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Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:
Trajkov, V., & Trajkov, G. (2015). The influence of public diplomacy on the states visibility in the international relations. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, *1*(2), 70-78. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-446268

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Leibniz-Institut
für Sozialwissenschaften

Mitglied der
Leibniz-Gemeinschaft

Journal of Liberty and International Affairs | **Vol. 1, No. 2, 2015** | UDC 327 | ISSN 1857-9760
Published online by the Institute for Research and European Studies – Bitola at www.e-jlia.com

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Review paper
UDC 327

THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON THE STATES VISIBILITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Abstract

The attention of this paper focuses on international relations and the impact of public. This paper focuses on international relations and the impact of public diplomacy. The main goal of this study is to analyze the modern instruments of Public diplomacy that are available to countries aiming to achieve three goals in realizing their national interests: first, to overcome negative images from their past, second, to disseminate their values and model of governing and, third, which is most frequently the case, made widely known their comparative economic and trade advantages for foreign investment. Having in mind the Macedonian example, some analysts, when talking about the introduction of EU to the, citizens, believe that they do not sufficiently explain what it means membership in Euro-Atlantic structures. The Republic of Macedonia shall be used as a reference to the case study in the thesis where numerous practical examples are applied to Public diplomacy in the country recent past record in the field of public diplomacy.

Keywords: Public diplomacy; International Relations; USA; Poland; Macedonia; Czech Republic.

INTRODUCTION

Through our research, we shall portray the influence of Public diplomacy as a tool for upgrading visibility of democratic societies. Through comparative analysis, we shall portray the essence and purpose of diplomacy, followed by practical application of Public diplomacy and its main functions. Also it is underline the fine line that separates through ideological and realistic difference between Public diplomacy and propaganda of all sorts. Ideally, the difference between both models is difficult to distinguish, depending on society at hand, but by outlining the pros and cons of both models of communication and how they are used or abused by public media, such findings will be portrayed in detail.

The United States of America (USA) considered to be the champion of democracy, will give us an excellent comparative example in the concept of public diplomacy. Through such examples, as one of the most effective public diplomacy, comparative examples will be taken from three countries in the region (Hungary, Poland and Czech Republic) that were formally undemocratic in accordance to some international norms for diplomacy. Finally an attempt will be to analyze the bold approach to Public diplomacy by the Republic of Macedonia. The USA concept will be divided by itself in two parts. First part will be the USA Public diplomacy and the second will be United States

Public diplomacy in a Post-9/11 World. The model of the Republic of Hungary will be presented by interviews and content analysis. The Polish model will try to explain how Poland used Public diplomacy in forming the perception for the country in the eyes of the most influential western European countries and how it helped Poland's EU accession process. The model of the Czech Republic will deal with the history of promotion and Public diplomacy activities in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic, the Czech institutions that are participating in conducting Public diplomacy and finally their new strategy from 1997. The final and most important aspect of this thesis will focus on the admirable approach to Public diplomacy by the Republic of Macedonia. Its presentation at the end will be done through culture promotion, promoting of investment opportunities if the country, as well promotion of the tourism and hospitality. The final remarks and the conclusion will summarize the whole thesis and conclude the findings.

WHAT IS PUBLIC DIPLOMACY?

Diplomacy is the management of International Relations through negotiations or the method by which these relations are adjusted or managed. As stated by Gilboa and Eytan (2001), the policies set forth by democratic governments are followed by skilled diplomats to achieve maximum set objectives (national interests) with a minimum of costs in a system of politics where war remains a possibility. (Gilboa 2001, 10). Public diplomacy has been addressed by many names (cultural diplomacy, media diplomacy, public information, internal broadcasting, education and cultural programs, and political action), all having the same function. Diplomacy provides proper means of influencing foreign publics without the use of force. The now-defunct USA Information Agency defined Public diplomacy as "promoting the national interest and the national security of the United States through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad." (What is Public Diplomacy?, 2002).

The renowned political scientist Harold Lasswell, like the French scholar Jacques Ellul and the public relations guru Edward Bernays, believed that propaganda is a tool or weapon of modern technological society and that no one propaganda prevails, only competition. Lasswell wrote: "propaganda as a mere tool is no more moral or immoral than a pump handle...the only effective weapon against propaganda on behalf of one policy seems to be propaganda on behalf of an alternative." (Snow, 2012). Public diplomacy, like propaganda, is linked to coercive power. Consider the most referenced term of public diplomacy, soft power, coined by Joseph Nye. Public diplomacy, or diplomacy to publics, puts human interaction front and center in far less manipulative ways than propaganda. Ideally, the target audience is more like a *pro-sumer* (proactive consumer) consuming messages from the sender that ranges from a public affairs officer to the head of a nongovernmental organization, but also proactively responding and persuading back in a two-way exchange of ideas.

THE USA PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The United States of America (USA) has long sought to influence people in administration and diplomats of foreign countries through democratic Public diplomacy efforts. Public diplomacy provides a foreign policy complement to traditional government-to- government diplomacy, which are dominated by official interaction carried out between professional diplomats. Unlike the public affairs, which focuses on well-designed and choreographed communications, aimed at activities that are intended primarily to inform and influence domestic media and the American people, the USA Public diplomacy includes efforts to interact directly with the citizens, community and civic leaders, journalists, and other opinion leaders of another country. Public diplomacy seeks to influence society's attitudes and actions in supporting USA policies and national interests.

The Public diplomacy is often viewed as having a long-term perspective that requires working through the exchange of people and ideas to build lasting relationships and understanding. This is may be seen in a society such as the United States where and its culture, values, and policies do influence livelihood of the population. Such tools of healthy Public diplomacy include people-to-people contact; expert speaker programs; art and cultural performances; books and literature; radio and television broadcasting and movies; and, more recently, the Internet. In contrast, traditional diplomacy involves the strong representation of USA policies to foreign governments, analysis and reporting of a foreign government's activities, attitudes, and trends that affect USA interests. There is a growing concern among many in the executive branch, the Congress, the media, and other foreign policy observers, however, that the United States has lost its Public diplomacy capacity to successfully respond to today's international challenges in supporting the accomplishment of the USA national interests.

Public diplomacy capacity and capabilities atrophied in the years following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. The USA Public diplomacy efforts were carried out primarily by the US Information Agency (USIA), created in 1953, as well as the USA non-military international broadcasting by entities such as Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. These entities had been well resourced throughout the Cold War, however with the end of the Soviet threat, those resources dwindled as it was believed that there was no ideological fight still to win. Many analysts believe that the United States generally placed Public diplomacy on a "back burner" as a relic of the Cold War. In 1999, the newly adopted legislation abolished USIA and folded its responsibilities into the State Department, again with reduced resources for public diplomacy. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and with USA combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, interest in Public diplomacy as a foreign policy and national security tool was renewed. Concerns about the events in the Middle East focused the attention of policy makers on the need for a sound, well-resourced Public diplomacy program. This concern was heightened by the realization that the worldwide perception of the United States has declined considerably in recent years with the United States often being considered among the most distrusted and dangerous countries in the world. As the United States sought to revitalize its Public diplomacy initiatives, it became clear the changes in the new world order and changes caused by the Internet revolution and information technology in general created new dynamic for USA Public diplomacy initiatives. The world of international communications and information sharing is undergoing revolutionary changes at remarkable speeds. The rapid increase in

available sources of information, through the proliferation of global and regional broadcasters using satellite technologies, as well as the global reach of news and information websites on the Internet, has diversified and complicated the shaping of attitudes of foreign populations. Individual communicators now have the ability to influence large numbers of people on a global scale through social networking, providing a direct challenge to the importance of traditional information media and actors. Traditional media, such as newspapers, have created online interactive exchanges between providers and consumers of information by allowing readers to comment on news reporting. New online social media networks such as weblogs, Twitter, MySpace, and Facebook allow individuals to connect with one-another on a global scale, providing opportunities for "many-to-many" exchanges of information that bypass the "one-to-many" sources that formally dominated the information landscape.

THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF SMALL STATES

Among the main contributors to the theme of Public diplomacy belong above all major powers and in the first place USA. Very active is also Great Britain or the European Union (EU), now. Majority of literature also deal with Public diplomacy from the point of view of powers and the character of Public diplomacy accomplished by small or medium-sized states was really not in the center of attention. There are foremost small states that can benefit from using Public diplomacy in its foreign policy, but the character differs.

The Hungarian model

Hungary once part of the Soviet bloc, which gained the EU status after the end of the Cold War in 1989 and as an empire during the XVIII century, is very versatile with the power of mass communication. The aggressiveness with which Hungary defied the Soviets has been accredited to insurgent use of media. Even as the government tried to control broadcasting, contraband VHS tapes of banned foreign news correspondents were smuggled in the country and spread uncontrollably, which helped "sustain the desire for freedom among its people." (Edwards 2001, 281). The government tried to counter Radio Free Europe, broadcasts by the USA to foster rebellion against communism, with Radio Moscow, but should have jammed the signal instead. In the Eighties, the Communist party sensed their impending doom and tried to salvage itself by incorporating the opposition on live television. The anti-Communist groups manipulated these events shown on national television into platforms to communicate their own causes. This collective memory of how to use media for a political agenda strengthens Hungary as it navigates the uncharted terrain of Public diplomacy with countries from which they had been isolated for over forty years. In 1989, the European Commission (EC) decided against the backdrop of the fall of the Berlin Wall to support the transition of former communist states to capitalist democracies. Accordingly, the EC decided to coordinate aid to Poland and Hungary from the most industrialized countries on the continent and to create a package of assistance since known as the PHARE Program, an acronym for Poland, Hungary Actions for Economic Reconstruction. According to the Fact Sheet on Hungary issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest (2000), the Hungarian foreign ministry adopted proprietary dynamic communication strategy in 1995 creatively dubbed the "Government Communication Strategy Preparing Accession to the European Union." (Baker 2001, 412).

The requirements for accession to the EU hammered out at the Copenhagen summit are threefold, with only one condition out of the candidates' control:

> stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, a functioning market economy, as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union, [and] the ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic, and monetary union. (Lippert and Umbach 2005, 77).

These criteria, of course, are contingent upon the EU's "capacity to absorb new members, while maintaining the momentum of European integration." (Lippert and Umbach 2005, 77). The Hungarian PR campaign's budget consisted of hundreds of millions of Hungarian forints supplemented by $3.4 million Euros made available for the same communications purpose from PHARE for 1997 to 2000. The foreign ministry was proud that, according to opinion polls, Hungarian society's awareness of the European Union and the integration process has improved considerably. After informing the public that the EU and integration process exists, the communication strategy aimed to influence voters in the upcoming referendum

The Polish model

The process of accession to the European Union, which Poland became part of formally in 2004, forced the new EU Member States, in the previous as well as in the last enlargement processes, to reshape their image abroad while at the same time persuading their own societies of the desirability of the process and the correctness of its aims. The years 2000 - 2004, as the time of negotiations and Poland as one of the most important accession countries of the 2004 enlargement, are the field of observation to suggest that Public diplomacy became an important means of persuasion accompanying negotiation and ratification of the Accession Treaty. In 2000, the first complex Polish Public diplomacy campaign was launched in the countries of the EU. It consisted of two programs which covered the years 2000 - 2003 and were aimed in the first instance at opinion leaders and elites of the then EU Member States. The first step in the campaign was to identify the image of Poland as a country and Poles as a nation abroad with the aim of adjusting the strategy taking into account the needs and beliefs of the target countries. The surveys and content analysis of the press were carried out in selected countries of the EU - those most important for the process of negotiations, ratification of the Accession Treaty and for the future positioning of Poland in the EU. Thus, if the process of accession might be seen as a frame for a multilateral form of public diplomacy, in fact it was a bilateral form in the chosen countries. According to the results of the surveys Poland was an unknown country with predominantly a negative image, especially in the press. The results of the surveys showed also the need for a campaign for "branding" Poland. The main stress was then put on providing information on Poland to build a rational basis for the shaping of the image. Poland also trailed behind in the competition to be named the 'hero' of the anti-communist velvet revolution after 1989, when events in Prague and in Berlin rather than in Warsaw took center stage. The Polish campaigns still do not bring the message that in many fields the transformation brought about very positive developments for the country.

Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic

It could be seen that Public diplomacy is something completely new for the Czech Republic, depending on contemporary changes of international environment. But using of expressions like promotion, propagation or publicity brings us to the very beginning of the existence of sovereign Czechoslovakia in 1918. There are documents in the archive of the Czech MFA about promotion strategy. The main purpose of such an activity was in the first years an attempt to defend the existence of independent Czechoslovakia in new Europe after the First World War. Great wave of promotion and, have to say advocacy, realized also in late thirties as a reaction on Nazi propaganda about poor situation of national minorities in Czechoslovakia.

The promotion of then Czechoslovakia was very similar to contemporary PD strategies. *Key message*: the existence of independent state arisen in agreement of post- war arrangement of international situation. *Key audience*: elites and also public opinion in major powers (Great Britain, France, USA) and also other European countries. And the *key instrument*: (tools of then promotion don't differ so much from ours) personal contacts, print, lectures, radio (as new communication technology). Main agents of such a promotion were embassies and diplomats. Key body was the Ministry of foreign affairs who coordinated all activities also of other ministries and private institutions. Really admirable was the system of reporting about PD activities and regular evaluation of this system, at least one time each year.

The post-war Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak socialist republic are considered to create the second significant period of promotion or propaganda in our history. Every activity was in service of communist ideology. The key message was a promotion of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Key audience differs and creates three different groups. The first one is a group of *socialist countries* (especially Europeans); the second one is created by *developing countries* with deep sympathy to socialism and the third one represent developed *capitalistic countries*. Instruments didn't change so much. Prestige position was held by culture and its exploitation in different variations, music (especially classical), art, cultural heritage etc.

The Republic of Macedonia

The Republic of Macedonia is small country which is geographically positioned in areas of political tectonic quakes that small and weak states disappear, and large become larger. The concept of Public diplomacy segment is that survival and creating the preconditions for regional cohesion in a place and time where numerous historical, ethnic, linguistic, religious and territorial issues that are unresolved collide. One of the main concepts is international promotion of the Macedonian culture. International cooperation is one of the priorities of the Ministry of Culture. In May 2013 the Macedonian culture was presented in Sweden and Italy. The prominent folk ensemble "Tanec" gave a concert in Stockholm in honor of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of Macedonian-Swedish diplomatic ties. The same year Sweden hosted the exhibit of Macedonian medieval manuscripts. Also in 2013, in honor of the 1150 anniversary of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius mission in Moravia, the manifestation program included monodrama "Iustinian I". As an active member of the International Organization of the Francophonie, Macedonia took part in the 2013 Francophone Games, held 6 – 15 September in Nice, France.

Another aspect that involves elements of Public diplomacy is the concept for attracting foreign direct investments, "Invest in Macedonia". Such activities are mainly conducted by promoting investment opportunities and international promotion of the Technological Industrial Development Zones (TIDZs – Free Economic Zones). Another important segment for the Public diplomacy approach of the Republic of Macedonia is the active tourism promotion. There are several ongoing projects that are developed by the Agency for Promotion and Support of Tourism. According to operating activities and program of the Agency for Promotion and Support of Tourism of the Republic of Macedonia, it is planned to deliver the project for development of tourism in the Republic of Macedonia - in particular in the segment "outdoor activities" as a significant part by the potential of the republic. The project includes the completion of existing and creation of new pedestrian, mountain trails throughout the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. In the recent years, Republic of Macedonia is promoting its tourism capacities and possibilities on global TV networks. The most recent TV advertisement "Macedonia Timeless" was broadcasted on CNN.

CONCLUSION

The city-states and later the states were built by Public diplomacy, and the lack of emissaries has led to downward spiral and demise of entire populations. This is the reason the people appoint, employ or elect such emissaries. Diplomats are the brightest and most educated individuals of the country they represent. They may sell or buy the entire yield of farm production or factory output. By actively comparing models of Public diplomacy, in several countries researched in this thesis, it can be concluded that one approach does not fit the need for all countries. This experience through active research and advice of my mentors has portrayed a completely irregular concepts and approach to Public diplomacy in an individual manner.

The United States has a comprehensive approach, where huge variety of agencies and governmental institutions are involved in Public diplomacy issues. They have one unique model, in targeting and forming world public opinion in their favor. The United States has long sought to influence the peoples of foreign countries through Public diplomacy efforts. They are performing this task very successfully. Public diplomacy provides a foreign policy complement to traditional government-to- government diplomacy, which is dominated by official interaction carried out between professional diplomats. Unlike public affairs, which focus, communications activities intended primarily to inform and influence domestic media and the American people, US Public diplomacy includes efforts to interact directly with the citizens, community and civic leaders, journalists, and other opinion leaders of another country. USAID is a great example of the US governmental institution that is doing a great job in shaping foreign opinions in the USA favor. Poland, on the other hand, used and still uses its Public diplomacy strategy towards shaping the opinion regarding the modern Polish person in the eyes of the Western countries. Their strategy is mainly focused towards the most influential countries of the European Union, Great Britain, France, and Germany. This is the case, generally because the perception about the ordinary Polish persons in these countries is very negative. Parallel with this process, the Polish government was persuading their own societies of the desirability of the accession process and the correctness of its aims. Similar with the Polish

case are the strategies used by Hungary and the Czech Republic, having in mind that all of them were former communist countries. Having said this, the perception for all of them throughout western countries was similar, although the Czech Republic was seen more favorable than the others, because of their steady economic growth and fast opening of their market. Comparing the Macedonian model, with all the above mentioned, we can see that Macedonia does not have one comprehensive Public diplomacy strategy / model.

We can say that Macedonia has segments that are part of the Public diplomacy instruments like cultural promotion, promoting of investment opportunities and tourism promotion. By joining these segments, Macedonia can succeed in forming a Public diplomacy strategy, which will be internationally effective. In order to succeed in these endeavors, Macedonia must delegate many government activities to the civil society, NGOs and successful Macedonian worldwide. This is the only way to present its successful story globally. Every country that is going to find a way to use Public diplomacy effectively will definitely succeed in presenting its story to the world, particularly the best parts of it. For small countries like Macedonia, it is crucial to find a model that will be functional and effective, mostly because it is one of the few tools, if not the only one that is available.

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