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## Cultural Diplomacy as a Tool of the External Relations Between the UE and the USA

Cultural diplomacy is a tool of public diplomacy, defined by Edmund Gillon (Fater, 2019) as the influence of public attitudes on the implementation of foreign policy, by Nicolas J. Cull (Cull, 2008) as the management of the international environment through the involvement of the public, and by Beata Ociepka as the enhancement of a positive image of an entity on the international stage achieved by influencing public opinion, shaping positive attitudes towards the entity and thus, facilitating the achievement of foreign policy objectives. In particular, Beata Ociepka's (Ociepka, 2008) view describes the contemporary international ambitions of the EU as a 'non-military power' (civilian power) originating from the school of neo-liberalism, as well as a 'normative power' – exemplary of the constructivism and the approach of Ian Manners (Manners, 2001) Cultural diplomacy serves as a tool for the application of normative power, which is why it is sometimes referred to 'soft power' (as a subcategory of normative power). The concepts of hard power, soft power and smart power were introduced into international relations by Joseph Nye (Nye, 2004, 2011) in the 1990s when defining post-Cold War global relations, as they started to rely more on the attraction of partners rather than military coercion. Because the effects of soft power are long-term and stretched out over time, they are in conflict with the need for acquiring quick results in political life.

Leaving aside the definitions of cultural diplomacy referring to the state/governmental actors (Cull, 2009; Taylor, 2002), it is worth considering the growing role of cultural diplomacy in the area of international cultural relations, as a factor which is "shaping understanding and cooperation between societies for mutual benefit" (Haigh, 2001, pp. 94–95). Milton C. Cummings wrote about cultural diplomacy as "the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture between countries to facilitate mutual understanding" (Cummings, 2009, p. 1). It can be assumed that cultural diplomacy is a tool for influencing international public opinion and thus, intercultural relations. Since the Lisbon Treaty, the European Union has been strengthening its role as an international player by developing external relations – defined by some researchers as 'public diplomacy' (Cross, Melissen, 2015). The EU is an attractive global 'public diplomacy player' because of its mechanisms for the protection of human rights, its affluence, its economic stability, and its ability to spread democratic standards around

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the world (Duchêne, 1972). Anna Skolimowska (Skolimowska, 2015) argues that cultural diplomacy leads to the production of socialization processes that involve the public of other countries identifying with European norms and values, entering into a dialogue with them. “The measure of the effectiveness of the action taken should be defined as the degree of transposition of the European model within the countries where actions of this type are being implemented” (Skolimowska, 2015, p. 119). Cultural diplomacy can thus be a transmission belt for these transpositions.

This article attempts to analyze the promotion of European cultural values in the USA (based on the example of the EU Delegation in Washington). Although the two entities of international relations (UE/USA) are in partnership, the relations between them are also based on competition. The analysis of the EU-US cultural diplomacy in this thesis is based on the comparative method used in international relations. In addition, the article uses the method of institutional-legal analysis, content analysis and a case study (EU Delegation in Washington DC). The research hypothesis of the article was formulated as following: The European Union interacts with the US audiences through culture. In line with the EU’s capacity and institutional limitations within the sphere of external relations, the EU’s cultural diplomacy in the USA is formal, hierarchical and proper, which in effect builds a stable but not deepened intercultural bond. Additionally, a research question was formulated: What kind of intercultural dialogue is being formally conducted between the European Union and the USA through the cultural actions of the EU Delegation?

### **The cultural dimension of the EEAS**

A key role in specifying the EU’s external relations in the area of culture is the European Parliament Resolution of 12 May 2011 on the cultural dimension of the EU’s external actions (*European Parliament resolution of 12 May 2011*, 2011). This was the EP’s response to the demand to establish diplomatic services in the field of culture after the decisions to set up the European External Action Service (EEAS) (*Council Decision of 26 July 2010*, 2010). The resolution in Article 29 highlighted the need to create a substantive position within the EEAS responsible for cultural matters. In Article 30, it called upon the Commission and EEAS to systematically incorporate cultural aspects into the European Union’s diplomatic activities. The formation of an administrative corps responsible for culture was supposed to be aided by extensive training for EEAS staff as well as the attempt to combine the actions of the Commission’s directorate general for culture with those of the directorate general for diversity and innovation. The Parliament encouraged the EEAS to draw up agreements with external bodies (the EUNIC network, private entities) specialising in building international cultural diplomacy. The resolution even suggested the solution of establishing in the EU delegations a substantive position responsible for coordinating work on culture and promoting European culture in close collaboration with the external entities involved in this process (Blockmans, Hillion, 2013). It encouraged the use of existing EU assistance mechanisms for promoting cultural activities: the financing instrument for development cooperation, the instrument for stability, the instrument for democra-

cy and human rights, the instrument for pre-accession assistance, the European Partnership Policy, the Eastern Partnership and the Transatlantic Partnership. Among the instruments dedicated to the cultural sector, the Resolution identified the “Creative Europe” and “European Heritage Label” programmes, as well as, in terms of world heritage, the EU’s joining the Blue Shield organisation,<sup>2</sup> protecting global monuments from armed attack.

The Resolution highlighted the phenomenon of fragmentation of the EU’s cultural policy, resulting in dispersal of external actions (Formuszewicz, 2010). It therefore recommended synergy of programmes and strategic initiatives. But the Resolution’s most important message was the fact that it defined the function of culture in the EU’s external relations. Culture was to become an instrument for spreading tolerance in the world, bringing about greater social integration (Mokre, Batora, 2016). It also noted the fact that exchange of cultural expression, cultural exchange and promotion of cultural diversity are the foundation of building peace. Conciliatory processes, protection of human rights, development of trade and the need to prevent conflicts, meanwhile, are regarded here as the most important task of EU diplomacy, in which artistic and cultural activity can help as soft power.

### **The EU Delegations – legal provisions**

The TFEU’s provisions concerning delegations state that “Union delegations in third countries and at international organisations shall represent the Union” (Art. 221(1)) and that “Union delegations shall be placed under the authority of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. They shall act in close cooperation with Member States’ diplomatic and consular missions” (TFUE, Art. 221(2)). Member states are therefore partners of the EU delegations in third countries. According to the letter of Art. 24(2) of TEU (TUE, 2012) the European Union conducts a common foreign and security policy based on the development of mutual political solidarity among member states and the EU. This solidarity is to be expressed in the “identification of questions of general interest and the achievement of an ever-increasing degree of convergence of Member States’ actions”. Article 24(3) TEU specifies that the member states support the Union’s external and security policy actively and unreservedly in a spirit of loyalty and mutual solidarity and comply with the Union’s action in this area, as well as refraining from actions contradictory to the EU’s interests or able to harm it in the international arena. Article 35 TEU defines the cooperation of the EU states’ diplomatic missions, stating that the diplomatic and consular missions of member states as well as EU delegations work together and are present in third countries, at international conferences or as representatives in international organisa-

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<sup>2</sup> The Blue Shield is a symbol of protection of monuments referred to in the Hague Convention of 1954 (*Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, signed on 14 May 1954*). It marks sites of culture and cultural heritage that should be protected in case of attack during armed conflict. The Blue Shield is also the name of the organisation creating a network of cooperation between museums, archives, libraries, and institutions related to monuments and cultural heritage sites.

tions: In the light of the above provisions and in accordance with the treaty resolutions, the EU's external actions in the area of culture are implemented by EU delegations in cooperation with representatives of member states. These activities should be precise, cohesive and based on solidarity (Nitzske, 2019). Article 5(7–10) of the Council Decision of 2010 (*Council Decision of 26 July 2010*, 2010) regulates the activity of the EU delegations. Their job is to facilitate contacts between European Union institutions and the third countries or international organisations where they are accredited; the head of delegation represents the Union as a whole in the third country or to the international organisation where it is accredited. He or she receives instructions from the HR and is responsible for their implementation, and also answers to the EEAS (Denza, 2012). The delegation staff must follow the interests of the European Union, regardless of any pressures exerted on them by representatives of member states. To clarify the competences, and referring to the EU delegations' handbook from 2012 (*Information and Communication Handbook...*, 2012) we should note that a delegation can spend funds within European projects (including in the field of culture) conducted jointly with third countries. Assistance to third countries is provided from EU funds such as the European Development Fund, European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument or the Financing Instrument for Cooperation with Industrialised Countries. Furthermore, delegations are recommended to engage in activities promoting education and culture by cooperating with universities and academic communities in third countries, to permit the promotion of programmes such as Erasmus Mundus. According to the recommendations of the handbook, "culture should be a major element of our public diplomacy and cooperation [...] International cultural co-operation is one of the key pillars of our external action" (*Information and Communication Handbook...*, 2012, p. 5). Smągłowska summarises the activity of EU delegations by writing that "they have undergone a major evolution starting from possessing modest representative authority, via being a distributor of development assistance, to gaining the status of fully fledged diplomatic posts, including competencies to negotiate agreements with third countries" (Smągłowska, 2012, p. 32).

### **EUNIC as the EU's soft power**

After its expansion in 2004, the European Union began to be aware of the possibility of using member states' cultural institutes as tools to strengthen international cultural cooperation within the EU. This was especially the case as traditional bilateral and multilateral exchange was relegated to secondary importance and deemed insufficient in a world in which communication needs to take place at an interregional and global level, while protecting state (national) as well as European interests. This situation was helped by the strengthened neighbourhood policy (ENP) (Snow, Cull, 2020). The European Union National Cultural Institutes, a network established in 2006, came to the delegations' aid. This initially comprised six institutes (including the Goethe-Institut, British Council and Institut Français), which had been working together actively in Brussels since the mid-1990s. Cultural institutes have become an additional partner for EU delegations, alongside member states' embassies and consulates. The principles

for this partnership were to some extent outlined by the report “Preparatory Action: Culture in EU External Relations: Engaging the World: Towards Global Cultural Citizenship” from June 2014<sup>3</sup> (prepared by EUNIC and commissioned by the EC), testing the possibilities for the EU to conduct intercontinental external relations in the culture sector. It contained several main conclusions: cultural relations have a huge potential for increasing European influences in many parts of the world; a “combined” international cultural relations strategy should be developed based on common values and shared responsibility for global cultural citizenship, which demands financial support from the EU budget; pilot projects should be launched immediately to bring about change in international cultural relations.

While working on the “Preparatory Action”, EUNIC members discovered that it is possible to work together in various configurations on specific projects, funded from different sources and contributing to boosting knowledge on the EU’s external relations. This was the origin of the idea of cultural institute clusters, i.e. diverse, alternating formats of collaboration within EUNIC, financed voluntarily from the budget funds of the members of a given cluster. Forming clusters, meaning international cooperation consortia, was a useful mechanism and platform making it possible to apply for EU funds for projects in the new “Creative Europe” programme (2014–2020). Since it has the largest budget, a stable position in the world and is viewed as a leader, the Goethe-Institut continue to coordinate EUNIC clusters together with the British Council.<sup>4</sup> These institutions are experienced in cooperation and practically since 2011 have been forming clusters in the EU neighbourhood countries (NEP, Eastern Partnership) as well as with the EU delegations (for example in Tunisia and Jordan<sup>5</sup> and Belarus). It is important to note, however, that there is a major problem in EUNIC’s cooperation with EU delegations – the potential discrepancy in the interests of the political entities participating in it. When defining their national objectives, cultural institutes act on the basis of guidelines of the member state’s foreign policy, which do not necessarily overlap with the EU’s strategic objectives. Theoretically they might, because promotion of the member states culture in the world goes hand in hand with soft power of all EU member states, but discrepancies also occur. Institutes operating regionally (e.g. within Poland’s cooperation with Ukraine or Romania’s with Moldova) promote EU values in the region through greater involvement of local actors in EUNIC’s activity,<sup>6</sup> and this has quite a positive significance.

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<sup>3</sup> The report was prepared under the supervision of Yudhishtir Raj Isar, an Indian cultural researcher and long-time UNESCO expert, in cooperation with the Goethe-Institut, British Council, Danish Cultural Institute, Institut Français, KEA European Affairs, European Cultural Foundation, BOZAR Centre for Fine Arts in Brussels, and ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen) from Stuttgart.

<sup>4</sup> Since Brexit (2020) the British Council has played a much smaller role in promoting European culture abroad, coordinated from an EU position.

<sup>5</sup> “European Day of Languages” in Jordan.

<sup>6</sup> One of the first projects subsidised as part of European networks within the Creative Europe programme was “UNIC-Crossroads for Culture. Enhancing EU Member States Transnational and International Cooperation” in 2014, which strengthened cooperation within the Cultural Institutes consortium. The project amounted to 254,000 euro in a year. In 2016–2019, the EU delegation in Tunis, together with the local EUNIC cluster (led by the British Council) and the Tunisian culture ministry coordinated the “Tfanen-Tunisie Creative” cultural project, aimed at improving intercultural

From February to June 2016, EUNIC carried out evaluation work on the effectiveness of 39 artistic projects financed from EUNIC Global budgets in 2013–2015. The Brussels office of EUNIC Global published the results of this evaluation in 2016 as “Cluster Fund 2012–2015” (*Cluster Fund 2012–2015...*, 2016) and another one, published in 2022 (*EUNIC Cluster Flash Report*, 2022). In both reports’ conclusions, the authors argued that the biggest problem with the cultural institutions network at the time was the lack of partnership from the member states, as well as a paucity of far-reaching strategies of action, with the result was evaluated as partial. Furthermore, promotion of culture was deemed to be largely based on presentation of a so-called “business card”, i.e. the best things in the national culture, which does not necessarily seem to be an appropriate method in weakly developed states and does not quite meet the objectives of EU diplomacy. The organisers of cultural events were troubled by the lack of in-depth analyses of the influence of the proposed artistic events on socio-cultural changes in cities and regions, as well as weak promotion of clusters as tools of European Union policy in the world. A particular second report recommended “Build a network of motivated ‘EUNIC cluster colleagues’ who have shown their commitment to European collaboration and who are interested to take EU international cultural relations further” (*EUNIC Cluster Flash Report*, 2022, p. 6).

### **Promoting European Culture outside Europe – Case study (1)**

Taking into account the formal and legal analyses discussed above and the recommendations for the EU cultural sector in the context of the EU’s external relations and the CFSP, which demonstrate the weakness of the EU delegations’ cultural competencies as well as the extensive power of member states and an increasingly strong EUNIC network, it is worth considering the efficiency of the EU diplomacy system in the United States. In this case too, we will probably observe a “tension” or even a “collision” between the foreign policy objectives of the EU representation in the US and those of the member states, represented by all the institutions of these countries accredited in the United States. The fundamental importance of the US for European soft power results from the fact that it is the EU’s oldest strategic partner and the target of many of the member states’ most important culture-forming and marketing initiatives.

Post-war transatlantic relations were maintained between the European Communities and the United States at least from the 1950s onwards. Hollywood movie productions, jazz music and the latest television achievements were among the products “exported” to Europe. Europe in return sent outstanding art and classical music. Investing in culture in Europe is entirely different from doing so in the United States.

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dialogue. In 2017–2020, the “Cultural Bridges” project was implemented in Ukraine in partnership with the EUNIC cluster in Kyiv together with the Czech Centres HQ. In 2020, the cultural project “Ideas Yard – Talking about Europe” took place in the Czech Republic with the objective of holding a broad discussion on the idea of Europe. Participants in the project were: EUNIC members in the Czech Republic, the Goethe-Institut, the Austrian Cultural Forum, the British Council, the Embassy of the Netherlands, Italian Cultural Institute, the Polish Institute and a number of Czech partner institutions.

European countries have always developed a system of public patronage in culture, and in the twentieth century this allowed countries and local authorities to build stable cultural policies. In the US, the majority of legal-organisational competencies in the cultural sector lie in the hands of state governments, with a traditionally important role of the non-governmental sector in the development of American culture, philanthropic activity, business in culture, various forms of volunteering and local communities. In fact, bearing in mind American federalism and the European Union with its status as an international organisation, we could say that these are two contrasting political-systemic models. It is important that, despite the differences, the two powers have built the strongest post-war political alliances, at the same time forming a joint model of “Western” culture. Culture brought transatlantic relations together rather than dividing them, bolstering and not weakening them. Today, we have a situation in which the European Union as a representative of 27 member states proposes a kind of diplomatic dialogue between it and the USA. The question remains of whether the United States responds to this dialogue, in what kind of atmosphere it takes place? We should also add that both the EU and the USA demonstrate major limitations in cultural diplomacy. Both the federal government and the European Union have weak formal competencies in this respect.

A leading role in the promotion of European culture in the USA is played by the European Union delegation, member states’ embassies and consulates (all in Washington, DC),<sup>7</sup> and member states’ cultural institutes as well as EUNIC clusters. There are three EUNIC Global clusters operating in the United States – in Washington, New York, and San Francisco, with the most joint initiatives being proposed by the New York cluster. In Washington, the EUNIC cluster is formed by a dynamic group of the Goethe-Institute, Austrian Cultural Forum, Hellenic Foundation, Instituto Camões, Italian Cultural Institute, Alliance Française, and many embassies, the most active of which are the Czech, Danish, Swedish, Romanian and Slovenian ones. Many cultural events also take place thanks to the British Council’s collaboration with the Shakespeare Theatre Company in Washington, DC. One important project for the EUNIC cluster in Washington was the “Year of Italian culture in the United States” held in 2013, as well as the “Transit: Creative Placemaking with Europe” project. The Austrian Cultural Forum and the Austrian Embassy frequently offer classical music series as part of the Washington cluster’s activity.

Irrespective of how active the aforementioned public entities are, promotion of European culture in the USA can only take place within the scope of the EU treaties and the US legal and political system, and this entails both obligations and limitations. The European Commission delegation in Washington was established in 1954, the first such diplomatic institution, shortly after the proclamation of the European Coal and Steel Community. It has come a long way in its development, from possessing representative rights to gaining full status as a European Union diplomatic post. The European Commission representation in the United States includes promotion of EU policy through “cultural activities and educational fora” in its mission statement (*The United States and the EU*, 2019). It is obliged to maintain mutual ties and intensify bilateral

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<sup>7</sup> The EU currently has 139 delegations in third countries.

cooperation in all areas, especially in the question of security. “The New Transatlantic Agenda” (2nd December 2020) (*The New Transatlantic Agenda*, 2020; Krenzler, Schomaker, 1996) also known as the Madrid Charter, an agreement signed in 1995 between the US government (Bill Clinton) and the European Council representing the EU (Spanish prime minister Felipe González), mentions in the fourth group of objectives endeavouring to “deepen the commercial, social, cultural, scientific and educational ties among our people” (*The New Transatlantic Agenda*, 2020, p. 5). These and other formal agreements between the parties oblige the EU delegation to conform to them. We can therefore say that there should be a place for culture in the activity of the Washington delegation. Also recently EU Policy and Outreach Partnerships (EUPOPs) project (2018–2023) promotes knowledge and strengthen partnership between EU citizens and institutions around the world. The document promoted academic activities with the special emphasis on the Jean Monnet Chairs, as well as civil society engagement activities and cultural diplomacy, which aim was to build trust and mutual understanding. 10 Actions are foreseen between 2018–2023 with the USA (2019–2022).<sup>8</sup>

### **The EU delegation in Washington, DC – Case study (2)**

In fact, the EU delegation in Washington has five paths of socio-cultural actions. These include: discussions about culture, illustrated presentations from various member states; “dates” with the European Union, discussing various EU policies; and three cyclical festivals: the European Month of Culture (including “EU Open House” and “EuroNight”), Kids Euro Festival, and the European Union Film Showcase, presenting a range of European artistic events. Let us take a brief look at these events to understand how they are put into place and evaluate the artistic quality.

The most important event promoting European culture in the USA organised by the delegation operating there is the European Month of Culture, which takes place annually in May. This is a prestigious event held since 2013 and building the brand of European culture. It usually begins on 9 May, on the day marking the signing of the Schuman Declaration. The festival organisers have adopted a format of integrated festival activities proposed by the institutions that run it: the EU delegation, embassies and consulates of member states, cultural institutes supporting them in the EUNIC network and other partners of the countries. Active participants are the Austrian Cultural Forum and the Scottish Affairs Office in Washington, DC. Cultural events are also organised in collaboration with prestigious cultural institutions in the US capital (the Kennedy Centre for Performing Arts, National Gallery of Art, Georgetown University). The European Month of Capital offers the American public an average of around 100 mostly free artistic events illustrating the diversity of cultures in the 27 EU member states. These include music and dance performances, lectures, film screenings, art exhibitions, conferences and workshops. The artistic topics on show often reflect leading trends in the EU’s national cultures or introduce Americans to local traditions. For example, the Irish Embassy likes to invite folk dancers from the west coast of the

<sup>8</sup> Other Actions are foreseen in: Canada, Mexico and Central America, South America, Russia, China, Indonesia, India, Republic of Korea, Japan.

island as well as composers and performers of regional music to Washington, as well as organising tastings of Irish whiskey. The Austrians offer art nouveau lessons, the Slovenians present their tenors and baritones, and the Greeks hold academic symposia on ancient architecture (a cooperation between the Center for Hellenic Studies at Harvard University and the Archaeological Institute of America). Diverse topics and forms of artistic expression are included. In 2020, the “2020 Visegrad 4 Film Series” project was proposed by the countries of the Visegrad group – Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia – as a result of cooperation between them and the EU delegation in Washington. Poland’s presidency of the group initiated the project.<sup>9</sup>

The “EU Open House Day” is an integral part of the European Month of Culture, taking place on the second Saturday of May every year. For one day, the embassies of EU member states are opened to the public,<sup>10</sup> and sometimes the ambassadors’ houses are too. Visitors have the chance to see exhibitions of works associated with the culture of the country in question and listen to regional music. Workshops for children as well as meetings with ambassadors and embassy employees also take place. EuroNight is also an integral part of the European Month of Culture, and is largely a culinary event. Representatives of the 27 European states in national or regional costumes come together in one place, serving national dishes, providing an introduction to travel and historical literature from the country and offering the chance to buy souvenirs. Cosy chats with artists and concerts also take place.

Kids Euro Festival takes place annually in October and November, lasting a month. Launched in 2008 during the French presidency of the EU Council,<sup>11</sup> today it is one of the largest children’s art festivals in the United States. Every year, more than 30 organisations present 100 free events, with the participation of professional artists from Eu-

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<sup>9</sup> The Polish contribution to the European Month of Culture in 2019 included a concert in the National Gallery in Washington by the Polish-American trio Kicińska/Cichocki/O’Leary (22 May). The artists presented the programme “From Warsaw with Love: Polish – American Jazz for Springtime”, comprising Polish jazz numbers, or those written by Poles in the United States, about love. Bogna Kicińska presented additional information on the pieces presented and their authors. One element of the concert was a jazz interpretation of the folk song “Dwa serduszka, cztery oczy” (Two hearts, four eyes), known in the US thanks to Paweł Pawlikowski’s film *Cold War*. The concert was organised by the Polish Embassy in conjunction with the National Gallery in Washington. On 29 May, the Polish film *The Butler*, directed by Filip Bajon, was presented as part of the CinePolska cycle within the Wednesday Signature Series (comprising rotational programmes presenting unusual and unique films from around the world). The screening took place at the Avalon Theatre in Washington DC. The film depicts the story of Kashubian boy Mateusz Kroll, who, orphaned after his mother’s death, is taken in by Prussian aristocratic lady von Krauss.

<sup>10</sup> An example of an “Open House Day” is one offered by the Polish Embassy in Washington. On 11 May 2019, the embassy provided a tour of its building, which has witnessed many events of Polish-US history since the political transformation of 1989. Traditional Polish food was also presented, and Polish innovative ideas were promoted in collaboration with the Polish company Photon. The day concluded with a concert by Martin Labazevitch, a Polish pianist well known in the United States. Visitors were also reminded of the *Polish Declarations of Admiration and Friendship for the United States*, 111 volumes of wishes sent by Poles to Americans on the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which have been kept at the Polish Embassy since 1926.

<sup>11</sup> Launching the festival, Pierre Vimont, the French ambassador to the United States at the time, said: “Kids Euro Festival will offer a unique way for young audiences to experience the rich, creative heritage, cultural life, and traditions of our 27 European Union nations”.

rope. The festival offers public performances, presentations in schools, reading workshops, meetings with artists, performances for children in hospital and the so-called KEEN day, an entire day set aside for disabled children.<sup>12</sup> Every autumn, the embassies of EU member states in Washington as well as cultural and educational institutions offer more than 80 free family activities in the city itself and the area. This event is targeted at children aged two to 12. An important task the festival sets is education on European culture, familiarising children with the diversity of European traditions, customs and languages which are an important element of constructing European identity and Europe-US cooperation. Children learn to make national dishes, read Andersen's fairy tales, find out about the phenomenon of traditional puppet theatres, and listen to folk music from distant corners of Europe. The individual countries present the distinctive characteristics of their cultures. For example, the French offer culinary workshops on baking baguettes and cheese tasting, the Finns promote computer games, the Portuguese teach children to sing fado, the Greeks provide a gourd-engraving workshop, and the Poles demonstrate folk paper cut-outs. The festival is accompanied by annual debates on foreign affairs, during which American college students discuss transatlantic initiatives with experts. For disabled children, the KEEN day is unique, offering them the opportunity through movement activities and meetings with their peers from Europe to improve their developmental and social skills. Kids Euro Festival is presented in cooperation with numerous cultural institutions in Washington, including the European-American Cultural Foundation, Millennium Stage at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Shakespeare Theatre Company, Strathmore, the National Gallery of Art, the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, DC Public Library, AFI Silver Theatre and Cultural Centre, Montgomery College Cultural Arts Centre, Goethe-Institut, House of Sweden, Austrian Cultural Forum and La Maison Française (part of the French Embassy in Washington).

The AFI European Film Showcase, held every December, aims to introduce Americans to European cinema and to act as a vehicle to promote European audiovisual and creative products. This programme essentially combines three EU policies: the Union's external relations in the field of culture, audiovisual policy and trade policy. The EU's film festivals are organised by its delegations in third countries in cooperation with local cultural institutions and universities, cinema networks and film distributors, as well as being commissioned from video platforms and private companies. The delegations work with member states' embassies<sup>13</sup> in the countries of accreditation, national cultural institutes in EUNIC and local film institutes, such as the American Film Institute or the Europa Cinemas network. The main objective of the festival is to portray Europe's cultural and artistic diversity (*Film Festivals*, 2015). In terms of organisation, the venture has major diplomatic support and a guaranteed steady budget

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<sup>12</sup> KEEN Days: Kids Enjoy Exercise Now. A KEEN day is organised by the French Embassy in Washington, DC. KEEN offers more than 1,300 hours of programming every month for over 500 children, teenagers and young adults with severe developmental and physical disabilities such as autism, cerebral palsy and Down syndrome. For many of these children, the time spent with KEEN is their only opportunity to improve their developmental and social skills through physical activity. It also gives them a place where they are accepted and can find a sense of belonging.

<sup>13</sup> This is sometimes part of a larger festival, e.g. European Film Weeks in Morocco.

from the Creative Europe programme.<sup>14</sup> In Washington, the festival operates under the name “AFI European Union Film Showcase”<sup>15</sup>, and is jointly produced and managed by the American Film Institute. It is the platform for the annual presentation of around 40 European films, the winners of the most prestigious European and world industry prizes (Cannes, Venice, Berlin, Toronto, the Oscars). The film screenings take place at various cultural institutions working with the delegation, EU country embassies and specialist national agencies responsible for film promotion. Most events are free. The organisers often promote pre-premiere screenings and niche films with little chance of regular cinema distribution, as well as global hits. Embassies obtain the films based on a national selection. In 2013, the Washington festival showed Andrzej Wajda’s film “Walesa: Man of Hope”. At the opening of the festival, EU ambassador to the USA João Vale de Almeida said: “This year’s AFI-EU Film Showcase is a great display of Europe’s vibrant and creative film production [...] truly the *crème de la crème* of European films. It allows us to engage an American audience, tell our stories from a European perspective, and share the rich cultural diversity of our EU Member States”<sup>16</sup>. In December 2018, Paweł Pawlikowski’s “Cold War” was screened at the festival,<sup>17</sup> and a year later, Jan Komasa’s “Corpus Christi” was shown.<sup>18</sup> Information packages about the films and previews are posted on the websites of the EU member states’ embassies ahead of time. In 2017, the 30th anniversary of joint presentation of European films in the USA was celebrated.<sup>19</sup> French cinema was given priority to mark the beginnings of the festival, which was accompanied by bilateral cooperation of the EU delegation in Washington with the French Embassy. The festival was launched in 1987, and it soon took the form of multilateral cooperation of delegations and embassies with the AIF. The film screenings during the festival take place at the AFI Silver Theatre and Cultural Center, and in 2020 the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in the festival taking place on online platforms.

### **Other actors of European cultural diplomacy in the US – case study (3)**

Many events promoting European culture and identity in the United States were supported by the European-American Cultural Foundation,<sup>20</sup> set up to strengthen and develop transatlantic ties. It supported the organisation of European festivals and seminars and collected funds for the development and implementation of European artistic, linguistic, educational and scientific events and programme. The foundation participated financially in revitalisation work of dilapidated areas of the city of Baltimore, where the Creative Placemaking project was implemented, co-funded by the EU delegation in Washington and EUNIC clusters in the USA. Such was its success and the public

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<sup>14</sup> Approx 2.5 million USD for two years from all festivals of this type in delegations.

<sup>15</sup> AFI European Union Film Showcase.

<sup>16</sup> <http://events.euintheus.org/events/afi-european-union-film-showcase-2013/>, 26 October 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Advertisement on the embassy website from 1 December 2018.

<sup>18</sup> The film was screened at the AFI Silver Theatre and Cultural Center in Washington.

<sup>19</sup> <https://frenchculture.org/events/6876-30th-afi-european-union-film-showcase>, 11.10.2021.

<sup>20</sup> <http://e-acf.org/>, 5.11.2012.

response to the project that after its conclusion EUNIC looked for further places to implement similar projects.<sup>21</sup> As part of a campaign promoting knowledge on European culture, in 2008–2011 the EU delegation in the USA subsidised around ten centres of excellence at a combined cost of 3.3 million euro. It is worth adding that European centres have been being formed at American universities since 1998, with the aforementioned New Transatlantic Agenda as the legal foundation. As part of the Policy Research and Debate programme, in 2011–2012 the EU earmarked around 2 million euro for development of US think tanks researching its work.

The relevant sector of the EEAS administration supports organisation of European “Houses of Culture”. These are set up thanks to joint initiatives of EUNIC Global, the European Commission and local cultural centres. The largest contribution to funding of the projects is made by the Commission and EUNIC Global, represented by at least three EU member states.<sup>22</sup> One of the first projects in the European “Houses of Cul-

<sup>21</sup> An exact description of the project is given in a study prepared by the Goethe-Institut, *The Role of Artists & the Arts in Creative Placemaking*, May 2014, Baltimore, [http://www.goethe.de/ins/us/was/pro/creative\\_placemaking/2014\\_Symposium\\_Report.pdf](http://www.goethe.de/ins/us/was/pro/creative_placemaking/2014_Symposium_Report.pdf), 15 November 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Ten European Houses of Culture projects are currently in operation. These are: Belarus: “European Capital of Culture in Belarus – A Simulation Game” – the newly formed EUNIC cluster Belarus will appropriate Europe’s most successful tool of cultural policy and strategic development – the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) – and proclaim a national competition of five regional cities in Belarus to become Europe’s first quasi ECOC. The candidate cities will be tandemed with former ECOCs from EUNIC member countries. Benin: “Urban Cult Lab’Africa” – the project extends to the cultural and creative activities developed in five countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Mauritania and Togo) of the sub-region, by the French-speaking network of Fablabs of West Africa (ReFFAO). It aims to strengthen the network logic, carry out urban forms of creation in the participating countries and connect with actors identified by the European partners; El Salvador, Guatemala & Honduras: “Circuito Europeo Teatral Centroamericano” – the “European Central American Theatre Circuit” consists in creating a circuit for exhibition of theatre plays, based on the contemporary creation of European dramaturgy, with theatre companies from El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala; Ethiopia: “Tibeb be Adebabay – Art in Public Spaces” – Tibeb be Adebabay (Amharic for “art in public space”) is a week-long participatory street festival that is planned at different public locations in Addis Abeba at the beginning of May 2020, including the Europe Day on 9 May. Various artists from different disciplines (Ethiopian and European) will bring art into people’s daily lives by taking different artistic activities to public spaces and inviting citizens of Addis Abeba to participate; Guinea-Bissau: “Nô Tchon, Nô Arte 2020” – creative residency of several weeks between Bissau-Guinea and European organisations. The overall objective aims at deepening the networking initiated by the partners; at developing viable partnerships with companies and national institutions; and at enhancing the artistic and cultural dynamics in Guinea-Bissau; Mongolia: “Nogoonbaatar International Eco-Art Festival” – The project proposes an Eco-Art Festival named “Nogoonbaatar, the first-ever Eco-Art Festival in Mongolia and taking place in Ulaanbaatar during the first weekend of June 2020. The purpose of this festival is to critically engage with environmental issues through the arts; Nigeria: “Identity and History – Nigerian Museums as Houses of Culture” – heritage project aimed at increasing cooperation between EU countries and Nigerian/African cultural professionals working in the museums sector through capacity building, networking and other exchange activities. The activities will focus on some of the following themes: audience development and more inclusive approaches to museum, sustainable models, museums and education and museum as public spaces; Sri Lanka: “On Language and Multitudinal Belonging” – as part of the Colomboscope festival, includes preliminary activities for the festival edition ‘Language is Migrant’: in-depth field research, professional development workshops and mentoring circles as well as artist residencies bringing together international creative practitioners with Sri Lankan collaborators situated in different re-

ture” series was launched in the United States. Named “The Grid”, it was established in 2019 by the Silicon Valley EUNIC and operated in San Francisco, introducing artists to modern technologies. Silicon Valley, of course, is one of the most productive ecosystems in the world, the centre of the global tech sector, introducing pioneering innovations, 3D animations and hologram technology onto the market. The San Francisco Bay Area, meanwhile, is a cradle of American artistic movements. The goal of the project was to combine art with technology, based on observation of the dehumanising role of technology in today’s world and artists’ uncertainty regarding innovations applied to art. The project was divided into four forms of activity: 1) a series of monthly conversations between artists and representatives of the technological sector as well as researchers from the USA and Europe on the need for interdisciplinary collaboration between sectors in order to understand the details of how the different fields work; 2) setting up an organisation with the working title “Solidarity Grid” with the aim of supporting local artists (including those affected by the coronavirus crisis); 3) a major exhibition, “The Grid: Exposure-Art. + Tech + Policy Days”, devoted to the relations between art and technology and shown in September 2020 in Silicon Valley; 4) the eVe Award, given to outstanding projects combining art and technology. The project organisers and partners were the members of EUNIC Silicon Valley: Open Austria, the French Embassy, the Goethe-Institut, and the Italian Cultural Institute, Sweesnext (Switzerland) and the Irish Consulate General, based in San Francisco from June 2019. EUNIC New York and Washington and the EU delegation in Washington were also partners. The local partner was the San Francisco Art Institute. European artists also collaborated on the project, including Austrian designer Julia Körner and the German Christian Lölkes from the Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe. The total cost of the project was 111,000 euro, half of which came from a EU subsidy.

Promotion of European culture in the United States is a regular and cyclical, multi-entity enterprise fostering the European political paradigm of “unity in diversity”. The cultural activity of EU delegations is certainly appreciable with the example of Washington. In this case, there is no stagnation or problems with communication with representatives of member states to speak of. In five artistic festivals, the delegation offers around 350 events annually to the American public, none of which is isolated. One could say that the EU delegation in Washington is an example of something of a success in implementation of cultural soft power as a tool of European promotion in the USA. Of course, we might also ask whether the audiences watching plays and films or listening concerts organised by the embassies of member states together with the delegation and EUNIC get the sense of an integrated, “Europeanised” artistic product,

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gions of the Island; USA: “The Grid” – connects and intertwines the worlds of arts and technology (Art + Tech), Europe and the United States. Its objective is to map existing and potential intersections between artists and technologists, thinkers and other creative minds, art institutions and tech giants, as well as startups, community-based initiatives, academia, research, and mediators in cultural relations on both sides of the Atlantic; Vietnam: “European House in Hanoi – enabling offline and online cultural encounters in Vietnam” – combines the use of physical and virtual space. A newly opened physical art space will be multifunctional and prone for artistic and cultural exchange. The content of the APP grows from this environment and extends into the public spaces (parks, squares, market halls) with art experience through Augmented Reality technology in: <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/news/european-houses-of-culture-10-ideas-selected>, 8 November 2020.

or rather of individual versions of national cultures. The answer is not easy, and above all it would demand thorough social research. There is no doubt that the weak point of the EU's promotion through culture is the fact that, used as a tool of soft power in diplomatic missions, it has a narrow range of influence, as it is targeted at a relatively small group of residents of big cities, with the result that it has an elite dimension.

### Conclusions

The European Union is building soft power throughout the attractiveness of the cultural offers of member states and EU Delegations (Drisekens, 2012) together with the cooperation of cultural institutes grouped in the EUNIC network. EU Delegations promote arts, culture and education and thus, draw the attention of foreign audiences to Europe's cultural and linguistic diversity. In addition to institutional activities, the EU makes use of international partnerships within the NGOs, which is exemplary of the new public diplomacy (Ociepka, 2012). To point out the cooperation of various public actors in the process of promoting culture outside of Europe, the EU exports the model of public funding, which is based on the long-lasting European tradition of patronage and stands in contrast to the American tradition, characterized by the support of the commercial sector. Coming back to the distinction between hard, soft and smart power, the EU uses persuasive tools rather than forceful ones. As Jeremy Rifkin noted (Rifkin, 2005), the EU attracts audiences to its side by using 'co-opting' rather than 'coercing'. The source of EU's cultural potential lies in the multiple narratives of voluntarily integrated states (Niedźwiecki, 2017) and a display of values such as democracy, pluralism, respect for human rights, freedom of speech and artistic expression. The question is of how to bring countries' positions closer together within the EU in order to ensure a common interpretation of cultural external actions in third countries. In general, the EU's previous foreign policy has been the result of what the EU member states were able to arrange. Since the EU, together with the US, has been building an Euro-Atlantic communication, it can be assumed that the EU delegation today (in collaboration with the member states and EUNIC) is strengthening the Euro-Atlantic intercultural dialogue.

As it was mentioned, the European Union's external relations have a limited field of political influence (Rewizorski, Przybylska-Maszner, 2012). Their objective is to promote the EU's economic interests, maintain peace in the world and international security, and mitigate conflicts (Węc, 2016). Apart from the idea of protecting European values, these premises do not relate directly to culture. The systemic weakness of the EU's international policy lies in the non-legislative acts binding in the CFSP, resulting in the fact that in the cultural sector the EU Council and HR can do no more than suggest courses of action. The CFSP is regulated by the Treaty on European Union, and not the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, which shows that it is national in character (despite the supervision of the EEAS and HR), rather than supranational. Furthermore, as the EU is an international organisation and not a state, it does not conduct cultural diplomacy in the classical sense of the word. All this puts the member states in a strong position (including the activities of cultural national in-

stitutes, EUNIC). Robert Potocki has noted (Potocki, 2003), that the EU's soft power has its limitations, which stem from political weaknesses and, additionally, the colonial past of some of its members. Therefore, the EU's soft power is often being seen as a tool for building a benign hegemony through global marketing (Staszczak, 2007; Emerson et al., 2011). Due to the above-mentioned determinants of the conduct of cultural diplomacy by the EU in the US, the hypothesis posed in the article has been verified positively. Due to the number of formal and legal constraints, as well as the multiplicity of public actors conducting EU's soft power in the US, the EU's cultural diplomacy in the USA appears to be formal, hierarchical and proper, which in effect builds a stable but not deepened intercultural bond.

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**Summary**

The paper will analyse political strategies deployed for promoting European culture in America. It will compare 'theoretical' goals with 'actual' actions, that is, cultural activities undertaken by the cultural operators in Washington DC, focusing on spreading the achievements of European art in the US. Finally, it will evaluate the activities undertaken within of cultural diplomacy conducted by the EU and its partners.

The paper focuses on how policy/policies is/are performed, discursively negotiated and constructed in different political and cultural environment abroad. Effectiveness of various type of actions such as European Month of Culture, European Days, or European Houses, in propagating knowledge about European history of the nations, its culture. The paper investigates strong/weak points of the current state of affairs in implementing the external cultural relations between the EU in the USA, as well as the issue of implementation of the EU's soft power in America.

The paper aims to verify the following research hypothesis: The European Union interacts with the US audiences through culture. In line with the EU's capacity and institutional limitations within the sphere of external relations, the EU's cultural diplomacy in the USA is formal, hierarchical and proper, which in effect builds a stable but not deepened intercultural bond. Additionally, a research question was formulated: What kind of intercultural dialogue is being formally conducted between the European Union and the USA through the cultural actions of the EU Delegation?

**Key words:** External Cultural Relations of the EU, transatlantic Cultural Diplomacy, Soft power, Cultural policy, Competences of the EU's institutions

**Dyplomacja kulturalna jako narzędzie relacji zewnętrznych między UE a USA****Streszczenie**

Artykuł analizuje strategię polityczne stosowane w celu promowania kultury europejskiej w Ameryce. W ramach komparatystycznej metody badawczej porównane zostaną „teoretyczne” cele z „rzeczywistymi” działaniami, tj. działaniami kulturalnymi podejmowanymi przez operatorów kulturalnych w Waszyngtonie, koncentrującymi się na rozpowszechnianiu osiągnięć sztuki europejskiej w USA. Na koniec dokonana zostanie ocena działań podejmowanych w ramach dyplomacji kulturalnej (*soft power*), prowadzonej przez UE i jej partnerów.

Artykuł koncentruje się na analizie metod kształtowania relacji zewnętrznych EU w stosunku do USA, na tym, w jaki sposób polityka/polityki są wykonywane, negocjowane i konstruowane w różnych środowiskach politycznych i kulturowych za granicą. Analizuje możliwe

efekty różnego rodzaju działań promocyjnych UE w USA, takich jak: Europejski Miesiąc Kultury, Dni Europejskie czy Domy Europejskie i ich skuteczność w propagowaniu wiedzy o europejskiej historii narodów i ich kulturze. W artykule wykazano mocne i słabe strony obecnego stanu rzeczy w realizacji relacji zewnętrznych UE w Ameryce, podjęto także kwestię wdrażania miękkiej siły UE w USA.

Celem artykułu jest weryfikacja następującej hipotezy badawczej: Unia Europejska wchodzi w interakcje z publicznością amerykańską poprzez kulturę. Zgodnie z możliwościami i ograniczeniami instytucjonalnymi UE w sferze stosunków zewnętrznych, dyplomacja kulturalna UE w USA ma charakter formalny, hierarchiczny i poprawny, co w efekcie buduje stabilną, ale nie pogłębioną więź międzykulturową.

**Słowa kluczowe:** zewnętrzne stosunki kulturalne UE, transatlantycka dyplomacja kulturalna, *soft power*, polityka kulturalna, kompetencje instytucji UE