées du Patrimoine : Un grand succès pour le cru 2011. *France Soir*, 19 09 2011. Found: <http://www.francesoir.fr/loisirs/culture/journees-du-patrimoine-un-grand-succes-pour-cru-2011-138766.html>. Checked: 14 05 2013.

¹⁹³ Journées européennes du patrimoine 2012 (15 et 16 septembre 2012). Found: www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/le-ministere-et-son-reseau/evenements-et-actualites-du/journees-europeennes-du-patrimoine/article/journees-europeennes-du-patrimoine-101535. Checked: 09 05 2013.

citizens of a given country to the beauty and variety of the heritage bequeathed by past centuries” but endeavor to educate the members of various societies about the necessity to “identify with both the specific heritage of their region or community and the common heritage of Europe”¹⁹⁴. To put it simply, an attractive idea initially developed by the French has been successfully adopted by numerous European states that regularly participate in the European Heritage Days. This might be truly regarded as one of the great successes of French cultural diplomacy.

2.1.3. The Spread of French Culture and the Establishment of the Institut Français

Despite long decades of success, critical attitudes towards the prospects of French culture have become especially widespread due to the scandal caused by Donald Morrison’s article “In Search of a Lost Time” published by “Time Magazine” in 2007. He has distinguished a major problem that sometimes disturbs confidence in the success of French cultural diplomacy as well. It should be referred to as the lack of openness to foreign cultural elements which stems from the notorious tendency of the elite “to keep out foreign entertainment products while subsidizing their own”¹⁹⁵. In order to respond to this critique and increase the effectiveness of practical action in the realms of culture and cultural diplomacy, the French political elite made an important decision to create a more coherent and flexible network of governmental institutions and expand the range of potential partners that would be interested in co-operating on national and international levels. Courageous steps in the right direction were finally made after the adoption of the new law “LOI n° 2010-873 du 27 juillet 2010 relative à l'action extérieure de l'Etat”. In accordance to this law, a new network known worldwide as the *Institut Français* was established in 2010. This institution not only operates as a cultural entity placed under the supervision of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs but at the same time “uses the diplomatic network abroad, under the authority of the heads of diplomatic missions and institutions” to maintain close and friendly ties with “international and European organizations”¹⁹⁶. Therefore, the intersection between culture and diplomacy in connection with the practical implementation of significant foreign policy objectives becomes absolutely evident and legally acceptable.

¹⁹⁴ Kneubühler, M. Handbook on the European Heritage Days: A Practical Guide, 2009. P.10. Found: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/ehd/DGIV_PAT_JEP2008_21_E_Manuelcoord.pdf. Checked: 09 05 2013.

¹⁹⁵ Morrison, D. In Search of Lost Time. *Time Magazine*. 21 11 2007. Found: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1686532,00.html>. Checked: 15 11 2012.

¹⁹⁶ LOI n° 2010-873 du 27 juillet 2010 relative à l'action extérieure de l'Etat: Article 9, 27 07 2010. Found: <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000022521532&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id#JORFARTI000022521581>. Checked: 15 11 2012.

As the Secretary General of the *Institut Français* Laurence Auer explained, an initial “important impulse in the realm had been given by the association *Cultures France* which later transformed into the *Institut Français*”¹⁹⁷. To facilitate the management of an entire global network, the central headquarters of the *Institut Français* was set up in Paris. Various member-organizations of the former association chose to actively contribute to the success of the governmental reform by bringing their insights and suggestions so that an unnecessary waste of financial resources or administrative difficulties could be avoided. In one of his speeches Bernard Kouchner, the former French minister of Foreign and European Affairs, indicated exact objectives which the *Institut Français* should accomplish in pursuing its quotidian activities. Firstly, it has been expected to increase the overall effectiveness of cultural diplomacy by giving French cultural centres a possibility to “operate in the world under one name, one label, which is essential in the globalization era”¹⁹⁸. On the one hand, some positive progress towards a single system of institutions has clearly been achieved due to the successful introduction of a single blue-and-white logo which clearly stands for the *Institut Français* and could quickly be recognised all around the world. Some additional benefits have also been drawn from an active cooperation with other cultural institutions led by the supporters of the *Francophonie* such as the *French Alliance (Alliance française)*. On the other hand, disproportionate representation of French culture in different countries might be easily noticed. As far as the United Kingdom and the United States are concerned, there are two branches of the *Institut Français* operating in Washington and New York as well as the other two to be found in London and Edinburgh. Meanwhile in Germany, the existing network remains rather dense: there are ten active branches in Berlin, Bremen, Köln, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Leipzig, Mainz, Munich and Stuttgart, excluding independent non-governmental agencies. In the case of Lithuania, the French cultural centre in Vilnius has been rapidly incorporated into the network of the *Institut Français*, while the Centre Robert Schuman in Kaunas has retained its independent status due to the financial assistance from the Robert Schuman Foundation.

Secondly, the exigency to “disseminate [...] ideas, knowledge and scientific culture and ensure that France plays a more active role in the great debates shaking the world” has been emphasised¹⁹⁹. The organization of the international two-day conference “Diplomatie culturelle, un atout pour la France dans un monde en mouvement” at the end of 2011 has become one of the

¹⁹⁷ A quotation from the interview of the General Secretary of the Institut Français in Paris Laurence Auer done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 13 11 2011, Paris. P. 1.

¹⁹⁸ An Important Reform of the French Cultural Diplomacy: Statement by Bernard Kouchner, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, during his Joint Press Conference with Frédéric Mitterrand, Minister for Culture and Communication, and Xavier Darcos, Ambassador for External Cultural Action (excerpts), 21 07 2010. Found: http://ambafrance-se.org/spip.php?page=mobile_art&art=3330. Checked: 10 12 2012.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

most successful intellectual initiatives supported by the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Collège de France located in Paris and the *Institut Français*. The participants of the event focused on four themes: basic challenges for French cultural diplomacy in the context of new attitudes toward the phenomenon, the process of dismantling of the language barrier for the successful promotion of the French literary heritage and the necessity for high-quality translations; the analysis of important connections between economics and culture; the role of social media and digital technologies for intensifying an international dialogue via innovative means. All keynote speeches and round-table discussions could be followed on-line in English, Spanish and French on a special website²⁰⁰. Besides, all viewers have been able to submit their questions directly to the speakers with the assistance of a special forum and get acquainted with short films about the most successful initiatives of the *Institut Français*. Interestingly, making his speech at the conference, the former Minister of Culture and Communication Frédéric Mitterrand has indicated that “the map of cultural diplomacy is currently undergoing profound changes” because neither Europe nor the United States are capable of maintaining their cultural dominance in the world²⁰¹. In fact, both of these actors have to expand the scope of cultural exchanges among nations and states so as to compete with Asian countries more effectively. Therefore, cultural diplomacy is often seen by the French government as an important political factor that not only shapes a favorable image of the country but might lead to commercial success in promoting and exporting cultural products. Although the members of the French intellectual elite still tend to draw a line of separation between high culture and pure commerce, it is no longer possible to ignore the obvious fact that “[t]he development of the market of cultural property is exponential”, especially taking into account the growing availability of art production in digital formats that can be purchased from legal on-line stores²⁰². In the course of the conference, it has become evident that influence and unique manifestations of culture are perceived by French experts and politicians as essential to the success of French cultural diplomacy which help to attain a deeper understanding of Joseph S. Nye’s ideas about diverse types of power. The usage of the Internet and video materials during the event reveals a significant role attributed to digital technologies allowing “to travel through cyberspace” and help to expand the zone of French influence notwithstanding huge

²⁰⁰ The international two-day conference “Diplomatie culturelle, un atout pour la France dans un monde en mouvement” organized at the end of 2011 could be watched live and free of charge on the following website: <http://diplomatie-culturelle.videodirect.fr/>.

²⁰¹ Mitterrand, F. Discours de Frédéric Mitterrand, ministre de la Culture et de la Communication, prononcé à l’occasion du colloque sur la diplomatie culturelle, 12 12 2011. Found: <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Ministere/L-histoire-du-ministere/Archives/Frederic-Mitterrand-2009-2012/Discours-2009-2012/Discours-de-Frederic-Mitterrand-ministre-de-la-Culture-et-de-la-Communication-prononce-a-l-occasion-du-colloque-sur-la-diplomatie-culturelle>. Checked: 10 12 2012.

²⁰² Phan, T. T. H. Les défis de la diversité culturelle et linguistique en francophonie. *Géoéconomie*, 2010, Issue 4. No. 55. P. 68.

geographical distances that make people unable to meet for such a conference at a single place because of the lack of free time or scarce financial resources²⁰³.

Despite significant financial restraints due to the economic crisis, France has been striving to retain its global visibility and encourage a deeper understanding among nations that might create additional added value as well. According to Xavier Darcos, the Director of the *Institut Français*, there are no other options available for the French political elite but to “develop a global strategy of influence” which would also take into consideration the potential commercial success of various cultural initiatives in order not to waste money and effort on costly projects that might end up being doomed to a complete failure from the perspective of the international free market²⁰⁴. In the context of this particular idea, the endeavors of the *Institut Français* to create special programs should be mentioned, specifically the ones that increase the availability of French books translated into foreign languages and ensure their rapid publication abroad with the assistance of local branches. One special publication support program dedicated to the memory of the famous Lithuanian diplomat Oscar Milosz (Oskaras Milašius) has already been active in Lithuania for 19 years. All leading publishing houses of the country are regularly given a chance to submit special applications and receive some financial assistance every year so that classical and contemporary pieces of literature could quickly reach Lithuanian readers in their native language. Besides, the representatives of publishing houses can enjoy an extensive freedom of choice while making a complex decision about the literary value of a concrete book to be translated and published as well as its potential popularity among readers and a certain degree of profitability. As indicated in the special forum of the *Institut Français* in Vilnius, the overall number of translations in 2010 amounted to “more than 150 titles”²⁰⁵. The publication of each book usually generates additional sources of income for all interested parties: the acquisition of publishing rights becomes less expensive to the concrete publishing house after receiving a targeted subsidy from the French government; approximately one half of expenses related to translation and editing may also be covered; the author of a book receives additional copyright payments and might generate more interest from potential foreign readers willing to buy a new book. Similarly, the practitioners of French cultural diplomacy make their country more recognisable abroad as well. Comparing the publication statistics of French books successfully published in the Lithuanian language within the framework of the above-mentioned

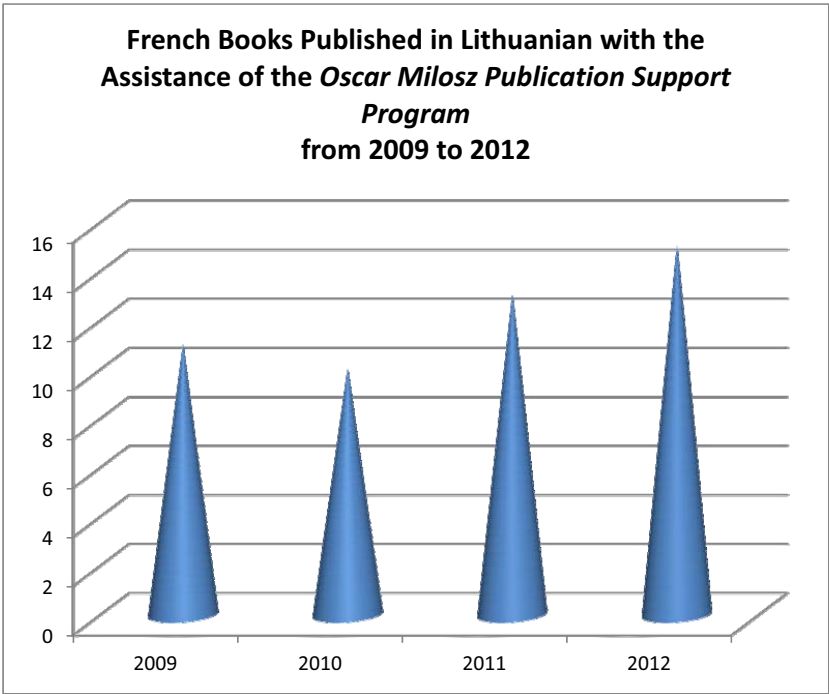
²⁰³ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2010. Op. Cit. P. 7.

²⁰⁴ Entretien du président de l'Institut français chargé de l'Action culturelle de la France à l'étranger, Xavier Darcos, avec le quotidien *Le Figaro*: La culture est aussi un outil diplomatique, 2011 02 05. Found: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/les-ministres-et-le-ministere/missions-et-organisation/les-operateurs-du-mac/article/entretien-du-president-de-l>. Checked: 15 11 2012.

²⁰⁵ O. Milašius programa leidybai remti (PAP), 2011 02 25. Found: <http://www.didzioji.lt/2011/02/25/o-milasiaus-programa-leidybai-remti-pap/>. Checked: 15 01 2013.

program, one may observe a tendency of gradual growth from 11 literary works in 2009 to 15 books in 2012.

Chart No. 6.



This chart was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė on the basis of the official data provided by the *Institut Français*.

It should be emphasised that the branch of the *Institut Français* operating in Vilnius has been earnestly striving to follow the path of literary cooperation and bring up new political ideas by organizing unique meetings with those writers who suffer from various forms of political persecution. In 2012, a special tour to major cities of Lithuania was organized for the Franco-Algerian author Mohammed Moulessehoul who had written his famous novels “The Swallows of Kabul” (2005), “The Sirens of Baghdad” (2007) and “What the Day owes the Night” (2008) under the female pseudonym *Yasmina Khadra* in order to avoid severe censorship practiced by the Algerian military regime and obtain more liberty while criticizing dangerous manifestations of Islamic fundamentalism.

However, there is one serious drawback typical of the existing system: regular subsidies from the French government often demotivate French writers and make them unable to fiercely compete with their American and British colleagues on the literary market for global

recognition. Even some of the most successful contemporary French children's writers such as Timothée de Fombelle and Pierre-Marie Beaud have never experienced the level of success comparable to that of British and American authors J. K. Rowling and Lynne Reid Banks despite impressive endeavors of French diplomats to introduce them to foreign readers with the assistance of governmentally sponsored translation projects.

From the point of view of cultural diplomacy, such paradoxical situation sometimes steals some attraction from the international image of France. As Peter van Ham observes, "popular culture affects the values, preferences, and even identities of the wider public, going well beyond the usual foreign policy elites"²⁰⁶. In other words, the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy conducted by various branches of the *Institut Français* should be more encouraging to private initiatives as a creative addition to official strategies, actively stimulate the popularity of French values abroad by means of literature and cinema as well as accept the growing commercialization of culture as an inevitable fact instead of ignoring the phenomenon. If certain changes fail to occur in the nearest future, the sense of uncertainty about the ability of France to draw considerable economic benefits from cultural contacts taking place on the international arena will become prevalent and capable of causing great damage on the political front. It should be kept in mind that the decrease of notability of any foreign state which, in turn, might be caused by the cultural passivity abroad frequently diminishes its political significance as well.

In comparison, Lithuanian literature, art and history has frequently been introduced to the French reading public in a specialized journal known as "Cahiers Lituanien" published by the association "Lituanie-Alsace" since the year of 2000. According to the editor Philippe Edel, this journal not only invites Lithuanian and French linguists, historians and art critics to join forces but exists absolutely independently in order to "develop a vision which could be considered neutral and objective"²⁰⁷. This initiative might be interpreted as a sign of active civil society in France because all people involved in the process of publishing of "Cahiers Lituanien" usually work as volunteers. All issues happen to be either distributed through libraries or sold on a special webpage. However, one single journal is unable to compensate for the huge lack of information about Lithuanian culture in France. According to the journalist and writer Valdas Papievis, "there are very little translations done from Lithuanian into French [and ...] Lithuanian literature remains practically unknown to the French with the exception of several

²⁰⁶ Van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P. 50.

²⁰⁷ Sorcinelli, F. Entretien avec Philippe Edel Président de l'Association Alsace- Lituanie. *Terra Nobilis*, March 2007. Found: http://www.terrannobilis.com/contenu/fiche_article/article_entretien_edel.php?rubrique=catalogue. Checked: 09 10 2013.

books”²⁰⁸. Analysing the current situation, one can conclude that Franco-Lithuanian cultural relations should be invigorated with the support of political leaders representing both countries since personal initiatives, no matter how effective, are simply insufficient.

Apart from various literary initiatives, a special focus on the art of cinema has been included into the strategy of the *Institut Français*. According to the Director of the *Institut Français* in Paris Xavier Darcos, one of the main objectives of the entire network has been to perform certain functions as “a digital resource center for the network, a space for convergence and dialogue”²⁰⁹. In order to transform this vision into reality, systematic efforts have been made to create a specific database *IFCINÉMA*, which would provide a possibility for people coming to all branches of the institution around the world to download films in order to watch and use them for non-commercial purposes.

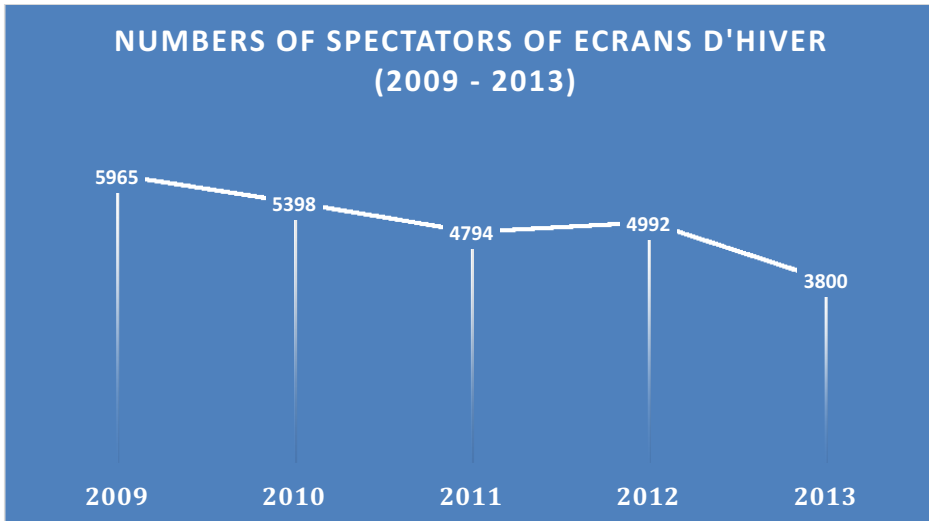
In addition to that, the promotion of French films and documentaries through a special festival entitled *Ecrans d'hiver* [Winter Screens] has become especially popular in Lithuania with the support of the local branch of the *Institut Français*. This event began its existence in the winter season of the year of 2006. At first, a special program of French films was demonstrated in Vilnius only, but later the initiative spread all across Lithuania. Thus, the spectators living in various cities and towns, including Alytus, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Marijampolė, Nida, Panevėžys, Palanga, Šiauliai and Visaginas, could also get acquainted with the best French movies each year. As the director of *Ecrans d'hiver* Austė Zdančiūtė explains, the basic aim of the organizers have always been “to pass the entire last year in review [and ...] single out the most interesting or odd Francophone films”²¹⁰. In addition to that, special attention has been regularly devoted to the artistic heritage of the most talented film directors such as Marguerite Duras, Abdellatif Kechiche, Pierre Étaix or Eric Rohmer. The statistics of the festival and the degree of its popularity among Lithuanian spectators can be easily seen from the following table:

²⁰⁸ A quotation from the interview of Lithuanian journalist and writer Valdas Papievis done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 11 01 2011, Paris. P. 2.

²⁰⁹ Darcos, X. Ouverture des deuxièmes ateliers de l'Institut français, 18 07 2012. P. 9. Found: <http://ateliers.institutfrancais.com/sites/default/files/files/Discours%20Xavier%20Darcos%20Nantes.pdf>. Checked: 09 03 2014.

²¹⁰ Austė Zdančiūtė quoted in Adomaitytė, A. Austė Zdančiūtė: Žiemos ekranai – kino iliuzijos, padedančios gyventi. *Bernardinai.lt*, 11 01 2012. [An interview done by Akvilė Adomonytė] Found: <http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2012-01-11-savaite-pokalbis-auste-zdancute-ziemos-ekranai-kino-iliuzijos-padedancios-gyventi/75177>. Checked: 20 03 2014.

Table No. 3.



This table was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė on the basis of the official data provided by the *Institut Français*.

The festival *Ecrans d'hiver* bears much similarities with the *French Film Festival* organized in Richmond since 1993 (the United States). Both festivals propose versatile film programs and invite French directors for short visits on a yearly basis. However, the American public is traditionally offered a possibility to attend special master classes, while Lithuanian spectators do not have such a privilege. The decrease of spectators participating in the festival *Ecrans d'hiver* might be explained by an increased offer of foreign movies proposed by other cinema festivals such as *Kino pavasaris* or *European Film Forum Scanorama*.

Another important aspect of the activity of the *Institut Français* is related to the organization of two cultural seasons in Paris every year. In 2011, a two-month initiative was launched to introduce Estonian culture to the French audience by means of a special program bearing the title “Estonie Tonique”. According to the Secretary General Laurence Auer, the choice of this particular country came from a growing interest of the French political elite in the Baltic region:

The Latvian cultural season called *Etonnante Lettonie* was organized in 2005 before the reform of French cultural centers worldwide. Around that time, during the French Prime Minister’s visit to Estonia an agreement was reached to organize similar season of Estonian culture as soon as any favorable circumstances come into being.²¹¹

²¹¹ A quotation from the interview of the General Secretary of the Institut Français in Paris Laurence Auer done by Giedrė Pranaitytė. 13 11 2011, Paris. P. 3.

She also clearly indicated that Estonian governmental officials and diplomats along with their colleagues from the *Institut Français* had enough stamina to transform an initial idea developed by leading politicians into a series of attractive events organized in Paris. The final version of the agenda of the cultural season consisted of five sections: architecture, cinema, heritage, music, literature, theater and visual arts. Each of them included exhibitions, concerts, thematic evenings and film festivals as well as unveiled many unknown riches of Estonian culture to the Parisian public. Journalists of the leading French newspapers and journals paid special attention to the opening concert of the cultural season dedicated to the religious music of the most famous Estonian composer Arvo Pärt and innovative compositions by Veljo Tormis that had been inspired by medieval and folk music. Various articles dedicated to the event gave some additional information about both composers and the Estonian National Male Choir. Besides, some historical data about the country and its cultural peculiarities was also provided in major national newspapers such as “Le Monde” and “La Libération”. In addition, the Prime Minister of Estonia Andrus Ansip met with the Prime Minister of France François Fillon to discuss urgent economic issues related to the instability of the euro-zone in 2011, October 7th. The timing of this visit coincided with the beginning of the Estonian cultural season. In fact, such a combination of culture and diplomatic action serves as a practical confirmation to a scholarly insight that “cultural power lies at the heart of international relations” since it assists in discovering neutral grounds for an intensive inter-state dialogue by drawing a line of separation between “the permissible and the forbidden, the legitimate and the illegitimate”²¹².

In contrast, the cultural season of Lithuania has never been organized in the capital of France by the *Institut Français*. Therefore, the newly appointed cultural attaché of Lithuania Rasa Balčikonytė endeavored to improve the situation by organizing a special festival entitled “Voyage en Lituanie” in 2012. The French embassy in Lithuania and the Ministry of Culture and Communication of France also agreed to actively collaborate in organizing the event. As indicated in the recent public interview given by Rasa Balčikonytė, the former Minister of Culture and Communication of France Frédéric Mitterrand happened to be “well acquainted with Lithuanian culture”, and for this reason “he made a proposal to implement a special program encompassing the year of Lithuanian culture and immediately provided solid [...]funding”²¹³. Here, a concrete instance of bi-lateral cultural diplomacy is manifested to its

²¹²Sindjoun, L. A la recherche de la puissance culturelle dans les relations internationales: essai de caractérisation du concept et d'appréhension du phénomène. *International Review of Sociology: Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 2008, Vol. 18, No. 1. P. 150.

²¹³ Balčikonytė, R. quoted in Baltrušaitytė, R. Vienas didelės renginys užsienyje apsimoka labiau negu daug mažų. [An interview made with the Cultural Attaché of Lithuania to France Rasa Balčikonytė], *Veidas*, 11 03 2014, No. 10. Found: <http://www.veidas.lt/vienas-didelis-renginys-uzsienyje-apsimoka-labiau-negu-daug-mazu%E2%80%9C>. Checked: 18 03 2014.

full. Lithuanian diplomats operating in France were eager to introduce their national culture in Paris but could not reach the objective because of the lack of money and the French ministerial officials responded to the problem in a benevolent manner by providing necessary financial assistance and administrative cooperation. As the cultural attaché Rasa Balčikonytė points out, leading photographers such as “Aleksandras Macijauskas, Antanas Sutkus, Romualdas Rakauskas and the entire school of Lithuanian photography has been much respected among the French” despite the limitations for a deeper artistic communication because of the Soviet oppression²¹⁴. Therefore, regarding the overall program of the festival “Voyage en Lituanie”, a special preference for photography and visual arts can be testified.

The official opening ceremony of the event began with the presentation of the Lithuanian culinary heritage at the headquarters of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, which attracted about four hundred visitors. The entire program consisted of expositions, artistic shows, and meetings with famous intellectuals. Contemporary Lithuanian photography was introduced to the French public during a special exhibition “Paris-Vilnius” organized in Paris at the National School of Fine Arts (Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts – ENSBA). The focus of attention was brought to five renowned artists, namely, Antanas Sutkus, Ramunė Pigaitė, Deividas Narkevičius, Svajonė and Paulius Stanikai. Intellectual relations between both states could be easily re-discovered together with the assistance of a cycle of black-and-white photographs “Five Days in Lithuania” depicting Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir who visited the country in 1956. To avoid any political confrontation with the Soviet regime, both of these intellectuals managed to keep their visit mostly private and refused to make any public statements or contact with the local press at that time. According to the researcher Solveiga Dautartaitė, the level of freedom during this short visit remained limited despite all efforts since Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir “were accompanied by the Muscovite translator Lena Zonina, the acting chairman of the Writer’s Union and a poet Eduardas Mieželaitis [...], a well-known novel-writer Mykolas Sluckis and a young (26-year-old) photographer Antanas Sutkus”²¹⁵. From the diplomatic perspective, the Soviet regime clearly aimed to exploit this visit as a means to gain some additional soft power and symbolically prove that France’s official refusal to acknowledge the forceful incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR no longer seemed to be valid.

By the twist of faith, these iconic photographs currently stand as an important contribution to the somber image of the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. Other attempts to conquer the minds

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Daugirdaitė, S. 1965-ųjų akimirkos su Simone de Beauvoir ir Jeanu Pauliu Sartre’u. *Colloquia*, 2009, No. 22. P. 72. Found: http://www.ilti.lt/failai/Nr22_05_Daugirdaite.pdf; Checked: 20 01 2013.

of Lithuania by means of Communist ideology happened to be aptly revealed in a series of ordinary people's portraits taken by Antanas Sutkus during the same period. It is sufficient to remember his outstanding and philosophical photo "Blind Pioneer" (1962), which depicts a Lithuanian boy wearing a red scarf and an official uniform of the youth organization "Young Pioneers". Lacking the sense of sight, this child could not be fully aware of the political message expressed through his outward appearance, but the occupying force sought to transform him into a servile follower of the Communist ideology anyway. Given into account this historical context, it is possible to compare the Soviet Union to an aggressive empire which has always striven for the empowerment via "a blend of military domination and the legitimacy offered by culture"²¹⁶.

Complex memories of the Soviet occupation have also been unveiled in a ten minutes video "Disappearance of a tribe" (1995) made by a young Lithuanian film director Deividas Narkevičius. In one of the rare public interviews the artist clearly states that his major objective has been to make these photographs "more alive" so that it would be possible for the young to cope with the sense of bewilderment and "trace back connections with the historical period"²¹⁷. The author of the film has been willing to concentrate on a number of quotidian paradoxes of the Soviet epoch as seen through his father's eyes. This short film consists of a series of amateur photographs that depict the most important moments of life experienced by an ordinary Lithuanian family whose members have been left with no other option but to adjust to absurd ideological requirements right from the cradle and until the moment of death. From the political perspective, such piece of art seems to be especially valuable to practitioners of Lithuanian cultural diplomacy as an effective antidote to frequent attempts to rewrite history of the 20th century and depict the downfall of the Soviet Union as "a major geopolitical disaster of the century"²¹⁸.

Similarly, a short video film "Inferno", photographs, and other pieces of art presented by Svajonė and Paulius Stanikai reveal a prevalent desire of the successive generation of Lithuanian artists to get rid of the Soviet imperial heritage by means of extreme provocation. Both of them endeavor to "create drastic images: simulations of fake deaths, extreme doses of sexuality, illness, violence, aggression and self-destruction, questioning of basic self-security instincts, voyeurism and exhibitionism" and achieve a long-lasting effect by courageously

²¹⁶ Van Ham. Op. Cit. P. 25.

²¹⁷ Deimantas Narkevičius quoted in Rees, S. Tokios buvo tos dienos, mano drauge: Deimanto Narkevičiaus interviu. *ŠMC Interviu: Pokalbiai apie meną*, 2005, No. 4, P. 9. Found: http://www.cac.lt/files/various/INTERVIU_2005_4.pdf. Checked: 25 01 2013.

²¹⁸ Putin, V. Annual Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 25 04 2005. Found: http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/04/25/2031_type70029type82912_87086.shtml. Checked: 21 01 2013.

testing the limits separating the acceptable from the unacceptable²¹⁹. For this exhibition Paulius and Svajonė Stanikai presented a couple of black-and-white photographs showing undressed people sunbathing at the seaside during the Soviet era. These provocative pieces of art might be interpreted as an open derision of the scandalous catch-phrase that there was no sex in the USSR. To feel the difference between the paradoxical past and the hopeful present, all visitors of the exposition have also been offered a chance to take a look at another black-and-white photograph, namely, a serene image of the Baltic Sea entitled “AUGUST 2002”. In an interview given to the author of the thesis Paulius Stanikas has made a few troubling remarks upon the complex relationship between art and politics deriving from the practical mistreatment of cultural diplomacy:

The official attitude towards culture in Lithuanian society is quite negative. The same applies to the sphere of diplomacy. The greatest problem of [Lithuanian] cultural attachés is the absence of a decent budget. The biggest part of the available budget needs to be spent on living expenses of the cultural attaché. Rasa Balčikonytė has been recently appointed to promote Lithuanian culture in France without adequate financial resources. She is a very gifted and educated person to do the job. But there are plenty of uncultivated cultural attachés of Lithuania [around the world]. It is a very bad tendency.²²⁰

Despite bitter disillusionment with the conduct of Lithuanian cultural diplomacy and frequent political failures made by our diplomatic service, Paulius and Svajonė Stanikai still define themselves as representatives of Lithuanian modern art who deliberately spend some of their time in Paris and some in Vilnius. These artists manage to symbolically unite both cities by exploiting shocking elements of artistic innovation, retaining a lively relationship with their homeland and promoting Lithuanian culture to European art connoisseurs at the same time.

The cycle of photo portraits “People of my City” (2000-2007) created by a Lithuanian photographer Ramunė Pigagaitė has also made a valuable addition to the exposition. These subtle coloured photographs show the inhabitants of a small town Varėna wearing their professional uniforms and holding various items that might be used at particular workplaces. According to the photographer, it has been a challenging experience to take these pictures due to a rather intense and open personal communication:

I have known all these people since my early childhood. When I started doing the series of photos, I did not notice any changes in them although we met after the period of 30 years. The

²¹⁹ Krikšto paitytė, M. S&P Stanikas: Modernaus Meno Centras, 2013. Found:

<http://www.mmcentras.lt/?id=2&lang=lt&style=&dis=&Sid=146&cv=1>. Checked: 21 01 2013.

²²⁰ A quotation from the interview of Lithuanian modern artists Paulius and Svajonė Stanikai done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 01 11 2011, Paris. P. 5 - 6.

work process, however, was far from being easy [...] because of] an intense dialogue between me and the person.²²¹

Most of the photos are interesting since they not only demonstrate the linkage between the traumatic past and the uncertain present but also indicate symbolic elements that remain significant to people's everyday life and vocation. Photographed individuals and their professions have been turned into intriguing artistic metaphors that disclose the intersection of political and professional realms on a personal level. As the photographer and art analyst Tomas Pabedinskas notes, in this particular case "photographic images replace the memory, they become a more significant confirmation of the truthfulness of the past than authentic personal experiences"²²². It is important to mention that only three individuals in the Lithuanian embassy to France had to implement and supervise the entire program of the festival "Voyage en Lituanie". In contrast, the organization of "Estonie Tonique" involved ten experts merely from the *Institut Français* let alone numerous Estonian officials. This implies that the Ministry of Culture of Lithuania as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania failed to escape a trap of passivity and extract more political and diplomatic benefits from culture in this particular case despite an impressive effort of the cultural attaché of Lithuania Rasa Balčikonytė as well as numerous artists eager to represent Lithuania on the international level.

From the historical perspective, it should be admitted that the very term "cultural diplomacy" has never been popular in Lithuania. However, the members of the political elite seek to make important cultural phenomena well known abroad. It is common knowledge that the spread of positive messages about culture might be highly useful for Lithuania's cooperation with France. For instance, in the year of 2000, an impressive exhibition of the paintings of the outstanding Lithuanian painter and composer Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis was opened at *Musée d'Orsay* in Paris. According to the former Ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain, namely the first Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania to UNESCO Ugnė Karvelis "actively worked and served as a translator during the visit of Vytautas Landsbergis to Paris", which had taken place in 1991 and during his conversation with François Mitterrand "she persuaded them that such an exhibition was necessary"²²³.

From the artistic perspective, all paintings by Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis have always been considered to be surrealistic and highly symbolic. As Vaiva Kavaliauskaitė notes,

²²¹ Ramunė Pigagaitė quoted in Antradienį Varėnoje Ramunė Pigagaitė atidarys savo fotografijų parodą, 12 07 2012. *Danielius.net*. Found: <http://www.danielius.net/?p=32454>. Checked: 21 01 2013.

²²² Pabedinskas, T. Asmens tapatybė Ramunės Pigagaitės fotografijų cikle *Mano miesto žmonės. Meno istorija ir kritika*, 2008, No. 4. P. 131. Found: <http://archive.minfolit.lt/arch/14501/14666.pdf>. Checked: 10 02 2013.

²²³ A quotation from the interview of the first Ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 10 05 2011, Paris. P. 7.

the opening of the exhibition was tremendously successful since “many honorable guests came to the exhibition - the Minister of Culture of Lithuania, Lithuanian Ambassador to France, the Head of National Museums Associations of France, directors of French museums, famous art critics”²²⁴. In addition to the retrospective of the works of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, numerous concerts of Lithuanian classical music and other performances were arranged. Therefore, the entire program received much attention from the French cultural press. According to the former Vice-Minister of the Foreign Affairs of Lithuania Asta Skaistgirytė-Liauškienė, the exposition has been of much significance since “the French discovered the personality of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis anew”, and at the same time his “music was performed at the Champs-Élysées Concert Hall and conducted by the maestro Mstislav Rostropovich”²²⁵. This particular instance of success might be regarded as a positive step towards the bilateral Franco-Lithuanian cooperation in the sphere of cultural diplomacy. However, the expert on the Baltic States Yves Plasseraud has expressed a negative opinion about the exclusive and continuous emphasis on the heritage of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis claiming that other leading Lithuanian “composers do not exist at all” in the minds of the general French public²²⁶. This implies that more heed should be paid by the members of the Lithuanian diplomatic service to the artistic diversity in all spheres in to be more visible in France.

2.2. French Cultural Diplomacy as an Instrument to Promote French Cultural Values

2.2.1. French Cultural Diplomacy on the Level of Embassies

French embassies and other institutions such as the *Institut Français* or cultural centers operating all around the world should be regarded an integral part of the system of institutional actors actively involved in the conduct of French cultural diplomacy. The current Minister of Foreign Affairs of France Laurent Fabius has insightfully remarked that this particular realm should always be seen as an indispensable one since “France possesses a network of exceptional quality” which consists of various institutions such as “160 services of cooperation and cultural action, 140 cultural institutes, 3000 agents”²²⁷. It should be emphasised, however, that most of professional diplomats performing their daily duties on the international level have to complete

²²⁴ Kavaliauskaitė, V. Čiurlionio retrospektyva Paryžiuje. Found:

http://www.muziejai.lt/prev_vers/Informacija/Ciurlionis_Paryziuje.htm. Checked: 26 04 2010.

²²⁵ A quotation from the interview of the Ambassador Asta Skaistgirytė-Liauškienė done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 15 05 2012, Vilnius. P. 9.

²²⁶ A quotation from the interview of the French historian and expert on the Baltic States Yves Plasseraud done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 11 11 2011, Paris. P. 5.

²²⁷ Entretien avec Laurent Fabius, Ministre des Affaires étrangères et européennes. *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2013, Issue 1, No 89. P. 56.

numerous tasks at a time and combine different work styles to become more efficient. Continuous efforts to affect the mind-sets of foreigners via attractive cultural action undoubtedly occupies an important place as a means to indirectly assist in opening new possibilities for a fruitful collaboration in other important fields, including politics and economics. The former ambassador of France to the Netherlands Anne Gazeau – Secret grasps the predominant trend by noting that “the influence is a process in which we see the results only many years later and, above all, it is created on the ground and not in Paris!”²²⁸. In the context of the development of Franco-Lithuanian relations during the last two decades, it is possible to distinguish three important achievements of the French diplomats: a) the re-establishment of the official embassy in Vilnius so that France’s interests could be represented properly on the Lithuanian soil; b) the promotion of the French language and culture by providing financial assistance for academic exchange and holding up a series of educational, artistic and literary programs initiated by the *Institut Français*; c) the collaboration with rather specialized non-governmental organizations such as the Centre Robert Schuman located in Kaunas.

The French Embassy in Vilnius currently occupies an entire complex of magnificent historical buildings located right at the heart of the old town of the capital. One of them is traditionally referred to as the Stendhal House to honour and remember the famous French novelist Henri Beyle who visited the capital of Lithuania twice during Napoleon’s Russian Campaign of 1812. A couple of decades ago the building called for restoration in order to be later used by the French diplomats as an official place of residence. As the first Ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain remembers, the opening of the embassy has been a demanding process:

Evidently, I and other colleagues of mine [...] had to deal with the very first important task - to find a building where the embassy could be established and discover who might be competent enough to help us. It was unclear whom should we address to: the mayor of the city, the head of the government or the Seimas? We did not know how it would be best to act since there were no defined rules but everybody offered us help in a formidable manner. [...] Waiting for a solution, we were allowed to settle down on the ground floor of another building, which later was turned into the Presidential Palace of Lithuania. It was a wonderful gesture of friendship and the location seemed to be great.²²⁹

At that period the representatives of Lithuanian governmental institutions had little experience in maintaining foreign relations with different ambassadors and their staff members. The latter also felt challenged by the absence of clear regulations and procedures inside the country. But

²²⁸ Gazeau-Secret, A. “Soft power”: l’influence par la langue et la culture. *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2013, Issue 1, No. 89. P. 108.

²²⁹ A quotation from the interview of the first Ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 10 05 2011, Paris. P. 2.

numerous problems ended up being solved with the assistance of mutual understanding between Lithuanian officials and foreign diplomats since all interested parties were facing political challenges and economic hardships. According to the Ambassador Philippe de Suremain, it was extremely difficult to initiate the flow of usual diplomatic work since the French government failed to provide basic material resources on time: “At the very beginning of [our] activity, we had nothing at all. The university located nearby lent several tables to us. One man had a typewriter with the French characters so we borrowed it from him. The Ministry of Culture [of Lithuania] gave us a few writing paper packets”²³⁰. Despite all these trials, the meaning of foreign embassies located in Vilnius never lost its weight on the political level since this fact really helped to strengthen the independence of Lithuania.

After more than two decades of a rather successful functioning, the French embassy in Vilnius has extensively developed its activities after creating special departments, including the Diplomatic Chancery headed by the Ambassador, the Consular Section as well as an entire range of services and missions related to cultural activities, military and police cooperation, the press and communication, management and economics. The current Ambassador of France to Lithuania Maryse Berniau not merely performs her traditional duties as a representative of France defending its political and economic interests but also strives to devote much time and effort in order to make relations between both countries more active by supporting the collaboration among Lithuanian and French scholarly centres on large-scale projects and making public speeches at leading Lithuanian universities. Additional focus is centered around a specialized academic exchange program *Gilbert 2013*, which “encourages the creation of European research networks and contributes to the construction of the European Research Area” by providing at least partial financial assistance to Lithuanian scholars so that they could enrich their respective researches by paying visits to French institutions²³¹.

However, the Lithuanian populace is given a relatively small amount of information about scientific results obtained during the implementation of these projects. Therefore, the activity of the French embassy remains less visible and known than it could otherwise be if the spread of information about its initiatives would be more efficient and pervasive. The former director of the *Institut Français* in Lithuania Pascal Hanse notes that the biggest challenge for the French diplomats has always been “to transform the positive image of France into concrete projects”, but the realm of science should be regarded as an exemplary one in this respect, because “France

²³⁰ Ibid. P. 2.

²³¹ Programme Gilbert 2013: Campus France. Found: www.campusfrance.org/fr/printpdf/187155. Checked: 15 05 2013.

stands as the fourth partner of Lithuania” in the sphere of common research and scholarly articles²³².

It should be mentioned that 69 scientific projects of Lithuanian scholars were given at least partial financial funding from the French government from the very start of an active implementation of the program *Gilbert* in 2003²³³. Identical initiatives of France in the field of the scientific cooperation are currently being implemented in 67 countries and 18 of them strive to maintain academic ties with Lithuania by means of common projects.

2.2.2. *The Promotion of the French Language and the Movement of the Francophonie*

One of the traditional elements of French cultural diplomacy has always been the official engagement to make the French language and culture popular and recognisable worldwide. From the historical perspective, the eagerness to exploit linguistic and cultural patterns as an acceptable means to attain diplomatic and political objectives takes its beginnings from the colonial heritage of France. It should be stressed that the members of local elites in Northern and Western Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Canada placed a special emphasis on their aspiration to squeeze themselves into the French cultural realm in order to be at least partially accepted by their colonizers originating from France. The presence of the French military in numerous colonial territories (frequently referred as DOM-TOMs) as a tangible force expected to prevent potential upheavals and the political support to the philosophical idea about the French civilizing mission in order to reveal “the spiritual qualities of the French language” and make the entire world to accept “French as a language superior to all others” might be interpreted as a dangerous mixture of hard and soft power that generated an external imposition of cultural homogeneity to some extent²³⁴. However, the usage of French remained important to a number of nations even after the downfall of the colonial system in the wake of World War II.

At that time, the French general Charles de Gaulle sought to find a new way to redefine the traditional concept of power and discover attractive alternatives to shattered imperial ambitions of his homeland in order to resolve the problem of the French national identity. After a period of careful deliberation, the idea of the military dominance of France has been replaced by a notion of the French greatness that had to be manifested via its cultural and linguistic peculiarities. According to Bertrand Badie, “the idea of the French grandeur anticipated the

²³² A quotation from the interview of the former Director of the *Institut Français* in Lithuania Pascal Hanse done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 17 07 2012, Vilnius. P. 1 - 2.

²³³ This data was provided to the author of the current thesis by the *Institut Français* in Lithuania upon a private request.

²³⁴ Burrows, M. ‘Mission Civilisatrice’: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860–1914. *The Historical Journal*, 1986, Vol. 29, No 1. P. 127.

concept of soft power”²³⁵. This attitude towards the changing position of France in the post-war era partly coincided with the political interests of the inhabitants of former French colonial territories since the mastery of the French language permitted the leaders of many newly independent states such as Algeria, Tunisia and Senegal to communicate with their European counterparts and attain a higher level of international support for their cause of national independence, which had to be protected with great wisdom and responsibility.

In his seminal essay entitled “Le Français, langue de culture” the first president of Senegal and a famous cultural theorist Léopold Sédar Senghor openly claimed that a strict line of separation between culture and politics could hardly be ever drawn and firmly expressed his support for the nascent movement of the *Francophonie* as well. Under these complex political circumstances, the French language ceased to be a symbol of foreign oppression to African and Asian populations. Instead, it was regarded as an instrument meant to expand the limits of freedom via the linguistic intelligence “since liberty can be measured by the power of the tool [... which should stimulate] the force of creation”²³⁶. As a consequence, the promotion of the French language was no longer considered as an isolated field of activity that should be entrusted to the French government and remain devoid of external influences. Initially, the movement of the *Francophonie* was advocated by a handful of African and Asian politicians such as the first President of Tunisia Habib Bourguiba, the first President of the Republic of Niger Hamani Diori and the former king of Cambodia Norodom Sihanouk. In the course of the 20th century, however, many organizational and institutional transformations occurred leading to the creation of an influential international entity known as the International Organization of the Francophonie (*Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*) in 2005. At present, seventy-five countries either as full members or as observers (as in the case of Lithuania) endeavor to make a good use of their attachment to French culture and language in order to extract the maximum political benefit from playing an active part on this platform for an international cooperation. According to Bertand Badie, the global movement of the *Francophonie* should be still perceived as “a column of the French power”, but at the same time one needs to admit that due to the aggressive invasion of an American way of life “people first study English and then they turn to German or Spanish or Arabic”²³⁷. In other words, the French language is gradually losing its prestigious status and frequently occupies the position of a third foreign language or remains ignored altogether.

²³⁵ A quotation from the interview of Bertand Badie done by Giedrė Pranaitytė at Sciences Po University, 20 09 2011, Paris. P 1.

²³⁶ Senghor, L. S. Le Français, langue de culture. *L'Esprit*, Novembre 1962. P. 843. Found: <http://www.esprit.presse.fr/archive/review/article.php?code=32919>. Checked: 21 05 2012.

²³⁷ A quotation from the interview of Bertand Badie done by Giedrė Pranaitytė at Sciences Po University, 20 09 2011, Paris. P. 2 and 3.

Interestingly, the government of Lithuania represented by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Audronius Ažubalis and the Administrator of the International Organization of the Francophonie Clément Duhaime signed the “Cooperation Agreement concerning the Teaching of the French Language at the Diplomatic and Civil Services of Lithuania” in 2012. This new document refers to the period of four years to 2013 to 2015 and the very initiative should be regarded as an attempt to increase the interest of Lithuanian diplomats, lawyers and civil servants in the French language and its usage during international meetings and negotiations within the framework of the European Union. To create strong ties of cooperation among the representatives of Lithuania and their French-speaking colleagues from various countries, there is a strong need for the encouragement to our governmental officials so that they would be given a chance to polish their linguistic skills of French and attain an advanced level of linguistic mastery.

It is relevant to indicate that both interested parties tend to share all expenses on equal grounds and demonstrate the willingness to analyse “the Francophone point of view toward especially relevant issues of international significance”²³⁸. Here, one can easily see the practical usage of one particular aspect of French cultural diplomacy. On the one hand, the spread of French subtly contributes to the influence of France as well as some parts of the Benelux region since professional diplomats, lawyers and civil servants might naturally get attracted to the French cultural sphere in the process of learning the language. On the other hand, important objectives of Lithuanian foreign policy might end up being less complex to attain due to a more direct contact with foreign French-speaking counterparts without a necessity for professional interpretation and other forms of linguistic mediation.

The current diplomatic strategy of the Republic of France has recently been re-assessed in a document entitled “La France et l'Europe dans le monde: livre blanc sur la politique étrangère et européenne de la France, 2008-2020”. The authors of this strategy concentrate on the essential list of priorities. The necessity to safeguard the influence of the French language and culture clearly stands out as an important element of French cultural diplomacy despite obvious challenges. Even today, there exists an important difference among different perceptions of the movement of the *Francophonie*. It is often regarded as “a space of cultural universality through linguistic diversity”, but at the same time the French still have to cope with a burdensome obligation to find “an original way of going beyond colonialism”²³⁹. The above-mentioned

²³⁸ The Final Project of the Cooperation Agreement Concerning the Teaching of the French Language at the Diplomatic and Civil Services of Lithuania. 08 10 2012. P. 6. Found: http://www.lrv.lt/Posed_medz/2012/121016/34.pdf. Checked: 24 10 2012.

²³⁹ Milhaud, O. Post-Francophonie? *EspacesTemps.net*, 07 08 2006. Found: <http://www.espacestemp.net/en/articles/post-francophonie-en/>; Checked: 2013 09 04.

strategy has been expected to generate more success in the realm of French diplomacy in the nearest future:

Hearing of our ideas, our culture and our language is an important asset for our influence abroad and the spontaneous lure aroused by them makes the condition of their success. Nevertheless, the State has to play its role in order to support their diffusion and facilitate their presence in good place on the global market.²⁴⁰

However, there is a serious obstacle to the successful promotion of the French language and culture abroad that needs to be rapidly taken out of the way, specifically, the sceptical attitude of the French to foreign languages as being less valuable and attractive than their own native tongue. The unwillingness to accept an increased linguistic and cultural variety inside French society looks especially harmful in the context of international relations among the member states of the European Union and in the aftermath of intensive immigration waves from the third countries. According to Bertrand Badie, the image of French cultural diplomacy has become ambivalent because of this awkward tendency: “On the one hand, we want to influence the world; on the other hand, we are promoting a very exclusive vision of the world. To find the way out of the impasse in France, we either have to re-invent the state, or to create a completely new structure of power”²⁴¹.

In order to escape from the vicious circle of stereotypical thinking about social and creative limits as well as increase the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy, the government of France has recently initiated interesting public debates on the issue. Special attention has repetitively been paid to the need to build and implement “a policy of influence based on a culture that seeks not just to spread, but also to enrich itself in contact with other cultures”²⁴².

The cooperation between the French city of Grenoble and the second-largest city of Lithuania Kaunas might be seen as an interesting example in the context of cultural as well as diplomatic relations between France and Lithuania on the level of municipalities. The major impulse to the initiative was given by the Mayor of Grenoble Michel Destot and his wife Marie Destot who came to Kaunas together with an official delegation and signed a special Twin City Agreement in 1996. The Deputy Head of International Relations and Protocol Department of the Municipality of Kaunas Rima Kubiliūtė indicates that “the members of the family of Marie

²⁴⁰ Juppé A. and Schweitzer L. *La France et l'Europe dans le monde. Livre blanc sur la politique étrangère et européenne de la France 2008-2020*. July, 2008. P. 92. Found:

<http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/var/storage/rapports-publics/084000459/0000.pdf>. Checked: 24 10 2012.

²⁴¹ A quotation from the interview of Bertand Badie done by Giedrė Pranaitytė at Sciences Po University, 20 09 2011, Paris. P. 4 -5.

²⁴² Legendre, J. and de Rohan, J. *Le Rayonnement Culturel International: Une Ambition Pour La Diplomatie Française*. Rapport No. 458, 10 06 2009. P. 2. Found: <http://www.senat.fr/rap/r08-458/r08-458-syn.pdf>. Checked: 20 01 2012.

Destot define themselves as the Litvaks from Ukmergė” and these personal connections have undoubtedly served as an encouragement to start a long-term friendship²⁴³. The former Ambassador of France to Lithuania Michel Touraine and the former Ambassador of Lithuania to France Ričardas Bačkis have also taken part in a solemn signing ceremony of the act to emphasise that cultural and political ties between both countries are extremely close.

In fact, the amity between Grenoble and Kaunas has always subsumed a variety of important spheres such as tourism, economics, medicine, student exchanges, art exhibitions, concerts. In addition, the municipality of Kaunas received tremendous material support from the Honorary Consul of Lithuania to France Pierre Minonzio. According to Rima Kubiliūtė, “he [...] brought medical equipment and pharmaceuticals to Lithuania in very large quantities after the Soviet authorities had made a decision to cut the supply” to local hospitals²⁴⁴. Important steps taken by this courageous personality to alleviate the complex situation allowed the inhabitants of Kaunas to avoid medical problems related to serious deficiencies of important drugs. Sadly, the archives of the municipality of Kaunas do not currently possess any documents which would provide exact numbers and help to properly evaluate the huge scale of the initiative.

Regarding the cultural cooperation, one could not miss special Days of Grenoble, organized in Kaunas in 1998. In the course of the event, fifty-five French professionals shared their experiences with Lithuanian colleagues working in the fields of energy supply, medicine and fashion industry. In turn, lovers of classical music were invited to special concerts given by the famous French pianist Henry Torgue. The idea of educational exchanges have been enthusiastically supported by Jurgis Dobkevičius secondary school functioning in Kaunas, whose teachers and students accepted an official delegation of twenty individuals from the College Villeneuve for a visit during the same year. In short, this event marked a start of the cooperation, which has been successfully continuing for more than fifteen years.

From both contemporary and historical perspectives, it should be admitted that all the above-mentioned activities nicely fit into the official strategy of the *Francophonie*. According to the expert Brian Weinstein, it is important to bear in mind that various artistic initiatives and certain diplomatic objectives have always been closely intertwined because the leaders of the movement traditionally support all kinds of partnerships “to advance the use of French for the sake of the language and to pursue political and economic interests in and between states”²⁴⁵. In

²⁴³ A quotation from the interview of the Deputy Head of International Relations and Protocol Department of the Municipality of Kaunas Rima Kubiliūtė done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 05 09 2013, Kaunas. P. 1.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. P. 2.

²⁴⁵ Weinstein, B. *Francophonie: A Language-Based Movement in World Politics. International Organization*, 1976, Vol. 30, Issue 3. P. 485.

other words, the promotion of French culture by diplomats, artists and the representatives of non-governmental organizations serves merely as a starting point for a bi-lateral cooperation in political and economic spheres.

It would be hardly possible to examine the practical implementation of French cultural diplomacy in Lithuania without carrying out an analysis of the long-lasting activity of the Robert Schuman Centre existing in Kaunas. It was established in 1993 with the assistance of the Embassy of France in Lithuania and the Robert Schuman Foundation operating in Paris. This successful initiative was implemented as a result of the active involvement of the Association *Lituanie-France*, which encouraged the friendship between the two countries in the late 1980s by inviting a number of regional French-Lithuanian associations to actively collaborate with their Lithuanian counterparts on a variety of cultural, political and economic issues. It should be also emphasised that at that time Lithuania was still not liberated from the Soviet Union and the prospects of its quest for independence remained doubtful and uncertain. Besides, in the course of the five decades of the Soviet occupation, only a small number of Lithuanians were lucky enough to come to France as tourists due to a variety of absurd political and administrative restrictions. However, the majority of the Lithuanian intelligentsia had studied at various French universities during the pre-war period. Therefore, their children and other close relatives frequently shared the same admiration for France. In their imagination “the Republic of France stood for an unreachable country of dreams where all things have always been beautiful and rich cultural traditions have been thriving beyond compare”²⁴⁶.

Due to unfavorable circumstances, the scope of cooperation between the representatives of both countries was initially limited to sporadic semi-official contacts with the most active Lithuanian émigrés residing in France. The situation started to gradually improve when Lithuania regained its independence on March 11, 1990. In one of his interviews, the first Ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain openly states that the general knowledge about Lithuania as well as its historical ties with France has been scarce, limited and incomplete:

If the Association *Lituanie-France* had not been established, the role of the French embassy would have been smaller and we would have not been able to do so many things. [...] Even if there have been some enthusiastic expectations in Paris about the successful outcome of the Lithuanian struggle for independence and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been eager to pay as much attention to your country as possible, it should be taken into consideration that any

²⁴⁶ A quotation from the interview of the Professor of French Culture and Language and the President of the Robert Schuman Centre Birutė Strakšienė done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 18 05 2011, Kaunas. P. 1.

ministry is just a ministry created on the basis the administrative apparatus and the bureaucracy. Luckily, Robert Schuman Foundation was actively operating at that time in Paris.²⁴⁷

Initially, the Association *Lituanie-France* had only two active branches inside Lithuania: one of them was operating in Vilnius and another one was functioning in Kaunas. The majority of its members were either experienced teachers of French or skilled professionals who managed to do temporary internships at French institutions. At that period of time, all interested individuals used to meet in various places, starting from public libraries and finishing with Vilnius University, Lithuanian Veterinary Academy and Kaunas University of Technology. The former Rector of Vilnius University Rolandas Pavilionis willingly agreed to become the first head of the Association *Lituanie-France* and took much personal effort to spark a deep interest in French culture in the capital. According to the journalist and writer Valdas Papievis, “at the dawn of the independence of Lithuania, cultural relations with France were especially strong due to the active involvement of the French cultural centre in Vilnius”²⁴⁸. The Kaunas’ branch of the association happened to be more active supporting different French cultural initiatives under the leadership of the Professor of the French Language and Culture Birutė Strakšienė. For this reason, the first Ambassador of France to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain not only played an important role in restoring diplomatic and cultural ties between the two countries but also helped to get a much-needed financial support for the French Cultural Centre in Kaunas.

However, he found it extremely difficult to find a reliable partner institution which would financially assist in spreading French culture and expanding the realm of French cultural diplomacy in Lithuania. According to the Professor Birutė Strakšienė, a major breakthrough was achieved “when the Chairman of the Robert Schuman Foundation Louis Jung and his colleague Dominique Giulliani [...] came to Lithuania in 1992 and made their offer to the Ambassador Philippe de Suremain to establish a cultural centre in the capital”²⁴⁹. However, the latter one directed their interest towards the enthusiastic members of the Association *Lituanie-France* in Kaunas, and this finally led to the successful establishment of the Robert Schuman Centre in 1993. It has already been working for more than twenty years despite initial administrative problems, the necessity to create the entire infrastructure literally from scratch and the damaging effect of the European financial crisis, to name just a few challenges. This particular instance

²⁴⁷ Philippe de Suremain quoted in Pranaitytė, G. Filipas de Siurmenas: Ateitis ne visada priklauso gudriems ir atsargiems žmonėms. *Bernardinai.lt*, 17 01 2011. [An interview with the first French Ambassador to Lithuania Philippe de Suremain done by Giedrė Pranaitytė.] Found: <http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2011-01-17-filipas-de-siurmenas-ateitis-ne-visada-priklauso-gudriems-ir-atsargiems-zmonems/56272>. Checked: 25 05 2012.

²⁴⁸ A quotation from the interview of Lithuanian journalist and writer Valdas Papievis done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 11 01 2011, Paris. P. 2.

²⁴⁹ A quotation from the interview of the Professor of French Culture and Language and the President of the Robert Schuman Centre Birutė Strakšienė done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 18 05 2011, Kaunas. P. 2.

serves as a confirmation of Thomas Pickering's statement that the effective activity of a visible non-governmental organization may become "a huge and important force"²⁵⁰.

Analysing the activity of the Robert Schuman Centre, it is possible to distinguish several major spheres of interest. The history of France has clearly attracted much attention of the local audience as well as scientists from both countries. For instance, the historian Rūstis Kamuntavičius representing Vytautas Magnus University have already read thirty-six lectures dedicated to different periods of French history. A variety of complex themes have been industriously covered, including the dramatic outcomes of the French Revolution, the formation of the modern French state and the re-unification of Europe under the umbrella of the European Union. Another historian Linas Venclauskas concentrated his attention on the Napoleon Campaign of 1918 and impressions of French soldiers about Lithuanian cities, namely, Vilnius and Kaunas. In addition, there have been regular addresses made by the French historian Yves Plasseraud and the renowned expert of political sciences Gilles Ribardi re. These lectures have enjoyed a great popularity so far since the audience is always given a chance to ask numerous questions or initiate an open discussion right on the spot.

It should be emphasised that all the above-mentioned meetings and events have always been organized by a handful of employees of the Robert Schuman Centre who enjoyed their liberties to choose potential speakers independently. Meanwhile, the French attitude towards the history of Lithuania has regularly been introduced by the former lieutenant-colonel Gilles Dutertre who spent most of his time in three cities: Vilnius, Riga, and Paris. He devoted almost five years to the analysis of valuable pieces of common history which could bring Lithuania and France closer to each other. Asked by the journalist Sigita Nemeikait  about his fascination with this particular subject, Gilles Dutertre made a brief explanation: "The passion for travelling, the desire to get to know the world and my interest in history brought me to Lithuania. This predilection of mine changed the course of life"²⁵¹. The results of his scholarly efforts finally resulted in the publication of the book "The French in the History of Lithuania (1009-2009)", which appeared in France four years ago. Gilles Dutertre has already done seven public presentations on different historical subjects related to the cooperation between France and Lithuania within the walls of the Robert Schuman Centre. He has also launched a popular website under the title "Le Blog de Gilles", where the analysis of historical peculiarities and political events of Lithuania, Latvia and the Ukraine is regularly carried out and presented to the

²⁵⁰ Thomas Pickering quoted in Nye, J. S. Jr., 2002. Op. Cit. P. xiii.

²⁵¹ Gilles Dutertre quoted in Nemeikait , S. Mar ruta  , "Metro-darbas-miegas" paliko Pary ziui. *Delfi.lt*, 06 09 2008. Found: <http://pramogos.delfi.lt/zmones/marsruta-metrodarbasmiegas-paliko-paryziui.d?id=18443858>. Checked: 12 03 2013.

readers in French²⁵². Real reasons for opening such a blog were disclosed by Gilles Dutertre during one of his visits to the Centre Robert Schuman: “I opened up the blog to make people better acquainted with Lithuania after hearing an unpleasant remark from one French politician almost on the verge of a diplomatic incident. I quote: ‘Do you know some of Lithuanians? We have nothing to do with these Lithuanians.’”²⁵³.

The spread of information about the European Union and public meetings with diplomats should be regarded as another sphere of interest of the Robert Schuman Centre. There were two special French Weeks in Kaunas initiated by the representatives of this organization in 1996 and 1997. The French Week of 1996 was dedicated to the personality of Robert Schuman (1886-1963) and his political ideas. The French Ambassador Michel Touraine willingly participated in the opening ceremony of the event, which took place at Mykolas Žilinskas Art Gallery. According to the journalist Ramutė Vaitiekūnaitė, writing for the local daily newspaper *Kauno Diena*, many artists, including the pianist Raminta Neverdauskaitė as well as drama actors Petras Venslovas and Inesa Paliulytė, have been invited to make musical performances and read poetry on the solemn occasion in order to demonstrate that “art pays no regard to frontiers drawn by the politicians”²⁵⁴. Catholic priests and seminarians studying at Kaunas Priest Seminary also had a rare possibility to listen to the address of the Apostolic Nuncio to Lithuania Justo Mullor García about the complex relationship between the European Union and Christianity and enjoy the concert of religious music performed by the choir of Vytautas’ the Great Church of the Assumption of The Holy Virgin Mary. In addition to that, people were given a chance to watch French films, take part in the closing concert given by the ensemble of baroque music and dance *Bianchetto Musicale* or assist at a series of special exhibitions of French books at different bookshops as well as libraries completely free of charge. The following year, the focus of attention shifted to the conduct of cultural as well as classical diplomacy even more. The French Week of 1997 was devoted to Franco-Lithuanian diplomatic relations emphasizing the heritage of two Lithuanian diplomats, namely Petras Klimas and Oskaras Milašius. Invited speakers were outstanding personalities, including the permanent Lithuanian Ambassador to UNESCO Ugnė Karvelis, the head of the French-Baltic States friendship group in the French Senate Claude Huriet. According to the journalist and writer Valdas Papievis, who is currently living in Paris, Ugnė Karvelis “had a deep understanding of global problems”, but at the same time she also managed to “see Lithuania not only from the

²⁵² This site can be accessed at <http://gillesenlettonie.blogspot.com/>.

²⁵³ This remark of Mr. Gilles Dutertre was written down by the Professor Birutė Strakšienė and placed in the archive of the Centre Robert Schuman.

²⁵⁴ Vaitiekūnaitė, R. Paryžius žino apie septynias prancūziškas dienas Kaune! *Kauno diena*, 26 04 1996, Nr. 93. P.1.

European perspective but in the context of the entire world as well”²⁵⁵. There was a special exhibition “French-Lithuanian diplomatic relations 1918-1940” opened at the Vytautas the Great War Museum in Kaunas. Some of valuable exhibits ended up being donated to the museum by Pierre-René Grandclément whose father Gaston Grandclément served as the French attaché in Lithuania before World War II. Since it was very difficult for organizers to squeeze all events into a short period of a single week, a decision was made to develop the idea further into the month of the *Francophonie* celebrated in March. The transformation has already proven to be a success since the celebration of the month of the *Francophonie* attracts numerous lovers of French literature, cinema as well as the individuals interested in political processes within the EU. In fact, there is a possibility to take part in more than ten events related to France and its culture each year in Kaunas. What is more, there is a similar initiative in the capital supported by the *Institut Français*, known as “Days of the Francophonie”. Traditionally, people are invited to take part in various performances offered by famous French musicians and singers, visit expositions of new books or simply enjoy a special menu of the French cuisine at the nearby café which bears a symbolic title “Le Café de Paris”. In fact, the Robert Schuman Centre frequently collaborates with the *Institut Français* so that important presenters and artists could visit Vilnius and Kaunas at a time. Analysing the overall situation of the French cultural diplomacy in Lithuania, one can notice a considerable improvement during more than two decades. It is important to emphasise that the enlargement of the EU helped a great deal to make the relations between both countries more active and noticeable to ordinary citizens. It should be mentioned that the patient work of the Professor Birutė Strakšienė has recently been evaluated on the top official level. In the year of 2014, she received an official award of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania known as *the Lithuanian Diplomacy Star* for encouraging cultural and diplomatic relations between France and Lithuania²⁵⁶.

²⁵⁵ A quotation from the interview of Lithuanian journalist and writer Valdas Papievis done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 11 01 2011, Paris. P. 3.

²⁵⁶ Lietuvos diplomatijos žvaigždė – KTU Prancūzų kultūros centro direktorei Birutei Strakšienei, 26 03 2014. Found: <http://ktu.edu/naujienos/%E2%80%9Elietuvos-diplomatijos-zvaigzde%E2%80%9C-%E2%80%93ktu-prancuzu-kulturos-centro-direktorei-birutei-straksi>. Checked: 30 03 2014.

3. AMERICAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: BASIC TENDENCIES AND PRIORITIES

The United States of America has always been a major player in the sphere of cultural diplomacy. The global spread of American culture continues to stimulate the minds and imagination of political scientists and leaders since the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy has always been essential to the American political elite during important periods of political uncertainty. Each of those periods has obviously been regarded as being provoked by complex and specific challenges of epochal proportion: long-lasting tensions of the Cold War period due to a political and military competition between the United States of America and the Soviet Union; unilateral ambitions of the Bush administration to wage a global war against terrorism in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks and ambitious aspirations of the Obama administration to get rid of the negative image of the U.S. as an aggressive superpower. In comparison to the French model of cultural diplomacy, based on the leading role of the governmental apparatus dependant on the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Communication as well as the *Institut Français*, the American model of cultural diplomacy has always been far more liberal due to the absence of the Ministry of Culture. Therefore, much more levers of influence have been left to non-governmental organizations and private foundations established by leading businessmen.

In order to portray the complexity of American cultural diplomacy on the contemporary international arena, the interconnection of historical, political and cultural problems in the aftermath of the application of different forms of power needs to be analysed in more depth. The main objective of this section of the thesis is the following: to analyse in what ways the American cultural diplomacy contributes to the confidence in the United States as a reliable international actor, a promoter of democracy and a trustworthy political partner of Lithuania. Analysing the international relations of both countries, much attention has been paid to scholarly ideas developed by the Professor of Government Giulio M. Gallarotti who is currently working at Wesleyan University in the United States as well as these developed by Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Peter van Ham. In this context, a considerable attention should be devoted to the cultural cooperation between Lithuania and the U.S. In addition to that, some of illustrative examples will be taken from international contexts placing an adequate emphasis on basic differences.

3.1. The Model of American Cultural Diplomacy

The complexity of American cultural diplomacy derives from the absolute necessity to simultaneously concentrate on numerous regions and continents. Analysing political tendencies and major programs supported by the U.S. Department of State and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, it is possible to distinguish five fundamental principles that reveal the essence of diplomacy and politics as seen from the American standpoint.

Table No. 4.

Five Basic Principles of the New American Approach to International Relations and Cultural Diplomacy	
1.	Restoring the attractiveness of political and cultural values of the United States.
2.	Supporting the American model of business development via cultural initiatives.
3.	Promoting the American vision of social development worldwide.
4.	Interacting with partners and opponents to open up possibilities for a dialogue.
5.	Rebuilding the positive image of the U.S. by means of cultural diplomacy.

This table was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė.

The Senator Hillary R. Clinton's appointment at the end of the year 2008 as Secretary of State undoubtedly marked the advent of a new era in the U.S. foreign policy as well as American cultural diplomacy. In the very first statement as a nominee, she managed to adjust ideas about the diplomatic action to a theoretical context by making references to Joseph S. Nye's concept of smart power as a basis for practical initiatives and by placing an emphasis on the necessity "to bolster old alliances and to forge new ones" so that numerous countries in all corners of the world, including China, the Russian Federation, and the Middle East, would conceive that military interventions are going to be regarded by the political elite of the United States merely "as a last resort"²⁵⁷.

Such a relatively moderate stance of the newly appointed Secretary of State contrasted dramatically with the fiery rhetoric of George W. Bush and his supporters, who believed in the military might as the most important instrument of international politics. In one of his speeches, the forty-third president had even uttered a categorical remark that practically eliminated all possibilities for any form of dialogue with the opponents: "Freedom and fear, justice and

²⁵⁷ Clinton, H. R. Prepared Statement of U.S Senator from New York Hillary Rodham Clinton, nominated to be Secretary of State. Senate Foreign Relations Committee: 111th Congress, 13 01 2009. P. 18. Found: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-111shrg54615/pdf/CHRG-111shrg54615.pdf>. Checked: 11 06 2013.

cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them”²⁵⁸. In contrast, Hillary Rodham Clinton quickly rejected the methods of the previous administration as completely ineffective and encouraged American diplomats to communicate with the world in an unexpected and refreshing manner, find new ways to people’s hearts as well as boldly exploit available financial, political and cultural resources to achieve tangible progress in the realm of international relations.

According to Joseph S. Nye Jr., it has already become absolutely obvious that at that time the United States might acquire more success only by satisfying “the need for smart strategies that combine the tools of both hard and soft power”²⁵⁹. Much work had to be done by the U.S. Department of State and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in order to re-construct the positive image of the U.S. around the globe in the aftermath of controversial military campaigns inside the Middle Eastern region and facing a serious financial turmoil of unprecedented proportion. In this context, cultural diplomacy has become “a critical tool” for American political leaders who seem to be eager to “to bridge the distances between the people of the world, not just their governments”²⁶⁰. On the one hand, numerous officials and experts involved in the field of cultural diplomacy repetitively voiced their fears that the spread of American values and artistic achievements were clearly insufficient. On the other hand, the endeavours of the U.S. leadership to initiate an intensive dialogue with representatives of other countries sometimes happened to be mistakenly perceived by the members of certain foreign societies as dangerous and intrusive attempts to change their traditional lifestyles beyond recognition.

In the meantime, the Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton made daring steps to improve the situation through her active engagement. This manner of conducting foreign affairs has become rather successful since it draws inspiration from the philosophical idea that “the capacity to judge is a specifically political ability [...], namely the ability to see things not only from one’s own point of view but in the perspective of all those who happen to be present”²⁶¹. Hence, frequent travels to problematic regions enabled the Secretary of State to see major developments in the world with her own eyes. Besides, Hillary R. Clinton made a good use of a

²⁵⁸ Bush, G. W. Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, 20 09 2001. Found: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>. Checked: 13 06 2013.

²⁵⁹ Nye, J.S. Jr. Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power. Foreign Affairs, July/August 2009. Found: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65163/joseph-s-nye-jr/get-smart>. Checked: 13 06 2013.

²⁶⁰ Stock, A. Remarks to the Bizot Group Meeting, 2011. Found: <http://eca.state.gov/speech/remarks-bizot-group-meeting-0>. Checked: 13 06 2013.

²⁶¹ Arendt, H. (1995). Tarp praicities ir ateities: aštuoni politinės filosofijos etiudai. Vilnius: Aidai. P. 245.

unique privilege to personally negotiate with other leaders while travelling to “a hundred and twelve countries during her four years as Secretary of State”²⁶².

No matter how extensive, influential and well-equipped the diplomatic service of the United States could be, it has no longer possible for the Americans to rely exclusively on the old-fashioned ways of using human and financial resources in order to solve numerous issues at a time. For this reason, Hillary R. Clinton has made an interesting proposal to develop a new strategy based on the innovative approach of the civilian involvement, which requires professional diplomats to become more welcoming to representatives of different civil societies and non-governmental organizations ready to “think and act regionally” as well as be willing “to go beyond the state to engage directly with new networks, from the private sector to the private citizen”²⁶³.

The first principle of the American model of cultural diplomacy and international relations stems from the historical commitment to promote democracy, to support well-entrenched ideals of freedom from the governmental interference and to defend the equality for all in terms of opportunities for political participation. As Joseph S. Nye Jr. observes, the concept of culture in this context should be perceived as “the recurrent pattern of behaviour by which groups transmit knowledge and values”, and this process manifests itself through various formal and informal means²⁶⁴. In other words, the spread of American culture and values abroad would undoubtedly seem to be much more efficient if some of major tasks could be carried out in a close cooperation with foreign individuals and members of different organizations who usually are very well aware of potential sensitivities inside their communities and demonstrate a strong interest in cultural exchanges as a way to an increased mutual understanding with their counterparts from the U.S.

However, in the wake of recent military interventions into the Middle East, the attractiveness of the U.S. has diminished substantially. As a result, quite a sudden decline of influence has also provoked dangerous and limiting beliefs that American democracy and values might no longer seem efficient and attractive to other states due to the fact that political ideals have been sacrificed far too often in order to rapidly use coercion and other forms of hard power when necessary. At present, courageous steps need to be taken by the Obama administration in order to jump over the looming abyss that separates the official image of the Land of the Free as presented by the American diplomats from the informal one which incorporates many alarming

²⁶² Cassidy, J. Hillary Was a Great Ambassador, Not a Great Secretary of State. *The New Yorker*. 29 01 2013. Found: <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/johncassidy/2013/01/hillary-was-a-great-ambassador-not-a-great-secretary-of-state.html>. Checked 22 06 2013.

²⁶³ The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review: Leading Through Civilian Power, 2010. P. v and 53. Found: <http://www.state.gov/s/dmr/qddr/>. Checked: 18 06 2013.

²⁶⁴ Nye, J. S. Jr., 2008. Op. Cit. P. 91.

phenomena starting from school shootings in Virginia and Connecticut and finishing with the most recent surveillance scandal concerning the PRISM spying system and the case of Edward Snowden. Quite often various misinterpretations and clashes of opinions over these painful issues happen to be related to abuses of the unmatched military might of the U.S. To find a way out of the current stalemate and get rid of haunting pieces of highly negative information, the United States must go through a series of societal, political and diplomatic transformations in order to dispel widespread scepticism and resentment thriving in a number of Asian, Arab and European countries. This must be done to obtain fresh opportunities meant to increase America's global influence as well as acquire additional smart power resources.

Probably the biggest challenge that prevents creating a flexible system of international collaboration of states and their inhabitants via cultural initiatives should be related to the fact that "procedures too often keep diplomats inside embassy buildings, observing and reporting information" but such a passive stance appears to be completely incompatible with innovative forms of diplomatic action of today that usually place a special emphasis on the need "to maximize engagement with foreign publics"²⁶⁵. The opponents of the innovative approach frequently regard the entire phenomenon of cultural diplomacy as a modest addition to the international relations at best. Many serious doubts tend to be also raised concerning the overall applicability of the Clintonian strategy and the capability of the governmental apparatus of the U.S. to pull available financial and economic resources together in order to employ multifaceted manifestations of American culture as an acceptable basis for an increased understanding which might eventually accelerate political and economic developments on the international level. Despite harsh scepticism, Hillary Rodham Clinton have finally managed to prove many of the sceptics wrong by taking part in "the countless public events that she held from Lahore to Kinshasa" since namely an extremely active outreach to people of all ethnicities, races and nationalities in their home-countries serve as a breaking point for the U.S. to "regain the world's respect"²⁶⁶.

The implementation of the *TechWomen* exchange program supported by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in order to encourage young females from the Middle East and North Africa to polish their professional skills in the sphere of informational technologies might be seen as an interesting step of American cultural diplomacy to the right direction. According to the Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton, this initiative bears

²⁶⁵ Chow, E. and Weitz, R. *Rebuilding Diplomacy: A Survey of Past Calls for State Department Transformation, Center for a New American Security (CNAS)*, 2010. P. 4. Found: http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/Rebuilding%20Diplomacy_Chow%20Weitz.pdf. Checked: 18 06 2013.

²⁶⁶ Packer, G. Long Engagements. *The New Yorker*, 11 02 2013. Found: http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2013/02/11/130211taco_talk_packer. 15 05 2013.

a special significance to Middle Eastern and North African women who “are trying to use technology to open up doors that are otherwise closed”²⁶⁷. The annual program usually consists of five weeks of intensive professional training in the IT sector as well as cultural mentorship inside the United States. The participants are expected not only to expand their professional horizons in collaboration with American colleagues but also to get immersed in American culture by attending special workshops, conferences and taking part in cultural tours to various places of interest such as museums and national parks.

Concurrently with this, American specialists and women’s rights activists are also given a unique chance to get acquainted with different non-Western cultures, participate in special delegation visits to Jordan, Algeria or Morocco and communicate with the local communities of female entrepreneurs and professionals face to face. The success of the program to attract almost a hundred participants during the period of the last two years have already demonstrated that cultural diplomacy practitioners representing the United States should continue to devote adequate attention to “the cooperative engagement of concerned individuals and institutions capable of tackling cultural engagement challenges” and remain willing to make an effective use of “resources needed to promote creativity, innovation, and systematization in this field” even if everyday situations sometimes require extreme adaptability to distinct corporate and political environments or call for an increased openness to external influences that might often be conditioned by striking cultural differences in various countries²⁶⁸.

The second principle of the American cultural diplomacy is focussed on enhancing investment and business opportunities for American companies as well as attracting foreign entrepreneurs to follow the lead of the United States while doing business and providing support to educational and cultural projects. According to Joseph S. Nye Jr., nobody can deny that “economy is an important source of attraction” but it is important to point out that “in real-world situations, it is difficult to distinguish what part of an economic relationship is comprised of hard and soft power”²⁶⁹. Despite recent financial and economic hardships, the entrepreneurial culture of the U.S. is still regarded as highly alluring due to the relative absence of obstructions to initiatives in the professional sphere as well as the constant encouragement to make a good use of business opportunities in order to establish educational and cultural ties.

Speaking at the Clinton Global Initiative opening event of 2012 in New York, Hillary R. Clinton placed a special emphasis on the commitment of diplomats to stimulate business

²⁶⁷ Clinton, H.R. Remarks at Closing Luncheon for TechWomen Initiative, 06 07 2011. Found: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/07/167699.htm>. Checked: 15 05 2013.

²⁶⁸ Pwono, D. M. Fostering a Cultural Diplomacy Policy Dialogue: The Quest for Stewardship and Cooperative Engagement. *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 2009, Vol. 39, No. 4. P. 298.

²⁶⁹ Nye, J. S. Jr. Notes for a Soft-Power Research Agenda. // Berenskoetter, Felix and Williams, M.J.(ed.). *Power in World Politics*. London and New York. Routledge, 2007. P. 165-166.

development by encouraging American entrepreneurs to expand their businesses on the global level by investigating new markets in foreign countries and meeting the necessity for “strategic investments, some of which may pay off right away, but others further down the road in stronger communities and long-term economic growth”²⁷⁰. One of the most recent examples of successful economic and diplomatic cooperation between Lithuania and the United States has been the decision of *Kinze Manufacturing*, an American company specializing in making agricultural equipment, to open a facility in the vicinity of Vilnius in 2013. Diplomats, politicians and business professionals have played important parts in the entire process of making it a reality. Lithuanian officials strove to win the competition for the particular investment against Poland and Slovakia; American diplomats used this opportunity to act as a subtle mediator in order to keep the process of commercial negotiations going; and the representatives of *Kinze Manufacturing* wanted to achieve commercial objectives under the most favourable circumstances.

From the broader perspective, it should be acknowledged that “[t]he reconfiguration of power within business-government-society relations is changing the institution of diplomacy”, and for this reason ambassadors, representing the United States as well as other countries, need to ensure a positive political climate so that economic achievements and cultural/educational exchanges would enrich one another at a more rapid pace without provoking costly failures²⁷¹. Attempts and initiatives that might help to combine the political, the economic and the cultural should become an integral part of their quotidian duties rather than an exception.

To make the entire picture complete, it should be noted that the phenomenon of entrepreneurship has often been interconnected with the expansion of knowledge in order to eliminate a lack of experience as a serious obstacle to those individuals who want to exploit their potential to the fullest. The organization of specialized business seminars and conferences are beneficial for the practitioners of cultural diplomacy given into the fact that “education could break social and cultural barriers as well as improve the quality of American civil society by connecting it with other civil societies abroad”²⁷². For instance, a large-scale business conference entitled “Forum One” organized in Kaunas in 2013 gave a huge impetus for Lithuanian entrepreneurs to communicate with their colleagues coming from the United States, the United Kingdom and Ireland. The initiative to organize such an international meeting of entrepreneurs belongs to Vladas Lašas, a businessmen and scientist, who currently works as the

²⁷⁰ Clinton, H. Remarks at the Clinton Global Initiative, 24 09 2012. Found: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2012/09/198094.htm>. Checked 25 06 2013.

²⁷¹ Muldoon, J. P. Jr. The Diplomacy of Business. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 2006, Vol.16, No 2. P. 343.

²⁷² Chowdury, T. Grassroots Diplomacy through Globalized Education. *10 Ideas for Defence & Diplomacy: the Roosevelt Institute*, 2012. P. 8. Found: <http://www.rooseveltcampusnetwork.org/sites/all/files/DefDip2012.pdf>. Checked 25 06 2013.

head of a joint Lithuanian-American enterprise “UPS Lietuva”, responsible for the transportation services and management solutions.

In collaboration with the leadership training company *Success Stars International*, Vladas Lašas succeeded to invite to Lithuania distinguished speakers, including the expert of psychology and effective work performance from California Joseph McClendon III, the founder of the Virgin Group Sir Richard Branson and Gediminas Urbonas, a famous Lithuanian artist currently living in the United States. All of them shared their personal opinions about the possibilities to influence political processes via the ability to act as a true leader as well as communicate with partners and promote cultural initiatives.

In this context, it might be essential to remember that “culture and leadership are two sides of the same coin” that are particularly useful while spreading American values abroad²⁷³. The case of Gediminas Urbonas is particularly interesting due to his lively interest in uniting innovative manifestations of art with political protests and diplomatic challenges. Making a public speech at the event, he paid much attention to the artistic project *Villa Lituania* implemented in 2006. It was accepted to the Venice Biennale to remind the dramatic fate of a former Lithuanian embassy in Rome, which fell into the hands of the Soviets under difficult political circumstances. Gediminas Urbonas explains:

Villa Lituania Project addressed an unresolved and traumatic event in the history of a lost territory of the embassy in Rome that before World War II was a property of Lithuania. [...] My idea was to use pigeons as a vehicle for symbolic language and poetic action. [...] One thousand and two hundred pigeons from Italy, Lithuania and Russia came to Venice on the barge and departed to race from lagoon [...] forming a huge flock, a firework-like spectacle.²⁷⁴

The diplomatic disagreement between the Italian government and Lithuanian diplomats concerning the potential solution of this issue has endured for more than seven decades. Lithuanian political leaders, in turn, were eager to defend the right to get the building back from the Russian Federation in order to restore the historical justice, but the process of negotiations became extremely complex. In this context, Gediminas Urbonas chose to act as a citizen diplomat and his artistic initiative had two indirect effects: it not only bore a special symbolic significance to Lithuanians but also intrigued American officials who happened to know surprisingly little about this diplomatic deadlock among three countries. This example of interaction between art and international relations has become as an eloquent proof that “people-

²⁷³ Schein, H. E. quoted in Nye, J. S. Jr., 2008. Op. Cit. P. 92.

²⁷⁴ Urbonas, G. Presentation Made During the Business Event “Forum One”, 2013. Found: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5z1NRu4HWoY>. Checked 28 06 2013.

to-people diplomacy can thrive when government-to-government relations are strained”²⁷⁵. Interestingly, the issue has been finally settled in 2013 after the signing of a special agreement between Italy and Lithuania concerning the long-term usage of the Palazzo Blumenstihl as a compensation for the lost property of the Lithuanian diplomatic service.

The third principle of American cultural diplomacy is inseparable from the pledge to promote American social models which are based on creativity and imagination in order to obtain success in cooperating with foreign countries and deal with societal problems together. In this situation, it is worthwhile mentioning that “the problem with studying culture as a factor in social power is that it signifies anything from the most intangible lifestyle [...] to electronically produced commodities and intellectual property emanating from the commercial sector”²⁷⁶. The role of the largest information technology companies such as *Google* and *Microsoft* cannot be ignored in this respect since Bill Gates, Larry Page and Sergey Brin have devoted much energy and effort for decades in order to increase access to the internet on the global scale as a tool to learn new things and acquire valuable pieces of information that might assist in creating more innovation.

According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, it is essential to understand that “the Internet [...] has in turn connected previously isolated populations with the world at large, and also augmented the ability of political activists to reach out to and mobilize the political loyalty and emotions of millions”²⁷⁷. The government of the United States clearly understood that this new potential must be used to change political and cultural landscape by fostering stability and supporting positive changes in various regions. Innovative capabilities to communicate and connect with partners have already given diplomats a unique chance to regard the local populaces not only as a source for violent conflicts but as those striving to engage in a meaningful dialogue and mutual cooperation. As John Krige observes, in the course of the 21st century, a considerable number of people “stress that cultural resources, like American scientific and technological pre-eminence, can serve as instruments to consolidate modernization”²⁷⁸.

Speaking about the practical implementation of this principle in Lithuania, one needs to remember the Global Libraries program initiated by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in 1997. This large-scale initiative has been devised to support public libraries so that they could offer digital services to their visitors making the on-line world within the reach of those people

²⁷⁵ Schneider, C. P. The Unrealized Potential of Cultural Diplomacy: “Best Practices” and What Could Be, If Only. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 2009, Vol. 39, Issue 4. P. 269.

²⁷⁶ Van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P.47-48

²⁷⁷ Brzezinski, Z. *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power*. New York: Basic Books, 2012. P. 30.

²⁷⁸ Krige, J. Technological Leadership and American Soft Power. // Parmar, Inderjeet and Cox, Michael (ed.). *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010. P. 123.

who either cannot afford to buy a personal computer on their own or lack necessary skills in informational technologies at all. As indicated in the strategy of the program, in many parts of the world “public libraries are the only place where any person, regardless of education or skill level, can have access to information and the Internet free of charge”, and for this reason it is of vital importance to make the populace to understand that the ability to connect to the World Wide Web and use electronic mailboxes or *Skype* for everyday communication makes commercial and professional efforts much quicker and more resistant to competition²⁷⁹.

Interestingly, professional diplomats often play their own part in making such benevolent initiative a real success. For example, the former ambassador of Lithuania to the United States Vygaudas Ušackas organized a meeting with Bill and Melinda Gates and persuaded them to provide financial assistance to reduce barriers for access to innovative technologies and improve computer services in the country in 2005. Just one year later, a special grant of “USD \$220,396 to help plan for a national effort to provide free access to computers and the Internet in public libraries” was allocated to Lithuania²⁸⁰. This proved to be especially beneficial to small provincial towns, where financial resources happened to be especially scanty. Later, a special trilateral agreement was reached among the Ministry of Culture of Lithuania, Martynas Mažvydas National Library and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to accomplish a long-term project meant to increase the digital literacy. It was entitled “Libraries for Progress” and lasted from 2007 to 2012. The President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaitė evaluated the success of this project as “an important step bringing people together and transforming libraries of the country into attractive and comfortable local community centres”²⁸¹. Consequently, the elderly, the disabled and the unemployed from different parts of the country managed to change their lives by developing their digital skills or establishing new businesses functioning on-line.

The fourth principle of the American cultural diplomacy might be evaluated as continuous attempts to take part in an intellectual and ideological conversation with partners and opponents in order to develop necessary relations with other states together with the assistance of non-governmental organizations. According to Till Geiger, much attention in this context is paid to “some sort of a national vision such as the American Dream”, but at the same time it should be acknowledged that it becomes more and more difficult for the Americans to separate

²⁷⁹ Global Libraries Strategy Overview. *Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation*. Found: <http://www.gatesfoundation.org/What-We-Do/Global-Development/Global-Libraries>. Checked: 29 06 2013.

²⁸⁰ Expanded Global Libraries Initiative Increases Access to Information by Helping Public Libraries Provide Free Internet Services and Training: Foundation launches \$328 million initiative with grants to Botswana, Latvia, and Lithuania, 2006. *Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation*. Found: <http://www.gatesfoundation.org/Media-Center/Press-Releases/2006/11/Expanded-Global-Libraries-Initiative-Increases-Access-to-Information-by-Helping-Public-Libraries-Provide-Free-Internet-Services-and-Training>. Checked: 29 06 2013.

²⁸¹ A Press Release from the Presidential Office of Lithuania: Visuomenės pažangai - moderni biblioteka, 20 04 2010. Found: http://www.president.lt/lt/spaudos_centras_392/pranesimai_spaudai/visuomenes_pazangai_-_moderni_biblioteka.html?id=2770. Checked: 29 06 2013.

their diplomatic action from “an amalgam of several cultural influences”²⁸². *The Institute for Cultural Diplomacy* has been operating in Berlin since 1999, helping to implement the above-mentioned principle of American cultural diplomacy in the realms of science and inter-cultural communication. Although this institution formally belongs to the private sector, its founder and director Mark C. Donfried, being an American himself, has always maintained rather close relations with the governmental organizations of the United States. In one of the interviews, he gave his reasons to undertake the initiative in a thoroughly manner:

We have an interest to develop more research, more teaching programs in the field of cultural diplomacy. [...] If you look at the relationship between countries and also cultures around the world, persuasion is not necessarily going to help to strengthen the relationship, rather understanding and trust. [...] It is much more about humility as opposed to arrogance, much more about a two-way exchange as opposed to a one way projection [associated with] Germany or the U.S.²⁸³

The employees of the *Institute for Cultural Diplomacy* have been organizing professional internships, international conferences and symposia for leading scientists and young leaders for more than a decade. These events are dedicated to the analysis of academic questions related to diplomacy, international relations, politics and economics in regard to various cultural phenomena. The scope of activity of the institution has always been truly diverse and extensive.

Analysing the public data available, one can notice that special events dedicated to the analysis of American cultural diplomacy have been organized on the annual basis since the year of 2008. The very first conference took place at *The Amerika Haus Berlin* which has been functioning as the cultural center of the US for more than six decades. At that time, much attention has been paid to the position of the United States towards rest of the world. In a keynote speech given during the event, Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown University Cynthia P. Schneider brought the attention to reverence and reconciliation as the two basic concepts that are vital to American cultural diplomacy: “In a world where we are not necessarily going get to know each other person to person, we do have tremendous opportunities to get to know each other through different forms of arts and media. Because they appeal through narratives, through stories to our emotions they really have the

²⁸² Geiger, T. *The Power Game, Soft Power and the International Historian*. // Parmar, Inderjeet and Cox, Michael (ed.). *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010. P.98.

²⁸³ Mark C. Donfried quoted in Rhanem, K. Interview with the ICD director Mark C. Donfried, 09 07 2012. *Association Marocaine pour le Développement et la Diplomatie Parallèle*. Found: <http://paralleldiplomacy.wordpress.com/2012/07/09/interview-with-icd-director-mark-donfried/>. Checked: 29 06 2013

potential to change and shape perceptions”²⁸⁴. These insights are important given into account the rising fears about the dominance of American culture on the global scale at the expense of other national cultures.

Additionally, the phenomenon of Hollywood clearly stands out as an eloquent example of American attraction and soft power which are effectively exploited on the international arena. But sometimes it might also become a source of negative attitudes towards the U.S. or even total repulsion. (A growing inclination of the young towards violence and aggression due to popular thrillers and horror movies may serve as a pretext in more conservative parts of the world to label American movies unacceptable). The tension between American and French film industries that compete for a chance to influence foreign audiences and present their own visions of social and political developments makes an important factor in this respect. The professor of International Relations Bertrand Badie rightly observes alarming tendencies: “More than fifty percent of all films diffused worldwide are made in the U.S. Besides, more than seventy percent of all films broadcasted on French television channels are American ones. In other words, the French cinema is not able to run in the competition with the American cinema”²⁸⁵. For this reason, it is extremely important for American diplomats and the artistic elite to demonstrate that they are willing to accept manifestations of foreign art as a bridge leading to mutual enrichment and the decrease of violence in the sphere of cinema. Likewise, it should be remembered that namely “the intersection of culture and politics can provide insights that an emphasis either on culture and politics alone cannot offer”²⁸⁶.

Special awards given to foreign films during the Oscar Ceremony organized by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences may be seen as a symbolic sign of respect of the United States to gifted foreign filmmakers such as the French film director and screenwriter of Lithuanian and Jewish descent Michael Hazanavicius or the Iranian director Asghar Farhadi. This example illustrates the essential point that American political leaders and artists are destined to cooperate in order to maintain more or less positive relations with other countries by means of regular artistic exchanges and cooperation. For this reason, a basic emphasis in the sphere contemporary politics should always be put on “the ideational component”, which

²⁸⁴ Schneider, P. C. New US Cultural Diplomacy Approaches in the Middle East, 28 07 2009. Found: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?Videos-Amerika-Haus-Berlin>. Checked: 29 06 2013.

²⁸⁵ A quotation from the interview with Professor Bertrand Badie done by Giedrė Pranaitytė at Sciences Po University, 20 09 2011, Paris. P. 7.

²⁸⁶ Lieber, R. J. Op. Cit. P 97.

rapidly catches the eye of the entire world and pushes the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy at the very centre of international relations²⁸⁷.

In 2012, the *Institute for Cultural Diplomacy* organized a special conference in Washington where many European diplomats residing in the United States as well as their American colleagues made special addresses on the peculiarities of their work in the realm of cultural diplomacy. The Ambassador of Lithuania to the United States Žygimantas Pavilionis talked about the necessity for both countries to learn important things from the past and never turn away from the ideals of civil engagement in political processes: “Whatever is happening, you have to strengthen the civil society, your national and religious identity because all those powers will try to crush you and if you are small, they always try [to do it]”²⁸⁸. In addition to that, interesting parallels between the United States and Lithuania were drawn emphasizing the duty to promote universal freedom by fighting for basic human rights.

Besides, it has always been important to cherish contacts between cultures such as a passion for basketball in Lithuania and the U.S. as a force which could evoke admiration for each other, make people more willing to accept foreign cultural elements and expand the scope of cooperation beyond compare. As a result, the interaction between both countries on political and social levels might be facilitated despite great geographical distances and linguistic barriers.

From a theoretical perspective, it should be also noted that “even the largest country will not be able to achieve the outcomes it wants without the help of others”, and for this reason all states despite their geographical location or differences in size should boldly perceive themselves as important actors on the international arena as far as it comes to suggesting effective fixes to an entire array of international problems troubling the United States and the rest of the world, including intricate forms of global terrorism as well as clashing interpretations of democracy and liberty²⁸⁹.

The fifth principle of the American cultural diplomacy reflects the deep commitment to build a more positive image of the U.S. on the basis of “popular culture [... since it helps to shape] the values, preferences and even identities of the wider public, going well beyond the usual foreign policy elites”²⁹⁰. The initiative “DanceMotion USA” might be evaluated as another interesting way of practicing American cultural diplomacy in an innovative manner and

²⁸⁷ Lieber, R. J. America in Decline? It's a Matter of Choices, Not Fate. *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2012. Found: <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/america-decline-it%E2%80%99s-matter-choices-not-fate>. Checked: 29 06 2013.

²⁸⁸ Pavilionis, Ž. Speech on the International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy in the USA, 2012. Found: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?the-international-symposium-on-cultural-diplomacy-in-the-usa-2012>. Checked 29 06 2013.

²⁸⁹ Nye, J. S. Jr. American Power in the 21st Century Will Be Defined by the 'Rise of the Rest'. *Washington Post*. 28 06 2013. Found: http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-06-28/opinions/40255646_1_american-power-u-s-economy-united-states. Checked 29 06 2013.

²⁹⁰ Van Ham, P. Op. Cit. P. 50.

supporting bi-lateral exchanges with the help of professional dancing companies. It was launched in 2010 because at that time the U.S. State Department faced a rather complex challenge that had to be met: the officials needed to find an acceptable way to bring American culture closer to those artists who either tended to have very limited possibilities to get acquainted with major cultural trends existing inside the United States and possessed insufficient skills of English in order to discover necessary information for themselves without any mediation.

With this in mind, it should be indicated that the Professor at the University of Antwerp Jan Melissen specializing in the development of American diplomacy proved to be insightful while indicating that it was hardly acceptable for contemporary diplomatic action to remind “a stiff waltz among states alone” and calling for the need for more flexibility in the realm²⁹¹. The art of modern dance seemed to be the universal solution for American diplomats because of its ability to transgress linguistic boundaries and transform worldviews without any direct interference. Finally, a decision was made to make the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State responsible for the implementation of “DanceMotion USA” in collaboration with the Brooklyn Academy of Music located in New York.

As explained on the official website dedicated to the initiative, right from the very beginning, the main objective of the organizers has been “to showcase contemporary American dance abroad” and open up new cooperation possibilities for practitioners of cultural diplomacy by operating “as a gateway for cultural exchange”²⁹². The selection procedure of several American professional dance companies to represent the United States beyond its borders has been carried out twice by a board of dance experts who are entitled to freely make final decisions regarding potential foreign partners for joint performances in countries that might be visited by famous American dance companies working under the leadership of award-winning choreographers such as Trey McIntyre from Kansas and Ronald K. Brown from New York.

Analysing the statistics of two seasons of the program “DanceMotion USA” organized in 2010 and 2012, one can quickly notice a stable growth of performances (from 21 to 45 events) and a considerable increase in cultural exchange activities (from 104 to 118 events)²⁹³. The latter clearly enjoy a greater popularity due to additional enthusiasm felt among both parties involved when they have the benefit of bridging American culture with the local one through the short-

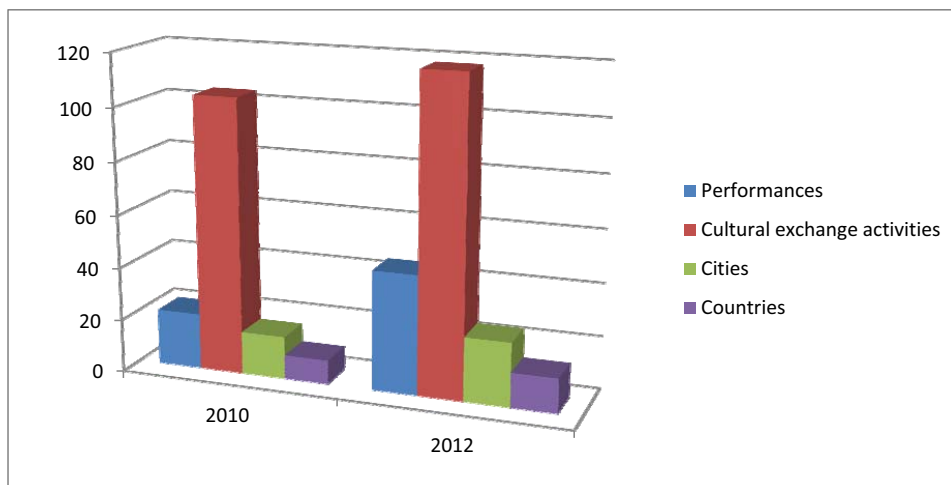
²⁹¹ Melissen, J. *Beyond the New Public Diplomacy: Clingendael Papers No. 3*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2011. P. 2.

²⁹² Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the US Department of State: About Dance Motion USA. Found: <http://www.dancemotionusa.org/about.aspx>. Checked 22 06 2013.

²⁹³ These exact numbers on the Program DanceMotion USA are provided in a special report U.S. Department of State and Brooklyn Academy of Music (BAM) announce third season of Cultural Diplomacy Program DanceMotion USA, 2012. P.4-5. http://www.bam.org/media/1234876/dancemotion_usa_season_3_final.pdf. Checked: 22 06 2013.

term collaboration on stage where all dancers can learn from each other. In addition to that, the participants also obtain the intriguing results in the aftermath of master classes or specialized workshops.

Chart No. 7. The Statistical Data of the Project “Dance Motion USA” (2010 and 2012)



This chart was drawn by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė on the basis of all official data about the program “Dance Motion USA”. (Data available at <http://www.dancemotionusa.org/resources/>).

The geographical diversity for contemporary dance tours remains equally impressive since American troupes are encouraged by to come to a great variety of distant places, including the Russian Federation, Argentina, Paraguay, Nepal, or Algeria to mention just a few of them. It should be emphasised that the initiative has clearly contributed to “the vision of ‘smart power’ diplomacy, which embraces the full use of diplomatic tools, in this case dance, to engage people and create opportunities for greater understanding”²⁹⁴. The success of this programme testifies that international artistic initiatives and cultural diplomacy happen to be very closely interrelated and even dependant on each other. Therefore, it should always be kept in mind that “culture [...] should be taken into consideration at all stages of the societal development”²⁹⁵.

All five principles of the American cultural diplomacy not only complement each other but reveal the richness and applicability of the flexible approach developed by Hillary S. Clinton during her service as the U.S. Secretary of State. When applied in practice, they deeply affect such important spheres of life as politics, business and media as well as assist in creating new opportunities for building vibrant people-to-people contacts in all corners of the globe. An

²⁹⁴ Ibid. P. 2.

²⁹⁵ Kangas, A. Nauji kultūros politikos drabužiai. // Žaidytė, Gabrielė (ed.). *Kultūros politika: straipsnių rinktinė*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2008. P. 52.

increased sensitivity to foreign cultures and systematic attempts to showcase the best examples of the American one should be seen as a tool to achieve effective results and demonstrate an impressive potential of the American diplomats to acquiring additional smart and soft power on the diplomatic arena.

3.2. Manifestations of American Power and Transformations of Cultural Diplomacy

It should be emphasised that right from the start that Joseph S. Nye's academic insights about power became a primary source of scholarly inspiration for Giulio M. Gallarotti who, in turn, has been eager to develop innovative interpretations about power in his books: *The Power Curse: Influence and Illusion in World Politics* (2010) and *Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism* (2010). The originality of the Gallarottian approach to power stems from an idea that the empowerment of a particular country achieved by means of military, economic, cultural and legal instruments might sometimes generate a variety of unexpected negative outcomes notwithstanding politicians' positive intentions. According to Giulio M. Gallarotti, "the quest for power often creates the seeds of its own destruction" and the dangerous process should be referred to as "the power curse"²⁹⁶. This phenomenon is of vital importance to great states and nations since their leaders often alienate themselves from foreign audiences because of their incapability to accept inevitable differences, make necessary compromises and encourage a fruitful exchange of opinions with allies and rivals alike. There is always a strong temptation for leading countries such as the United States to sacrifice a certain degree of political flexibility in favour of the capability to apply extensive political pressure and carry out the pursuit of national interests more or less unilaterally.

However, political narrow-mindedness and diplomatic obstinacy in very many cases may rapidly produce negative results by dramatically reducing the strength of a nation and making the establishment unable "to avoid power illusion" which often reinforces the power curse²⁹⁷. Here, it is essential to mention that the question of American power and its transformations became especially urgent during Barack H. Obama's first presidential term. At that period of time, the United States was frequently called a crumbling postmodern empire whose decline seemed to be rather obvious and almost inevitable. According to Adam Quinn, the forty-fourth president of United States was doomed to "clear the way for the judicious retrenchment" while

²⁹⁶ Gallarotti, M. G., 2010. Op. Cit. P 9.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

the members of his administration along with the entire American society found it extremely difficult to adapt to the changing political reality²⁹⁸.

In this case, one might easily see the connection between the unquenchable desire of the American political elite for complete global domination and their unwillingness to acknowledge the fact that other countries tend to openly prefer multilateral models of international cooperation. This paradox has formed the basis for a dangerous power trap which remains quite sensitive to a variety of important elements closely interconnected with the crushing burden of unsurpassed might. According to Giulio M. Gallarotti “adapting to complex systems, overstretch, moral hazard and a vicious circle of unilateralism” should be regarded as broken cogs that bring the smooth functioning of the machine of international relations to a sudden halt but their existence also provides a tangible chance to cast a more attentive glance at “the mechanics of the power curse and the power illusion”²⁹⁹.

To improve the image of the U.S. after the presidency of George W. Bush, it has been necessary to revise major principles of the conduct of foreign policy, look for new forms of international leadership and distinguish major political, diplomatic and economic goals. The Obama administration’s engagement to render the cooperation with other countries more active by means of cultural diplomacy should be regarded as an essential element that makes a considerable influence on the prevailing perception of the United States on the global level. One might distinguish a number of institutions operating at different levels which continue to shape American cultural diplomacy in the contemporary world. Firstly, the president Barack H. Obama and an extensive team of his advisors play a major role in this sphere indicating what basic objectives need to be attained to increase the efficiency of American foreign policy through culture. Presidential speeches at high-profile international events and meetings, State of the Union addresses and the National Security Strategy of 2010 serve as important resources permitting to discover basic priorities of cultural diplomacy of the U.S. which remain closely intertwined with other challenges pertaining to domestic policy and economics as well as security issues.

The President’s Committee on the Arts and the Humanities (PCAH) also serves as an important institutional tool meant to change some of inimical perceptions about the United States and make it easier to acquire “a more favorable reputation based on a positive impact”³⁰⁰. Following the tradition established by the Reagan administration in 1980’s, the position of the

²⁹⁸ Quinn, A. The Art of Declining Politely: Obama's Prudent Presidency and the Waning of American Power. *International Affairs*, 2011, Vol. 87, Issue 4. P. 822.

²⁹⁹ Gallarotti, M. G., 2010. Op. Cit. P. 10.

³⁰⁰ Cull, N. The End of the Hillary Clinton Era in US Public Diplomacy. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 2013, No. 9. P. 3.

Honorary Chairman of the above-mentioned institution is attributed to the First Lady of the United States. At present, this official duty is being performed by Michelle Obama with the administrative assistance of two co-chairmen George Stevens Jr. and Margo Lion, the vice-chairman Mary Schmidt Campbell, the executive director Rachel Goslins and other members of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities whose overall number may sometimes amount to approximately thirty people. One of their newest initiatives in the realm of cultural diplomacy, for instance, has been known as the *Haiti Cultural Recovery Project* which aims to restore unique pieces of art damaged or partly destroyed by the tragic earthquake of 2010. Huge financial resources required for the long-lasting process of restoration as well as highly qualified professionals have been provided by a variety of entities starting from "federal agencies – National Endowment for the Humanities, National Endowment for the Arts, and the Institute of Museum and Library Services" and finishing with various private foundations eager to donate money for this particular cause³⁰¹.

By undertaking such a serious artistic effort, the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities has already made a significant contribution to the spread of favourable ideas about the effect of the American leadership in Haiti. Looking from the Gallarotian perspective, one needs to acknowledge that the power curse might lose its significance since a "positive image generates respect and admiration" which often reduces a possibility of strong disagreements³⁰². In fact, the systemic implementation of large-scale projects of cultural diplomacy may eventually lead to the formation of new political and economic partnerships between the representatives of various countries no matter all differences.

In the meantime, the U.S. Department of State concentrates on the implementation of concrete tasks in the realm of cultural diplomacy via the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs which assists in building "the ties that unite the United States with other nations by promoting personal, professional, and institutional contacts between private citizens and organizations in the United States and abroad, as well as by presenting U.S. history, society, art, and culture in all of its diversity to audiences abroad"³⁰³. This institution not only supports a series of well-targeted governmental programmes meant to bring foreigners and American citizens closer together but encourages academic exchanges and research as well as active citizen involvement on the political stage. There is a double challenge that needs to be dealt with by the American diplomats: it is still necessary to encourage potential adversaries to change

³⁰¹ Smithsonian Develops Haitian Cultural Recovery Project: Various Agencies Join in Effort, 11 05 2010. Found: <http://newsdesk.si.edu/releases/smithsonian-develops-haitian-cultural-recovery-project>. Checked: 06 04 2013.

³⁰² Gallarotti, M. G., 2010a. Op. Cit. P. 21.

³⁰³ U.S. Department of State Foreign Affairs Manual Volume 1: ECA. P. 1. Found: www.state.gov/documents/organization/84186.pdf. Checked: 06 04 2013.

their negative attitudes towards the United States but the major focus has already shifted to creating an atmosphere of mutual trust so that long-term foreign policy objectives could be realized by means of a collaboration and fruitful relationships among politicians, artists and ordinary people. One should also keep in mind that “interconnections among actors are complicated” and any chances for success remain dependent on the response received from the local population³⁰⁴. The main objective has always been to motivate people to develop a strong interest in the relationship between the United States and their respective homeland. It needs to be done in such a subtle way that they would be ready to accept a certain idea associated with traditional American values instead of following the foreign lead because of the fear to get punished or misunderstood. Although such a task remains quite difficult to implement, much positive results can still be obtained by combining a great variety of political and cultural instruments starting from international peace-keeping missions and finishing with the establishment of schools and libraries abroad.

The embassies of the United States located abroad are traditionally regarded as rather isolated official institutions where American diplomats strive to protect political interests of the U.S. in distant and sometimes hostile foreign countries. However, such a limited attitude has never been helpful in conceiving the complexity and flexibility of the U.S. Foreign Service adequately. As John Naland and Susan Johnson insightfully explain, “two-thirds of Foreign Service personnel are stationed abroad staffing [...] embassies and consulates – serving one-to-three-year tours - and one third are working in the United States” but no matter where American diplomats end up serving, they are usually expected by the government to perceive their occupation as “a uniquely demanding and rewarding way of life”, which requires to reject politically conditioned narrow-mindedness and open up to other cultures, business patterns, academic achievements and “face the unexpected every day”³⁰⁵.

Despite the impressive bureaucratic apparatus functioning in Washington as well as around the globe, much of the success of American cultural diplomacy frequently depends on the performance of acting officials who either succeed in building cultural relations with other countries or consider this realm to be insignificant and make major blunders because of ignorance or unwillingness. For instance, a major breakthrough in spreading American cultural values in Lithuania has been achieved by the Ambassador of the U.S. to Lithuania Anne E. Derse and the Public Affairs Officer Jonathan M. Berger during the period from 2009 to 2012. They managed to adopt a flexible approach to cultural diplomacy through continuous efforts to

³⁰⁴ Gallarotti, M. G., 2010. Op. Cit. P. 11.

³⁰⁵ Naland, J. K. and Johnson, S. What is the Foreign Service? // Dorman, Shawn (ed.). *Inside the U.S. Embassy: Diplomacy at Work, the Essential Guide to the Foreign Service*. Washington D.C.: Potomac Books and Foreign Service Books, 2011. P. 2-3.

attain a deep understanding about Lithuania's history and culture and actively promoted bilateral academic exchanges and other forms of cooperation by encouraging long-lasting contacts between American and Lithuanian artists, teachers, businessmen, military personnel, students and schoolchildren.

Meanwhile, their predecessors happened to be surprisingly passive in this respect. Importantly, the number of states and non-state actors aspiring to acquire more international influence has recently increased a great deal. It should be emphasised that the conduct of American cultural diplomacy has always been far less constricted by the governmental rules, strategies and regulations in comparison to the French model. However, the situation in the sphere of American cultural diplomacy has become much more complex given the fact that "the U.S government is no longer the primary purveyor of cultural goods, nor is government the primary message bearer"³⁰⁶. Thus, innovative approach to the spread of American culture beyond the borders of the United States has been rapidly developed by the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton in order to adjust to unexpected alterations. The contemporary model of American cultural diplomacy places a special emphasis on the establishment of a long-lasting cooperation and active people-to-people contacts that prove to be highly valuable since "the geometry of global power is becoming more distributed and diffuse"³⁰⁷. It is possible to distinguish three basic goals that the practitioners of American cultural diplomacy have been striving to achieve, that is: 1) providing support for a number of cultural initiatives which would help to build friendships and increase safety of the United States without having to win costly military victories; 2.) persuading foreign audiences that the political leadership of the United States should be conceived not as a threatening venture of an occupying force but rather as a necessary instrument that might encourage other societies and communities to collaborate in working out solutions to some of the well-entrenched problems; 3) restoring the attractiveness of American values so that delicate political relationships with traditional allies would be renewed and other bridges of friendship with former enemies would be built to secure a more peaceful future. Such an ambitious strategy requires stressing the decisive role of legitimacy which has already become "the only way to appeal to all the disparate actors on the world stage"³⁰⁸.

However, there is no single opinion among Americans themselves about certain limits which should never be transgressed by their own government no matter what tasks might be placed at stake. Some members of American society emphasise the obligation of the United States to actively take part in such international efforts that would involve many interested

³⁰⁶ Ivey, B. and Hurlburt, H. F., 2008. Op. Cit. P. 10.

³⁰⁷ Clinton, H. The Art of Smart Power. *The New Statesman*. 18 07 2012. Found: <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/politics/2012/07/hillary-clinton-art-smart-power>. Checked: 06 04 2013.

³⁰⁸ Zakaria, F. (2011). *The Post-American World: Release 2.0*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. P. 42.

parties whose interests might sometimes diverge. Others believe that there is no need to focus so much attention to major international organizations such the United Nations and the International Court of Justice due to the lack of speedy decisions and the inefficiency to reach necessary compromises in times of military confrontation. As the Professor of Diplomacy at Tel Aviv University Aharon Klieman notes, “what is singularly worthy of note is a marked tendency for the pendulum to swing radically from one pole to the other: from active engagement to disengagement and isolationism, as well as from supreme self-confidence to disillusionment, and then back again”³⁰⁹.

Importantly, the beginning of Barack H. Obama’s second presidential term coincided with various problems related to instable economy and finances. For this reason, troublesome issues in the U.S job market stand out as clear political priorities while foreign policy issues get far less noticeable despite their urgency. The United States has recently been experiencing severe economic hardships, and for this reason the deplorable shape of the American economy attracts much attention from all sides.

In 2010, making the address at the commencement ceremony of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, Barack H. Obama openly admitted: “American innovation must be the foundation of American power - because at no time in human history has a nation of diminished economic vitality maintained its military and political primacy”³¹⁰. In fact, many difficulties have clearly been conditioned by a series of important negative factors such as huge expenditures for the military campaigns in the Middle East, the economic crisis and the collapse of the banking sector to name just a few menacing problems. To make matters worse, there were serious apprehensions that the global trade system might even no longer place the same level of trust in the U.S. dollar as the as the international reserve currency. Therefore, the members of the American political establishment made a controversial decision to initiate an extensive “reform of the U.S. financial system” and actively seek to “prevent the reemergence of imbalanced growth, with American consumers buying and borrowing, and Asian and other exporting countries selling and accumulating claims”³¹¹.

However, all attempts of the Obama administration to control processes of lending and borrowing as well as obtain additional revenues for the Federal budget via additional taxation upon wealthy and prosperous layers of American society were harshly criticized by the

³⁰⁹ Klieman, A. A Pivotal Moment: The U.S. Approach to World Affairs in the Second Obama Presidency. *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 2013, Vol. 7 No. 1. P. 29. Found: <http://israelcfr.com/free-downloads.php?inp=5>. Checked: 09 06 2013.

³¹⁰ Obama, B. H. Remarks by the President at United States Military Academy at West Point Commencement, 22 05 2010. Found: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-united-states-military-academy-west-point-commencement>. Checked: 06 05 2013.

³¹¹ National Security Strategy, May 2010. Washington, DC: The White House. P. 32. Found: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf. Checked: 06 05 2013.

Republican opposition. As Stephen Moore points out, it has been indispensable for all members of American society to understand that “economy is not a fixed pie with slices being handed out by Barack Obama” and to accept the truth that there is no other way to change the general state of affairs but to develop “a framework in which all are equally free to pursue their individual vision of happiness to the maximum”³¹². Most supporters of the presidential course frequently end up being accused of supporting socialist ideas of wealth redistribution that have always been alien to the inhabitants of the United States. In fact, such a long-lasting antagonism between American politicians advocating for an increased governmental interference in all spheres of business and their opponents passionately supporting an extremely liberal model of entrepreneurship without any regulation mechanisms or financial assistance to certain interest groups might be interpreted as a clear sign of moral hazard. According to Giulio M. Gallarotti, this phenomenon might greatly impede the successful development of any leading state because of “a tendency toward stasis”³¹³.

Paradoxically, Barack H. Obama’s endeavours to make large-scale administrative and economic reforms have produced few favourable results so far. The overwhelming budget crisis that has recently occurred in Detroit as a result of bad management of public financial resources, massive property tax evasion and impressive municipal debts combined with the re-location of the automobile industry to other places might serve as an eloquent proof that any change is easy to proclaim but difficult to implement in practice. Financial and economic troubles inside the United States have already caused worldwide disillusionment with the American model of affluence because of “an ever-widening chasm of income and wealth”³¹⁴. On the one hand, the widening gap between rich and poor layers of American society seems to be quite dangerous because it might generate a strong disbelief in legal and financial systems operating within the country.

Due to the growing scepticism and disobedience among ordinary citizens, serious legitimacy problems might rapidly develop inside the U.S. On the other hand, the sense of despair due to the unfulfilled American dream could easily spill over to the delicate spheres of culture and foreign policy since economic success and financial stability have always been regarded as important pillars supporting the attractive image of the U.S. as a land of equal opportunities for all. In order to diminish the potential lack of confidence on the international arena, important warnings about the necessity for the members of the political elite to pay

³¹² Moore, S. Who's the Fairest of Them All? The Truth about Opportunity, Taxes, and Wealth in America. Jackson: Encounter Books, 2012. P 12.

³¹³ Gallarotti, M. G. Op. Cit. P. 19.

³¹⁴ Stiglitz, J. E. Inequality Is Holding Back the Recovery. *The New York Times*. 19 01 2013. Found: <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/01/19/inequality-is-holding-back-the-recovery/>. Checked: 06 05 2013.

special heed to “a nation’s overall influence in international relations” should not be short-sightedly ignored³¹⁵. Taken these developments in consideration, it would be a mistake to downplay “the stubborn resistance of domestic interests who feel threatened by multilateral commitments”³¹⁶. In addition to that, experienced diplomats of the United States have always been more accustomed to setting international rules designed to prevent unwanted political and diplomatic action and protect their homeland’s interests than willing to simply follow some of impedimental international regulations, especially whether there are little visible gains in sight.

3.3. Contemporary American Cultural Diplomacy in Lithuania: Inspiring Instances of Success

Analysing the implementation of the American cultural diplomacy in Lithuania, it is possible to distinguish several spheres of activity which have been particularly important to both countries. The expansion of the Holocaust education in Lithuania has traditionally been regarded as one of them given the tragic fact that approximately 143.000 or 85.1 percent Lithuanian – Jews perished during the Nazi occupation and the young generation still need to discover these painful pages of history for themselves³¹⁷. The former Ambassador of the United States to Lithuania Anne Elisabeth Derse happened to be especially vigorous in initiating a number of important programmes and educational projects so that Lithuanian society would become better acquainted with the tragic fate of the Lithuanian-Jewish minority during the World War II. Her systematic endeavours to transgress the limits of diplomatic service and encourage a people to expand their knowledge about this dark chapter of Lithuanian history might be evaluated as a real success due to an active involvement of Lithuanian, American and Jewish scientists, writers and artists.

The meticulous organization of a series of educational seminars entitled “Training teacher-trainers: European Holocaust History, Human Rights and Tolerance Today” for lecturers working in major Lithuanian universities should be seen as a good example of effective American cultural diplomacy. The first week of academic seminars organized by famous American and Lithuanian scholars and professionals took place in Kaunas. In an opening speech the Ambassador of the United States of Lithuania Anne E. Derse remarked that such events

³¹⁵ Gallarotti, M. G. Op. Cit. P. 155.

³¹⁶ Skidmore, D. The Obama Presidency and US Foreign Policy: Where’s the Multilateralism? *International Studies Perspectives*, 2012, Volume 13, Issue 1. P. 53.

³¹⁷ This approximate data was provided by *The International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania* in a document entitled *20 klausimų ir atsakymų apie Holokaustą*. Found: http://www.komisija.lt/Files/www.komisija.lt/20_klausimu_ir_atsakymu_apie_Holokausta.pdf. Checked: 30 03 2014.

usually provide a new stimulus to the local scholars to analyse the history of Lithuania from a new perspective and help to maintain “commitment to the fundamental values of a democratic society: tolerance and respect for human rights”³¹⁸. Special attention of the attendees was devoted to extensive scholarly presentations on various aspects of the Shoa; given by Stephen Feinberg, a highly skilled expert in the Holocaust education working for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the Executive Director of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York Jonathan Brent, the Professor of History at Millersville College and Vytautas Magnus University Saulius Sužiedėlis, the Dean of the Political Science and Diplomacy Faculty at Vytautas Magnus University Šarūnas Liekis as well as many other invited speakers.

Bringing such sensitive issues to the fore, the practitioners of American cultural diplomacy had to be rather insightful and strive to “identify their aims, determine their messages, select mediums [...] and evaluate their intended audiences”³¹⁹. The variety of themes and topics discussed in the course of this intensive week was truly impressive starting from the general overview of the Holocaust in Europe and finishing with the innovative analysis of stereotypes related to contemporary forms of anti-semitism. Many possibilities were offered to the participants so that they could raise questions about lesser known aspects of the Shoa, communicate with leading experts in the field and make interesting historical comparisons between the Nazi and Soviet occupation regimes in Lithuania.

To complete the entire picture, it should be mentioned that the Archbishop of Kaunas Sigitas Tamkevičius also made a speech about the necessity for an interreligious communication between the Catholic Church and the Lithuanian Jewish Community as a means to get to know each other more closely and remember those lay people and the clergy, who were saving Jews from extermination during the World War II. Such a firm encouragement for an increased openness has clearly had a great symbolic significance to all interested parties, especially taken into consideration the obvious truth that “dialogue between cultures is an admirable goal, [but] it begins with dialogue between individuals, whether they are representatives of governments or private citizens meeting in a hotel conference room or an online chat room”³²⁰.

A deep theoretical knowledge on the subject was enriched by touching personal perceptions on the Jewish tragedy as people were invited to listen to the testimonies of the

³¹⁸ Derse, A. E. Ambasadorės kalba Holokausto švietimui skirto seminaro pradžios renginyje, 2010 11 29. Found: <http://vilnius.usembassy.gov/speeches/t2/ambassadors-kalba-holokausto-vietimui-skirto-seminaro-pradios-renginyje.html>. Checked: 07 06 2013.

³¹⁹ Brewer, S. “As Far As We Can”: Culture and US Foreign Relations. // Schulzinger, Robert (ed.). *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006. P. 21.

³²⁰ Cowan, G. and Arsenault, A. Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, Vol. 616, No.1. P. 17.

Holocaust survivors and explore the expositions of the Ninth Fort as well as that of the Sugihara House Museum in Kaunas. In fact, similar seminars were also held in Vilnius and Šiauliai to make sure that all academicians originating from different regions of the country could take part without experiencing too much logistical problems and considerable financial strain. Finally, all participants were given a chance to spend four days in Krakow and make a visit to memorable historical sites, including museums of Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Oskar Schindler's Factory and the Galicia Jewish Museum. All financial expenses related to the journey to Krakow and other organizational difficulties were dealt with by the United States Embassy in Vilnius, the Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research and the United States Department of State. Commenting about the significance of those initiatives to the journalists, Anne E. Derse has openly explained that "the whole question of examining Lithuania's past and the Holocaust and addressing issues that are legacy of the Holocaust is a Lithuanian issue for Lithuanians to decide", but at the same time she has also stated that this subject remains very important for the American political leadership as "an issue of historical justice"³²¹. Interestingly, the spread of information about these seminars and their academic impact has been the biggest challenge to the organizers since merely several articles about the initiative managed to squeeze into the newspapers and internet sites.

The exhibition of the Lithuanian-Jewish painter Samuel Bak's works "Stations of Life" which was organized by the Tolerance Center of the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum in collaboration with the Embassy of the United States in Lithuania and the Pucker Gallery in Boston should be evaluated as an extremely interesting instance of American cultural diplomacy implemented in 2012. Visitors of the exhibition had a rare chance to admire an entire range of his paintings starting from the earliest black-and-white ones such as *Rumours* (1946) or *The Ghetto* (1970) and finishing with one of the latest oil paintings called *Ideologies* (2009) which openly derided the hypocritical nature of the Communist ideology.

Commenting on the political importance of the exposition, the former Prime Minister of Lithuania Andrius Kubilius emphasised the historical duty to "preserve or recover the remaining heritage of the famous Litvak culture" and expressed great enthusiasm about Samuel Bak's

³²¹ Anne E. Derse quoted in Šuliokas, J. US Ambassador to Vilnius Anne E. Derse: We applaud when people celebrate freedom and democracy. *15min.lt*, 16 04 2012. Found: <http://www.15min.lt/en/article/culture-society/us-ambassador-to-vilnius-anne-e-derse-we-applaud-when-people-celebrate-freedom-and-democracy-528-210932#ixzz2W2DmxoCy>. Checked: 12 06 2013.

desire to present the best pieces of art to Lithuania as a personal gift to the homeland, which would accelerate the creation of the Litvak Culture and Art Center in Vilnius³²².

The personality of the painter remains highly attractive to many art connoisseurs and intellectuals in Lithuania for a number of reasons. Firstly, Samuel Bak has always emphasised his personal fascination with the city of Vilnius as the cradle of Litvak culture that suffered a dramatic destruction as a result of the Shoa. Secondly, being a Holocaust survivor who lost his father as well as grandparents and other relatives, he managed to insightfully exploit various “aspects of Surrealism to represent the nightmares of WWII” by transforming traumatic personal experiences into philosophical and symbolic pieces of art³²³. Thirdly, all these paintings should be seen as a quintessence of five different cultures since Samuel Bak spent quite long periods of life in Lithuania, France, Switzerland, Israel and the United States. As the Professor Emeritus of English at Simmons College in Boston and the expert specializing in the artistic heritage of Samuel Bak Lawrence L. Langer notes, the painter not only “cultivates a precarious tension between hope and despair” but arduously strives to make a warning to spectators about “the threat of continuing atrocities that speed the eclipse of the human in a declining civilization”³²⁴.

From the perspective of cultural diplomacy, it should be admitted that in this particular case American diplomats have succeeded in acting as mediators between the Jewish and the Lithuanian who sometimes experience unnecessary difficulties and miscommunication because of tragic historical experiences and the lack of sensitive political dialogue so that some kind of mutual cooperation could be maintained in the nearest future. Here, art has obviously been symbolically turned into a bridge between all parties involved which might gradually leading toward an increased awareness of the value of the Litvak contribution to the overall cultural landscape of Lithuania notwithstanding divisions on ethnical, historical and religious grounds. According to Jonathan M. Berger who serves as the Public Affairs Officer at the Embassy of the United States of America in Vilnius, “Lithuania and the US share the values of freedom, democracy, and individual expression”, and for this reason so much heed has been paid by American diplomats and Lithuanian governmental officials to programs aimed at fighting old

³²² Opening Speech by the Prime Minister Andrius Kubilius. // Bak, S. *Gyvenimo stotys*. Vilnius: Valstybinio Vilniaus Gaono Žydų Muziejaus Tolerancijos Centras and Pucker Gallery, 2011. P. 3.

³²³ Socha, K. Outside the Reign of Logic, Outside the Reach of God: Hester Panim in the Surreal Art of Paul Celan and Samuel Bak. *War, Literature, and the Arts: An International Journal of the Humanities*, 2010, Vol. 22. P. 77.

³²⁴ Langer, L. L. Samuel Bak: The Hauntings of Memory. // Bak, S. *Gyvenimo stotys*. Vilnius: Valstybinio Vilniaus Gaono Žydų Muziejaus Tolerancijos Centras and Pucker Gallery, 2011. P. 10-11.

stereotypes about the Jewish community and merging American, Lithuanian and Yiddish cultures into a harmonious whole once again³²⁵.

Commenting on the importance of the artists and their works to the creation of cultural ties between Lithuania and the United States, it is important to remember that “there are different ‘prophets’ of [...] culture in each country”, and for this simple reason the image of the state cannot remain identical in different contexts³²⁶. This attitude might be supported by a number of interesting examples. What concerns Lithuanian artists working globally, it is absolutely necessary to mention the case of an opera prima donna Violeta Urmanavičiūtė-Urmana. After finishing her studies at Lithuanian Academy of Music in 1991, she decided to come to Germany in order to polish her singing skills at *Die Hochschule für Musik und Theater München*. It is widely known that her unforgettable road to global recognition has initially been marked by serious trials of fate:

With very little money, not a word of German and nowhere to stay, she went to Munich [...]. There she found Josef Loibl, whom she describes as the perfect singing-teacher. Remarkably quickly she was being acclaimed for her extraordinary musical authority and vocal beauty, exact sense of pitch and assured control.³²⁷

All those endeavors and personal sacrifices proved to be both meaningful and successful. Finally, Violeta Urmanavičiūtė-Urmana became an excellent mezzo-soprano and later started singing as a soprano. At present, she is frequently invited to perform at the most prestigious theatres around the world, including *The Metropolitan Opera* in New York. Violeta Urmanavičiūtė-Urmana’s current repertoire is very extensive and covers the major operas by Giuseppe Verdi, Vincenzo Bellini, Richard Wagner and Giacomo Puccini. As an international opera star, she never forgets Lithuania and regularly gives special performances not only in major cities of the country such as the capital Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda but even in her native city Marijampolė which has no opera house at all. Her performances in Giuseppe Verdi’s “Aida” and Richard Wagner’s “Parsifal” were eventually made into films that were shown in cinemas around the world and created a new cultural junction between Lithuanian and American opera connoisseurs.

Some important steps in the right direction have also been taken in the realm of popular arts such as literature and cinema so that greater numbers of people could get better informed.

³²⁵ A quotation from the interview with Jonathan M. Berger, Public Affairs Officer, Embassy of the United States of America in Vilnius done by Giedrė Pranaitytė, 19 07 2012, Vilnius. P. 5.

³²⁶ Saulius Valius quoted in Baltrušaitytė, R. Ar teatras labiausiai garsina Lietuvą? *Veidas*, 13 05 2004, No. 20. Found: <http://archyvas.veidas.lt/lt/leidinys.nrfull/40a47fe18fd99.2>. Checked: 05 05 2010.

³²⁷ Walker, L. Violeta Urmana: She’s a force of nature. *The Independent*. 25 10 2004. Found: <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/features/violeta-urmana-shes-a-force-of-nature-544938.html>. Checked: 09 05 2010.

For instance, a recent publication of the novel “Between the Shades of Grey” (2011) by a Lithuanian-American writer Rūta Šepetys and its subsequent popularity worldwide might serve as an important reminder that about the Soviet terror in Lithuania and massive exiles to Siberia should be discussed in a refined, emotional and sufficiently universal language to be understood and internalized by international audiences, previously unaware of Stalinist atrocities.

A series of visits to France, Belgium and other countries paid by Rūta Šepetys in order to introduce her novel about the sufferings of Lithuanians during the Soviet era to foreign readers had received the patronage of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania as well as a big share of financial support from the U.S. embassy in Vilnius. In fact, such an initiative could be evaluated as an attractive instance of bilateral cultural diplomacy that succeeded in uniting the official representatives of Lithuania and these of the United States for the implementation of a concrete cultural task which had much political and diplomatic significance for all. Besides, whether ambitious plans made by Lithuanian and American producers Žilvinas Naujokas and Marius Markevičius to create a popular film based on the above-mentioned novel happen to be a success, American and Lithuanian diplomats will undoubtedly get another chance to exploit the art of cinema, which has often been regarded as “the most effective way to be heard”³²⁸.

The movie undoubtedly blends artistic imagination, historical fiction and painful political themes bringing both nations closer together in an acceptable manner and enlightening ordinary people about the hideous nature of Communism so that similar things could never happen again. Similarly, successful political and diplomatic agreements in the contemporary world would be simply impossible without learning about previous times since “in many ways we are defined by our past [...], so it is crucial that countries fully have an understanding of each other’s history because that’s the basis from which we march forward into the future”³²⁹. There is no other way leading to a peaceful co-existence of countries among countries except putting cultural diplomacy at the very centre of international arena with the assistance of mutual understanding, sensitivity to controversial issues and genuine curiosity.

³²⁸ Žilvinas Naujokas quoted in *Teisę ekranizuoti knygą „Tarp pilkų debesų“ išigijo Lietuvos ir Amerikos kūrėjai. Bernardinai.lt*, 27 06 2013. Found: <http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2013-06-27-teise-ekranizuoti-knyga-tarp-pilku-debesu-isigijo-lietuvas-ir-amerikos-kurejai/103420>. Checked: 02 10 2013.

³²⁹ Rūta Šepetys quoted in Mikulėnienė – Morkūnaitė, R. Europarlamentarės Radvilės Morkūnaitės-Mikulėnienės pokalbis su Rūta Šepetys. 27 03 2013, Briuselis. Found: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NrJW8gBgGrs&feature=player_embedded#t=5. Checked: 02 10 2013.

CONCLUSIONS

- 1.) Theoretical debates about different types of power (namely, hard power, soft power, smart power, cyberpower and social power) make an essential contribution to the full-fledged interpretation of cultural diplomacy in relation to the overall strength of states. After analysing a variety of academic observations about power and its practical usage, especially those related to neoliberalism and constructivism, it should be concluded that basic elements taken from both theories in combination should be seen as analytical ingredients imparting much significance. Certain adjustments to the above-mentioned theoretical approaches have opened up a possibility to the author of the thesis to construct a new model for the analysis of cultural diplomacy, specifically in the context of five basic powers. Each of them not only affects the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy but actively shapes the attitude towards particular countries, including France and the United States, which might gradually turn from negative to positive or vice versa. To accumulate more influence and maintain their stance in respective foreign policies unblemished, the diplomats representing France and the United States have to be especially careful in finding the right balance among all powers and providing the adequate support for intensive cultural exchanges. It is important to note that the practitioners of cultural diplomacy frequently demonstrate the excessive reliance on the economic capabilities, the military might and the cultural potential. For this reason they endeavor to unveil the best features of their national culture to different foreign audiences unilaterally but simultaneously demonstrate the unwillingness to appreciate cultural elements of the host country due to the lack of adequate knowledge or the inability to make timely and informed decisions needed to initiate a fruitful bi-lateral dialogue. *This troubling tendency needs to be reduced since the efficiency of the implementation of cultural diplomacy is very much dependent on cooperation as one of its basic functions.*
- 2.) The analysis of theoretical premises also reveals that the concept of cultural diplomacy has undergone major transformations in the course of history from functioning as a mere tool of Soviet and American propaganda to turning into a rather subtle instrument of the diplomatic game. The examination of five different definitions done for the current research has shown that the effective conduct of cultural diplomacy is inseparable from intensive inter-cultural exchanges with other states so that democratic and national values would be represented and spread worldwide. There is a new perception of cultural diplomacy provided by placing an emphasis on the joint effort of state institutions, NGOs and private actors to disseminate

cultures and learn from one another at a rapid pace in order to attain some long-term influence in the realm of international relations. At present, cultural diplomacy frequently makes an impact on political, cultural and economic spheres and it even affects the development of digitization. This tendency facilitates a great deal the overall global access to cultural riches and pieces of art on the World Wide Web and popularizes different forms of cultural heritage by means of digital technologies. However, there are some dangers lurking behind it, such as unprecedented leakages of sensitive information or the attempts to censure the Internet for political reasons. Any endeavors of the government of the United States as well as the political elite of the European Union either to limit Internet access to their citizens or use any other instruments of legal regulation in cyberspace would be extremely harmful to the prospects of cultural diplomacy since the bulk of political, diplomatic and especially cultural information typically reaches its target audiences through specialized sites and databases. ***Notably, limitations imposed by the governments on getting well acquainted with significant aspects of foreign cultures on-line would undoubtedly diminish any possibility for reciprocity as a relevant function of cultural diplomacy as well.***

- 3.) Different states along with their respective diplomatic services still maintain the status of major players operating on the international arena in accordance to official strategies. However, France and the United States have simultaneously been striving to adapt to innovative transformations of international diplomacy in the world. ***As a result, non-governmental organizations in collaboration with private actors have been turning active in the process of making a considerable impact on the implementation of cultural diplomacy. Their courageous entry into the contemporary diplomatic realm needs to be interpreted by French and American political leaders as a unique chance for building new forms of cooperation between public and private sectors in order to ensure a better representation of these two countries abroad instead of seeing the phenomenon merely as an ambivalent precondition for the fierce competition among all actors involved.*** Cultural diplomacy in all its manifestations truly requires to be evaluated not only as an efficient instrument to expand French and American influence on the global scale and affect the usage of different types of power but also as a means to achieve the recognition of culture as an inseparable and persuasive part of international politics *per se*. In order to attain considerable success in the field of the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy, the representatives of France and the United States have to act together with individual artists and establish permanent ties with influential non-governmental organizations uniting painters, architects, writers, actors, musicians, scientists and journalists.

- 4.) The model of cultural diplomacy has been constructed by the author of the thesis to merge neoliberal and constructivist theoretical ideas together and point out that the very phenomenon of cultural diplomacy gets frequently influenced by five types of power. Besides, the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy also affects the practical application of all powers to a great extent depending on the concrete political situation in a particular host country. Due to these significant interconnections, diplomats and other actors operating at different social, organizational, institutional and governmental levels are expected to cooperate quite closely in spreading cultural values abroad and receiving an adequate feedback from the local communities. *In order to demonstrate how the theoretical model of cultural diplomacy might be applied in practice, the author of the thesis singled out basic principles to characterize either French or American cultural diplomacy, revealed which institutions have traditionally been made responsible for the development of this diplomatic realm in both countries and examined a series of concrete initiatives which have been supported by France and the United States in more depth as necessary examples.* The vast majority of practical instances have been clearly related to different types of power: starting from the promotion of the French language and literature as a manifestation of soft power and finishing with the protests against attempts to censor the Internet in the United States and Europe as an expression of social power. There is no doubt that the relationship between cultural diplomacy and soft power has always been much more noticeable in comparison to these with other types of power but it would be absolutely unacceptable to neglect or downplay them as being of lesser importance.
- 5.) In order to examine what makes the model of French cultural diplomacy attractive enough in the wake of a recent institutional reform and reveal how it helps to ameliorate international relations with the representatives of other countries, it is essential to place a special emphasis on the interconnection between effective diplomatic action and traditional forms of cooperation which include the use of the French language as a sign of prestige and the overall fascination with French culture *per se*. The governmental decision to assemble the majority of entities active in the field of cultural diplomacy under the umbrella of the *Institut Français* has already produced many positive results. It is possible to make a conclusion that the establishment of a network of branches of the *Institut Français* operating in all corners of the world has greatly increased the effectiveness of French cultural diplomacy due to the ability to act in a flexible manner, create innovative programs, organize thematic festivals or discussions and ensure a greater visibility abroad. In addition to that, it becomes clear from the current research that France has traditionally been placing all its trust in state institutions entitled to implement cultural diplomacy in practice.

However, the moderate assistance of business associations for important cultural institutions such as internationally renowned museums, heritage sites or public libraries is getting more acceptable than before due to the growing financial strain for the French state. *There is no doubt that the newly-acquired flexibility of French cultural diplomacy is tightly connected with the thoughtful performance of its essential functions: the gradual formation of a positive opinion about the state as well as the insightful representation of France on the global level with the help of different public and private actors.*

- 6.) It would be hardly possible to evaluate French cultural diplomacy without paying adequate heed to the development of the movement of the *Francophonie*. There are two perceptions of the movement of the *Francophonie*: on the one hand, it is often regarded as a rather universal instrument meant to bring different countries closer together; on the other hand, there exist serious apprehensions about the French language as a symbol of oppressive dominance and these sensitivities are still acutely felt in some parts of Africa. It should not be forgotten that French cultural diplomats and experts of cultural action are currently engaged in an intense competition with their American colleagues in the realm of cultural diplomacy. In the course of the current research, some important differences between both countries have been distinguished. Firstly, the members of the American diplomatic service tend to demonstrate a clear preference to private initiatives as a sufficient means of cultural promotion and devote more attention to imposing their lifestyle or business models. The linguistic barrier has never been a problem for practitioners of American cultural diplomacy at all, since the English language still remains the most studied language in the world. In contrast, endeavors of the representatives of France to acquire additional influence through the promotion of their language sometimes experience difficulties. Besides, it has always been challenging for the members of French society to accept external influences brought to them by French-speaking foreigners or immigrants while the inhabitants of the United States seem to be less troubled by cultural influences related to immigration. Despite these tendencies, the general interest in the development of French cultural diplomacy has been rather stable because a number of states, including Canada, seem to be interested in potential alternatives available. Secondly, French universities and other academic institutions lack fame and attractiveness for visiting researchers and students in comparison to their American competitors. The language question plays quite an important part in this respect since many people simply do not have adequate skills of French needed for academic studies. *To improve the situation, the French government has deliberately chosen to follow a new direction by decreasing the dominance of the public bureaucratic apparatus over the conduct of cultural diplomacy, encouraging the international*

cooperation on the level of municipalities and providing more financial support to various exchange programs and educational initiatives taking place at schools or universities operating beyond the borders of France. As the current research manifests, there is a strong link between the efficiency of cultural diplomacy of a particular state and the mastery of its language since it is much easier to establish and maintain long lasting cultural contacts among people of different nationalities if they can communicate without any form of linguistic mediation.

- 7.) The model of American cultural diplomacy is currently based on five main principles suggested by the former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton. To dispel academic doubts about the prospects of the American power and prophecies of political observers about a potential decline of the USA on the international arena, the United States has made a powerful return to the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy seen after experiencing the challenges of the post-9/11 world. As a result, the current political leadership of the United States has been greatly encouraged to turn their gazes to culture in all its forms as an alternative to costly military interventions dependent on the naked military might of the country. *Analysing the conduct of American cultural diplomacy under the presidency of Barack H. Obama, the following conclusion has been reached: the innovative approach proposed by the former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton demonstrates so far a relatively high degree of efficiency and flexibility since the United States devotes much attention to the advancement of democracy and human rights, the support for social and economic development of foreign countries and the increase of attractiveness by promoting the American way of life. The American approach to cultural diplomacy has become more global and less nation-driven than that adopted by the French leadership.*
- 8.) Academic and vocational training programs for females, artists, ethnic minorities or the representatives of underprivileged social groups should undoubtedly be seen as interesting manifestations of American cultural diplomacy implemented in practice. In fact, positive examples of women or marginalized people who have already managed to ameliorate their lives with the help of initiatives sponsored by the U.S. not only change mindsets of their children or relatives but spread globally as personal success stories that encourage other individuals to embrace American values. This implies that the practical implementation of cultural diplomacy has become especially significant as a phenomenon meant to improve the dominant attitude towards the U.S. and make some progress with its official representation under tense circumstances. To maintain a high degree of success, however, cultural and social action still need to acquire more financial and ideational support either

directly from the U.S. Department of State or from concrete embassies working on the local level since the lack of attention would undoubtedly lead to stagnation. *The author of the thesis states that it might be dangerous to entrust major levers of American cultural diplomacy exclusively to non-governmental organizations or private foundations since their heads might yield to the pressure of the local authorities acting in a foreign country or simply fall prey to corruptive practices. Here, some lessons concerning the participation of state institutions in the conduct of cultural diplomacy might be learnt from French diplomats. In other words, adequate financing and a good balance between the public and the private should be acknowledged as absolute prerequisites for future achievements in the realm of American cultural diplomacy.*

- 9.) As discussed in the current thesis, one may easily identify that American cultural diplomacy in Lithuania has been implemented in a number of spheres, including academic teaching, business initiatives and the artistic achievements, especially those of American artists of Lithuanian and Jewish – Litvak descent. It should be also made clear that a special emphasis on inter-cultural ties has turned out to be a significant move in the right direction since it opened new horizons for an increased mutual understanding between Lithuanians and Americans. The success of the cultural action under the leadership of the former U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania Anne E. Derse has derived not only from the professional attitude toward the realm of cultural diplomacy but from the willingness to get to know Lithuanian culture, master the language and build new bridges between these two nations as well and the ability to find and attract partnering institutions in order to implement mutual cultural projects similar to these done in Germany or elsewhere. *It is possible to make a recommendation for the representatives of the U.S diplomatic service to become more open to the host society, expand the scope of events and invite the best American artists to demonstrate their abilities more often. Concurrently with this, it is necessary to intensify the spread of information about bilateral business opportunities or private initiatives as well as cultural events supported by the U.S. embassy. This needs to be done properly taking into consideration the fact that tiny pieces of information provided on official websites or special Facebook profiles are simply insufficient to reach more people and make them willing to participate in concrete events.*

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APPENDIX I: Table of Interviews

INTERVIEW NUMBER	NAME / SURNAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	INSTITUTION / ORGANIZATION AND POSITION	DATE THE INTERVIEW	PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW	LENGTH OF THE INTERVIEW
1.	Laurence Auer	General Secretary of the Institut Français in Paris	13 10 2011	Paris	28:07
2.	Bertrand Badie	Professor of International Relations at Sciences Po University	20 09 2011	Paris	34:48
3.	Jonathan M. Berger	Public Affairs Officer, Embassy of the United States of America in Vilnius	19 07 2012	Vilnius	Responses to questions were given to the author of the thesis in a written form.
4.	Jolanta Balčiūnienė	Ambassador of Lithuania to France	11 10 2011	Paris	53:49
5.	Anne E. Derse	Ambassador of the United States to Lithuania	19 07 2012	Vilnius	43:21
6.	Pascal Hanse	Director of the Institut Français in Vilnius	17 07 2012	Vilnius	39:17
7.	Rima Kubiliūtė	Deputy Head of International Relations and	05 09 2013	Kaunas	57:53

		Protocol Department of the Municipality of Kaunas			
8.	Asta Skaisgirytė - Liauškienė	Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania	15 05 2012	Vilnius	34:29
9.	Valdas Papievis	Lithuanian Journalist and Writer (living in Paris)	11 01 2011	Paris	1:00:27
10.	Yves Plasseraud	French Lawyer, Historian and Expert on the Baltic States	11 11 2011	Paris	33:40
11.	Paulius and Svajonė Stanikai	Contemporary Lithuanian Artists (living in Paris)	01 11 2011	Paris	25:43 and 34:18 (two recordings)
12.	Birutė Strakšienė	Professor of French Culture and Language, President of the Centre Robert Schuman	18 05 2011	Kaunas	50:00
13.	Philippe de Suremain	Former Ambassador of France to Lithuania	10 05 2011	Paris	50:47

This table was drawn and all interviews had been done by the author of the thesis Giedrė Pranaitytė.

APPENDIX II: The Questionnaire for Informants

No.	Questions for the informants (foreign diplomats and officials)
1.	How and when did you get professionally involved in cultural and diplomatic activities of the United States / France?
2.	How did you start working in Lithuania? How would you describe your impressions about the country?*
3.	How would you define the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy? Is it efficient enough in the context of contemporary international relations?
4.	What are basic priorities, objectives and principles of American / French cultural diplomacy?
5.	Why cultural diplomacy is important for your work?
6.	How would you evaluate the efficiency of cultural / educational /academic initiatives?
7.	Which organizations and institutions have become major partners of the American / French embassy or cultural centers?
7.	Which initiatives of cultural diplomacy have been the most challenging or the most successful?
8.	Have you ever worked in collaboration with Lithuanian diplomats, officials or the members of Lithuanian communities in the United States / France?
9.	In what ways do you collaborate with American, French or Lithuanian artists /musicians/ writers/ scientists/ politicians? Could you tell more about the most important visits or projects?
10.	What are the perspectives for the cultural diplomacy of the United States / France in the future?

*These two questions were given by Giedrė Pranaitytė merely to those informants who either work in Lithuania as diplomatic officials or regularly come for a visit to the country. Artists and other experts were questioned in a more individual manner, depending on their professional peculiarities.

Giedrė PRANAITYTĖ

**CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES
AND FRANCE**

Doctoral Dissertation

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